

THE
HISTORY
Of the Affairs of
EUROPE
In this present Age,
But more particularly of the
REPUBLICK
OF
VENICE.

Written in *Italian* by
BATTISTA NANNI
Cavalier and Procurator of S^t MARK.

Englified by
Sir ROBERT HONTWOOD, Knight.

LONDON,

Printed by J. M. for John Starkey at the Miter in Fleetstreet,
betwixt the Middle-Temple-gate and Temple-Bar.
MDCCLXXIII.

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Whitehall, March 4.

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THE *Original* of this *History* being written with much *Prudence*, *Gravity*, and *Eloquence*; the Right Honourable Sir *John Trevor*, Knight, His Majesties Principal Secretary of State, doth Permit and License this *Translation* to be Printed and Published.

Jo. Cooke.

TO
Sir Walter Vane Knight,
COLONEL
OF HIS
MAJESTIES
HOLLAND-REGIMENT.

Dear Brother,

I Began this Translation in the Circumstances of an uncomfortable old Age and ruined Fortune, brought upon me, rather by publick Calamity than private Vice, or domestick Prodigality. And I undertook it to divert the melancholy hours, arising from the consideration of either. And as the intention was private, and without the least thought of making it publick; so I judged it every way best not to exceed those limits, till some, acquainted with the affairs of those times, desiring it might see the light, and I then considering the Friendship that hath always been betwixt us, and that particular owning a share in all my misfortunes, and a readiness to be assisstant to me in them: I thought it did of right belong to you; and that I might without vanity owne also so much of
a publick

publick, as to publish to whomsoever shall read this Book the true value and sense I have of your Love and Kindness to me and mine, exercised with a Generosity without many Examples.

I therefore desire you (*Dear Brother*) to accept it, not as that whereby you receive any thing but the Testimony of the Respect I bear you, and retribution I owe you; yet I presume I shall not deceive you, if I promise you, that are a heedful Reader, that you shall find in it Reflections useful for the way you are in both of Court and Camp, and matter to give you occasion to acknowledge, it may deserve a place amongst the best of Modern Writers, if not the first, unless it have received too much disadvantage by the unskilfulness of the Interpreter. But I will not raise that expectation by so weak an Argument as mine own Judgment, but leaving it to yours, subscribe my self

Your Affectionate Brother

and Humble Servant

Robert Honywood.

THE

THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

Reader,

NEXT after Writing Books, Translating them, and Printing those Translations, are the worst offices we do the Publick; For as not many of the one deserve the light; so the same proportion must hold in the other. Yet, where the one and the other are exercised with Judgment, and in profitable and noble Subjects, they cannot want a just value among wise and sober Men. For, though I confess, nothing hath of late so much thronged the Press as Romances and Plays, with things of a light and fanciful Nature, and that this very Book hath found difficulty to creep forth, as being not of that form; yet I dare assure thee, thou shalt find in it, if thou be Romantick inclined, Truth in matter of Fact out-doing Fiction; if thou love History, thou shalt find the best Ancient and Modern Historians emulated and imitated; Civil Wisdom and Policy curiously observed; the Trade of War, if thy way be Martial, strenuously carried on; Vices and Errours, Persons and Actions civilly censured; Vertues set up on high to be the better seen; and the Common-wealth, from which this History taketh its Name, in Difficulties wisely deliberating, in Resolutions vigorously acting; in making Treaties Cautious, in executing of them Faithful and Constant; sparing in time of Peace; prodigal of their Treasure in the necessary occasions of War; and at all times punishing

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THE PREFACE.

ing Fraud in it equally with Rebellion : So that , if the Inventor of those Glasses, which shewed by reflection at the foot of one side of a Mountain what was done on the other, was famous for it, though but a Knack ; why not this Author much more, who from behind the Mountain of Time represents to thy view , not only what hath been actually done in the busie years treated of in this History , but what were the secret Counsels, and who the Authors of them ; and also by Reflection what will be done in the World till Ambition and the Passions of Men shall cease and be no more. Thus , Reader , though good Wine needs no Bush ; yet since sophisticating is now so universal, I thought to give thee Advertisement, and leave it to be tasted by Thee.

TO

TO THE
MOST SERENE PRINCE
DOMINICO CONTARINI
DUKE of VENICE.

Most Serene Prince,

I Have undertaken to write this History, not out of any vain design to publish my own name, but by an impulse not unworthy commendation, to eternize my duty to my Country, where it having pleased God to give me my birth, and make me partaker of its liberty, I have thought it a small thing to dedicate to it the short moments of my life, if I could not find out some way besides to continue my obedience even after my death, and leave a monument to my fellow Citizens, and the World, of the famous actions and signal deservings of so high and mighty a Common-wealth. This Work was begun amidst the fatigue and labour of many other employments, and for the most part in Ambassies in Foreign Courts and Countries, and would have run the hazard amidst the distractions and the management thereof, of having been destroyed even as soon as it was conceived, if by stealing time from my rest, and rest from my self, I had not taken pains to present it at last at the feet of your *Serenity*.

Your *Serenity* ought in justice to accept it because you commanded it, and in your goodness to bear with it ; and its faults may appear more innocent, and many of its defects excusable, whilst in place of that honest leisure and quiet which study requires, I was obliged to suspend my Pen, as often as my Country was pleased to require from me, in several occasions, the usufruct both of my life and endeavours : I have taken Truth for my Guide, as being the soul of History, and a duty which ought to be stipulated by every Writer with God and Man.

This I may say, that I have not wanted courage to speak
b it,

The DEDICATION.

it, nor means to discern it. Because, besides the Writings of so many (though some not sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of things, or free from passion, have preferred the sparing of truth before silence;) the access to Princes, the negotiating with Publick Ministers, discourse with those who were the Actors of the things most remarkable, the view of situations and places, have fully informed me with what passed abroad; I have had means to be instructed at home, not only by the free access to our publick Records, and the most secret Counsels, but because they have been managed in a good part by my Ancestors and Relations, and some of them by my self. Nevertheless I have not suffered my self to be defiled with partiality, but passing by the privilege of venerable antiquity, which to a face of Truth hath another closely adjoining, that of Falshood; I have chosen to expose my self to tryal, and perhaps to reproof, and that I might render a testimony of more authority to posterity, to write of the present Age to the Age it self.

I know it is a sacred thing to compose Histories, and not to be undertaken but with an upright mind and undefiled hands; and that for that cause the memory of them was consigned to the Temple, under the faithful custody of the Chief Priests, as the witness or trust of those that went before, and the treasure of those that should come after, not to be handled but as a religious thing, and with great caution. In sum, the Historian taking to himself an absolute Dictatorship, nay an authority more than humane, over times, persons, and actions, governs fame, measures desert, penetrates intentions, discloses secrets, is, with an undistinguished arbitrement over Kings and People, the Judge of Ages past, and Master of those to come, absolves or punishes, deceives or instructs. Whence, not without reason, the Pen of Writers may be compared to that Lightning, which striking out but one Letter from the Name, *Cæsar Augustus*, made him a God; because praise is a thing so tender, that one dash makes illustrious and a little blot infamous, and the censure of the world thereupon is so severe, that it either consecrates to eternity or proscribes to infamy. For my self,
Most

The DEDICATION.

Most Excellent Prince, I know not what else to wish, but that every one would take upon him to read this work with the same disinterest and innocent mind with which I have writ it, confining my confidence to this one thing, that the present Age will not be so unjust to me, nor so ungrateful to posterity, as to deny me the opinion of sincerity, and the merit of obedience.

For the rest, the August name of your Serenity, which will be one of the principal subjects of my ensuing labour, when I shall come to adorn it with the years made signal by your glorious Government, is chosen the Tutelar Deity of this first part, to that end the work may defended by the shadow of your protection at present, as it will in a little time be made famous by the splendour of your Heroick Virtues, which being acknowledged by this our Age for peculiar gifts from Heaven to our Country, will be revered in time to come, as Examples in a free Common-wealth of a great Patriot, and a greater Prince. I presume not to insert my private observances towards your Serenity, amidst the publick considerations of my duty: I only implore a benign reflection of your powerful approbation, as a comfortable Ray of that fortune, with which your Serenity, Governing with happiness and wisdom, after glory gotten in the dangers of so long a War, shall confirm with Victory and Peace, perpetuity and security to our Country.

Of Your Serenity

*The most humble and
most devoted Servant*

BATTISTA NANI.

An. Dom.
1613.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REPUBLICK
OF
VENICE.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THE Republic of *Venice*, consecrated from its very beginning to Religion and Liberty, had its prosperous birth in the fifth Age of our Redemption. If it may be said, that the age of States is better measured by power, than time, its Infancy lasted for many Ages, during which, with uncorrupted Laws and Manners, and the security of their situation, they frustrated the fierce assaults of barbarous Nations, and the ambition of other Princes. The first time she took up Arms, was in defence of Piety and Justice; afterwards they were employed against those, who envying their Liberty, went about to disturb their Quiet. And so the *Francks* and *Huns* being repulsed in the inmost parts of their Channels and Ports, she began to be more considered, and the Government through the Concord of the Citizens, and the Authority of the Laws, to settle and grow up into a more strong complexion. Liberty was no sooner secured, but there arose Contentions about Empires. The first undertakings in that Age, were against the *Dalmatians* and *Illyrians*. Those of *Ancona*, and others of the Sea-Coasts were also conquered, so that having gotten with the price of Blood, the dominion of the *Adriatick* Sea, as a Patrimony, she increased in Wealth and Power to such a degree, that she not only repulsed, but very often overcame the *Hungarians*, *Sarazens*, *Greeks*, *Normans*, and those of *Pisa*, and *Genova*, enriching her self with their States and spoils. Her expeditions into the *Holy-Land* were

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very

An.Dom.
1613. very powerful, united with the *Franks*; she destroyed the *Gre-
cian* Empire, and alone undertook the Defence of Pope *Alexan-
der III*; with the success of her Arms abroad, (a thing that sel-
dom happens) she rectified all things at home, and brought her
self to that Constitution, which at this Day we see her in; equally
durable and wonderful. No body was able now to resist her at
Sea; and in the 15th Age of Christ she impowred her self with
considerable additions at Land. She got *Friuli*, *Padua*, *Verona*,
and *Vincenza*; with large Territories; and passing the *Mincio*,
squaring her Empire, extended her Borders to the River *Adda*, and
Po. She had *Romagna* under Protection, and *Puglia* in Mortgage.
But as she grew Great, others grew Envious; whereupon after the
Year 1500. all the Princes of Christendom, and some of them
against the stile of their own Interest, united to restrain her en-
creasing Power. This was a terrible shock, the Destiny of the
Common-wealth alone being exposed to hazard against the Fortune
of all *Europe*. But the Prudence of the Government, the Con-
stancy of their Minds, the Faithfulness of the Common People,
and the Reconciliation with *France*, extricated all their difficulties;
Liberty in the close remaining unviolated, and the Empire for the
most part confirmed. But her State, which was to be looked at as
the Basis of all *Italy*, could not be in trouble without putting the
whole Country into a Convulsion. Inasmuch that although the
Venetians after the Peace of *Bologna*, saw themselves in a Calm, the
rest lay for the most part under the slavery of Strangers.

The Common-wealth at this time was incompassed by Sea, and by
Land, with two great Powers; divided according to the four Car-
dinal points of the World, East and South with the *Ottoman* Fa-
mily, and West and North with the House of *Austria*. She there-
fore fixed her thoughts in the Arts of Preservation, and of Peace,
watching upon what was fit for her and her Friends, and for her
own, and common Liberty. The *Turks* gave her two great At-
tacques by Sea in the Years 1537, and 1570. carrying away rich
and great spoils. But the famous Victory of *Curzolari* signed Peace
for a long time, during which they strengthened the Defence of their
Empire, beautified their City, gave vigour to their Forces, fur-
nished their Arsenals, and layed up a no small Treasure. She main-
tained a very long quiet in *Italy*, and though the Wars betwixt
France and *Spain* did for many Years disturb it, the notwithstanding
observed a constant neutrality. The whole Country settling
afterward into a most Happy Peace, kept not without jealousy by
the Foreigners themselves, the *Venetians* made it their business
to preserve that present tranquillity, sometime diverting the storm
at the first appearance, and sometimes, according to the occasion,
opposing themselves with Declarations and Treaties. The War
which hapned betwixt *France* and *Spain* in the beginning of
this present Age, did not penetrate into *Italy*. Some stirrs occasioned
by the Interest of the *Grisons* were quieted. The differences
risen with Pope *Paul* the Fifth were terminated with increase of
reputation,

reputation, and advantage for the Republick; and that thunder of An.Dom.
War, which was threatened by *Henry* the Fourth, vanished with his 1613.
death. All things thus contributing to the Peace of *Italy*, Wise-
men nevertheless were not free from fear, lest many disguests lurk-
ing secretly in the hearts, and several designs in the minds of Princes,
there would be a new Rupture, so soon as any occasion or pretext
for it did appear. And in that thought they were not long de-
ceived, for in the brightest Serenity of this Peace, the blow hapned
at unawares, with so much slaughter, and so many mischiefs, that
defiling *Italy*, it hath put *Europe* into confusion.

This shall be the subject and first part of this work of mine; because
as the Interests of the Republick refer principally to those two great
powers of *Austria* and the *Turks*, with whom it borders; so the Nar-
rative shall be divided. And I will describe in this, the most notable
events which have troubled *Italy*; and in which the Republick hath
assisted with their Counsels, Arms, and Treasures: And for the other
part shall be reserved the Memorials of its long and generous de-
fence against the *Ottoman* Empire. And because *Italy*, being the heart
of *Europe*, cannot suffer a shaking but the rest must be moved, and
have a feeling of it, you shall read herein connexed the Affairs and
Actions of the chief Princes of the World, the Conduct and Maxims
of their chief Ministers, with the Revolutions of States, and so ma-
ny other accidents, as make the Age no less Unhappy than Famous,
and the Relation equally important.

For the better knowledge of the things to follow, it is needful to
look a little back: Princes, though Mortal, are the *Genii* of the World.
The effects of their Counsels out-live their Lives, and are like the
Stars, whose Influences remain long, though they disappear from our
sight. When *Arragon* in the Person of *Ferdinand* the Catholick was
joined to *Castile*, and all the Kingdoms within the compass of *Spain*
were in a manner united together, comprehending also the Islands of
the *Mediterranean*, and both the *Stellies*, there was laid the Foundation
of a vast Monarchy. Fortune, to second the design with vast Rich-
es, about this time discovered a new World. The Provinces of
Flanders fell afterwards in, changing only the Line of Blood, but
without the least alteration in the series of their Maxims and Inte-
rests. In *Charles* the Fifth, the Crowns of the *Empire* and *Spain*,
and their great power were conjoined together. He neither wanted
Wisdom nor Fortune to establish an Universal Hereditary Monar-
chy: but as all ages are for the most part barren of Princes of con-
sideration, so his seemed as fruitful, having *Francis*, the first King of
France, and *Solyman* Emperour of *Turky* to oppose him; The first,
his Peer in courage; the other equal, if not Superiour, in Power.
Charles therefore thought it best to leave the hopes and means to his
Successors. *Italy* by reason of its situation, Nobleness, Strength,
Riches, and a certain fatality, which destines her to bear Rule,
hath always been the first Object of great Conquerours; and *Charles*
failed not to increase his Dominion thus, joining the *Milanese* to
Spain, and putting a foot into *Tuscany*. But he quickly found, that

An.Dom. every foot of ground cost a Battel; That the Princes were impatient of the yoke, and Strangers were ready to assist: He therefore thinking the Counsel most safe to encompass her without, that so at last the might fall insensibly into his hand, attempted to cajole *Germany*, and leave the Empire to his Son. The design failing him, and he from a religious consideration, a satiety of Fortune, or from domestick Interests, betaking himself to a private life and the repentance of having been so great, leaves to *Philip* the Second, the hereditary Kingdoms of *Spain*, with their vast appurtenances. The Peace of *Italy* passed as in a mystery and by tradition from Father to Son; who no less wise than great, applied his Ax to the root of that, which might most disturb the design of his Monarchy. He employs therefore all his power against *England* and *France*, but having consumed Armies and Treasure in vain, while he was distracted by the revolt in *Holland*, and although he had added *Portugal* to *Castile*, and with it the increase of a vast power, yet at the end of a few years, he found sufficiently his Credit, Money, and Strength weakened. He then makes trial of peaceable means, giving to the Provinces of *Flanders* remaining in their obedience (to the end to re-unite the rest) a Prince of their own. He left *France* to the destiny of its domestick revolts; and *Italy* charmed with the deliciousness of Peace, and the opinion of their present felicity.

Philip the third succeeded him, a young Prince, of singular Piety, but wholly unacquainted with Government, and contenting himself with the Royal dignity, left the power to his Council, Favourites and Ministers. These judged it necessary to go on in the same Maxims of Peace, because in *France* they found *Henry* the Fourth, a formidable and vigilant King, who having gloriously made his passage through the jaws of an adverse fortune, suffered not himself to be gulled by prosperity, but would be ready to disturb, and prevent whatever designs they should have against him. Truce was therefore concluded with the United Provinces of the Low-Countries; and to divert the scourge of the French Arms from *Italy*, procuring the Duke of *Savoy* to make Peace upon disadvantageous terms, they thought it a great conquest, that they had shut out the French beyond the *Alps*. And now fixing their thoughts on those advantages, which time and occasion uses to offer to those in Power, silently extending themselves by little and little, they got their limits enlarged, and their Kingdoms and Territories better united; and last of all under the title of Honour and Protection, holding dependent, and in a manner subject divers Princes of *Italy*, who being not able to resist, and believing themselves abandoned by the French, yielded to what they thought their advantage, or rather to necessity. And so besides the places in Mount *Argentaro* in *Tuscany*, and *Porto Longone* in *Elba*, the *Forté Fuentes*, built in the entrance of the *Valtelline*, and Garrisons put into *Final*, *Monaco*, *Piombino*, *Correggio*, and other little Fiefs of the Empire, the Net was spread, and the design made publick. These things going thus on, one by one, some by Negotiation, and some through the conjuncture of time,

(although

(although they awakened jealous thoughts in some, yet they seemed not of importance to disturb the Peace; under which, some not remembring, that one ring is not a Chain, yet a Chain is formed of many rings,) thought themselves secure, and others happy. But by the death of *Henry* the Fourth, *France* falling into a long minority, the *Spanish* Ministers judged the conjuncture fit to reap their advantages with Counsel, and with Arms. And to say truth, the occasion in *Italy* seemed favourable; because the French, as hath been said, being excluded, and now fallen under the government of a Child, and of a Woman, and Ministers divided in their private Interests, the Country was believed so low in courage and strength, that if at any time strangers in the attempt to subdue it, had gotten great company, both People and the Princes themselves, would now place their safety and greatest glory in yielding their obedience. Some by a pecuniary Interest were already dependent upon *Spain*; others by blood, and others by pretensions. The Popes taken up in the care of Holy things, or distracted in the concerns of their own Family, side always with the strongest, so that the safety and protection of *Italy* was now committed to the *Venetians* alone. Nevertheless it was judged, that they also would prefer Peace before all things, either from the experience of the hazards, and events of former Wars, or because Monarchies being subject to various changes and accidents, it was believed, that time might produce such successes, from which they thought their Republick, as standing upon a more sure foundation, exempt, and free. But in this general Quiet and Peace of *Europe*, there wanting rather pretexts than minds to disturb *Italy*, it was abundantly supplied by the death of *Francis Gonzague* Duke of *Mantua*, hapned in the flower of his Age, about the last of *October* 1612.

He left for posterity to his House *Mary*; yet at Nurse, to the Estate, two Brothers, *Ferdinand* a Cardinal, and *Vincenzo*; and to *Italy*, a sad series of Calamities and Troubles. By his Marriage with *Margarite*, Daughter of *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, it was generally believed, that the Peace of *Italy* would have been established, composing thereby the pretensions of those two Houses upon *Monferrat*. They had their ancient Original from the very root of the succession to that State from the *Palcologhi* and the *Gonzagui*, and after many litigious proceedings, *Charles* the Fifth, Emperour, as Sovereign of the Fief, did rather foment than extinguish them, by a certain sentence whereby the possession was adjudged to *Mantua*, leaving undecided to *Savoy* the right of certain donations of Lands; and of the Dowry of *Blanche* Wife to *Charles* the First Duke of *Savoy*; which though it exceeded not 80 Thousand Crowns, yet with the interest of a long time, came near to a Million. In the Marriage aforesaid, it was studiously endeavoured to ballance all Interests, besides the Dowry in Money and Jewels, the Father ceding in favour of the Daughter and her Posterity the Revenues of *Monferrat*; and there was a line to be drawn, which was to distinguish the confines, much intangled with *Piedmont*, upon some lands whereof

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whereof those of the house of *Gonzaghi* having a right; they renounce it and made a mutual exchange of several places for common convenience and advantage. But the affections of Princes being not to be bound by those Bonds, which among private men pass for Sacred, designs ceased not, nor were pretensions extinguished.

For the Line, they could never find a point where to begin it, but that of the life of Duke *Francis* being cut, they fell back into discord, and the confusion of their former Interests. *Margaritha*, called the *Infanta*, according to the custom of *Spain*, in regard of her Mother, Daughter of the Catholick King, *Philip* the Second, who in her young days was left a Widow in the house of *Mantua*, retained very lively affections for that of her Father; whose maxims and fence were so deep imprinted in her, that she played that part which was most pleasing to the *Savoyards*.

Carlo Emanuel was then Duke of *Savoy*, who it may be said, had with much virtue adorned, and as much ambition embroiled two Ages. He was born in the 61. year of the last, and with him at a birth, Generosity, Courage, and the desire of Dominion. In the 19. year of his Age he succeeded his Father in the Estate, important for its situation, plentiful by its Fertility, and for its extent considerable, but not proportionable to his mind.

Being invironed with two so great powers as are *France* and *Spain*, he could not but know how difficult it would be to make conquests, and as impossible to keep them. Nevertheless the divisions of *France* having opened a way to the surprisal of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and other great attempts, he espoused, together with the Daughter of *Philip* the Second, a partiality to that Crown, and the Maxims thereof. But the assistance of his Father-in-Law (who had no mind to make him greater towards the Confines of the *Milanese*) not being such as hope and desire had suggested to him, he at last concluding a Treaty with *Henry* the Fourth, more to the advantage of the *Spaniards* than himself, adheres to *France*, and enters with *Henry* as a sharer in these designs, which that great King upon firm foundations had laid against the *Austrian* Monarchy. His treacherous and sudden death discharges him, leaving *Carlo* in the grief of his lost hopes, and in fear of the revenge of *Spain*; which nevertheless having pacified by sundry means, and the Hostage of one of his Sons, since he had not been able to make his profit with the great Ones, he now purposes to disturb his Neighbours of more moderate power. The death of his Son-in-Law gives him the occasion, and on the first notice of it he dispatches, as his Ambassador to *Mantua*, the Count *Francisco Martenigo*, and afterwards the Marquis of *Lucerna* to console his Daughter. She then publishes her self with child, to suspend a while the succession of *Ferdinand* the Cardinal, and leave the Government fluctuant and uncertain. Soon after the Prince *Vittorio Amadeo* her elder Brother arrives, and at the same time the Count *Guido di San Giorgio*, a Subject by birth of *Monferrat*, but by discontent with his own Prince, becomes a near Confident of *Carles*, was by frequent goings and

and comings, driving on a secret Treaty at *Milán*.

The Mine at last was sprung, for *Vittorio* persuades his Sister, with her little Daughter, to return home to her Father, or at least to retire to a neutral place, as might be *Milan*; and if in consideration of the Child not yet born, her going out of those Countries were not approved, he insinuated that there was *Monferrat*, where she might remain with more decency. That it was not fit that a young Princess should remain amidst the said memorials of her past contentments, and under the eye of the Cardinal her Kinsman, as young in years, as jealous of the Succession. That the Daughter ought to go with the Mother: not to separate the affections of Nature, and to bring her up with that tenderness, which is proper for a mother's care. Under such appearances was hid a more secret mystery; for as the Fief of *Mantua* did not admit to the Succession any but Males, so by that of *Monferrat*, Women were not excluded. In *Mary* therefore was considered the security of that important State, and therefore *Carlo* desired to have her in his power: For grant, that Practice and Right have excluded Women, when any of the Male-line is remaining of a degree never so remote; nevertheless if to his own right, he should have been able to join that of the Princess, there was no doubt, but it would have much strengthened the cause. *Ferdinand*, that well knew, what those instances meant, defended himself with several conveniences and excuses. That the Dutchesse could not stir from *Mantua*, while she carried in her womb the pawn of the felicity of that State. That it was not the custom, that the Princess of *Gonzagui* should be born in any other place, than where they command. That his Niece much less ought not to be removed out of that house, where possibly Fortune designed her Heir and Mistress. If the object of the Palace of *Mantua* were a place too sad and mournful, others were not wanting, and particularly that of *Goito*, wherein to divertisement was joyned safety and convenience.

But *Carlo's* to the Governour of *Milan*, who was *John Mendoza*, Marquis of *Inoiosa*, intimates, that that business was to be managed by the Authority of *Spain*. Was it fit that the Child, Niece of the King, should be brought up by him, who was Uncle by the Father's side, and Competitor of the Command; where should this tender Pledge of the Fortune of Italy be better placed, than under the Royal care of him, who is the Arbitrator of it? That the Child did possess in her self the right of *Monferrat*, so near and important to the *Milanese*. If she should carry it in Downy to some troublesome and unquiet Prince; and if, wanting Issue male, as from the Completion of the Princess was prognosticated, the Line of *Nivers*, now naturalized in *France*, should come to succeed, what would become of the Affairs of Italy, and the Authority, which without controul the King at present enjoys there?

These reasons, which, as the Report went, were quickened with rich gifts, moved the Governour to speed the Prince of *Ascoli* with a great number of Souldiers, to demand with a high hand both the Child and the Mother; *Ferdinand* was astonished betwixt wrath and

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1613. and danger. It seemed a great matter, that the only Issue of that Family should be ravished from its Fathers house. But on the other side, to the power and will of so great a Monarch there was no resisting. Nevertheless taking counsel suitable to his fear, and pretexts from the present state of Affairs, he answers. *That his Niece, being Niece to the Emperour, and Queen of France, he was not to dispose of her alone. That he declined contest with his Sister-in-law about the Guardianship, and referred it to him who is Sovereign of the State.* With this *Ascoli* and the Prince of Piedmont depart, either respecting the name of so great Princes, or rather because unexpectedly meeting with a reluctance in *Ferdinand*, things were not yet concerted and adjusted to proceed further.

Ferdinand presently gives notice to the Imperial Court, and into France, of this jealous accident, in which it appeared, that the security, liberty, and dignity of all was concerned, because betwixt power and violence, there being no mean, but that of reason; if to will and interest right should give place, nothing in the World would any longer be safe, and unviolated. *Matthias* of Austria was now Emperour of Germany, and his Counsels, as the World thought, governed by *Melchior* Cardinal *Gieselin*, and supposed, that as the Prince, so the Minister was little inclined to the Spaniards: And therefore naturally abhorring all that was pleasing to them, and holding it for a Maxime, that the shadow of their Authority in Italy would more serve to oppress the Emperours, than augment it, the Emperour decrees, That the Tutelage of the Niece did belong to *Ferdinand*, absolving him from any defect of age, required by the Common Law; neither did the Queen Regent of France differ from that Judgment, and being angry at the proceedings of the Savoyards, declares her self to maintain the Decree, giving them to understand, that she would not endure, that the Niece should be removed from her Fathers house and State, not without some kind of threatening *Carlo* to resent it, whensoever he should employ Art or Force about it; and with this it was believed, that the designs of Savoy were for the present suppressed, and the thoughts of Spain laid aside.

All this was seconded by the Council of the Venetians, who having after the death of *Francisco* sent to Mantua, under the pretext of private Affairs, *Ferrante da Rossi* their General of the Artillery, a great Confident of the *Gonzagui*, had charged him to observe the tendency of things, and the accidents thereupon. By this means *Ferdinand* held a strict communication of all things with the Republick, and still encouraged him not to bend under the weight and troubles of the new Government, to maintain his Interest, and the Decorum of it, and to lose no time to make use of his dexterity among the great Princes, and to procure with all his power the good offices, and assistances of his Allies, so to be able to make a counterballance to Spain. The Senate also pressed seriously Pope *Paul V.* the Emperour, and the Crowns, to awaken necessary reflections for the diverting these calamities and imbroilments

ments, which mature Judgment foresaw to be at hand. But *Margaret's* supposed being with Child being now vanished with time, *Ferdinand* above his Purple assumes the Title and Power of Duke, and at the same time the Prince of Piedmont appears at Goito to carry away his Sister, and his Niece, now the pretext of her being with Child ceased. There was there besides, *Isabella* Dutcheſs of Modena, only Sister of *Margaret*. And here by artifices and fears *Ferdinand* was overcome to be content, that, his Sister-in-law retiring her self to Modena, her Daughter should be carried thither also, with solemn promises, that she should be sent back to Mantua, whensoever *Margaret* should have a mind to return into Piedmont.

But this Concert was no sooner divulged, but France in particular ascribing the Dukes consent to his own inexperience, and the corruption of his Ministers, it was remonstrated to him, to how many hazards he exposed that only Child, and to how many croſs intereſts he abandoned the Family. What was the Duke of Modena able to do against the artifices of Carlos, or the commanding power of Inioſa? He should have considered, that by the Succession, if God should enrich her with Posterity, there would remain betwixt Mary and her Sons divided hopes, pretensions, and designs. *Ferdinand*, acknowledging all to be truth, afflicted himself; but taken at his word, knew not how to recal it, when *Cesar* Duke of Modena, considering the weight of the Charge trusted to him, that drew along with it the satisfaction of the Crowns, slips the knot, and refuses it. *Vittorio* departs then with his Sister only, and with them a sharp thorn was pulled out of the heart and eyes of *Ferdinand*. But they were no sooner arrived at Milan, but the Governour dispatches a Courier to Mantua, to require the Princess to be delivered to her mother; who bringing nothing but the accustomed answers, he sends thither the Captain of his Guard, *Diego Leiva*, and to Modena, *Camillo de la Torre*, that by both the Dukes might be admonished, the one to deliver the Child, and the other to receive her. He of Mantua denying his power to disobey the Emperours Decree, sends the Bishop of *Diocæsarea* to Milan, to make his excuse for it, with order also to go on to *Vercelli* to console *Margaret*, who lived there; and withal to insinuate the project of marriage, which had been so often formerly spoken of, as the only means to confirm in the blood of *Margaret* the posterity, quench the pretensions about *Monferrat*, and unite affections.

But as *Ferdinand*, taking counsel from his interest and the present Conjunction, had not shewed himself averse; so *Carlos* would never come to any resolution, sometimes alledging discontents, sometimes requiring satisfactions, and at last declaring, that he would not again, in favour of a second marriage, quit the right of *Monferrat*. He had his thoughts rather bent to espouse his own interest with the Fortune of a War; and for that purpose, superadding new pretensions to the old, he requires the restitution of the Dowry of *Margaret*, with the Jewels, not only which she had brought, but those that had been given her in honour of the marriage: all which by

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Amidst these Negotiations, *Carlos* was transported to higher thoughts. And calling to Council at *Vercelli* his Sons and Ministers, proposes his disgusts at the Duke of *Mantua*, the reasons he had to resent them, together with the opportunity of greatning himself; and layes forth the appearances, which flattered him to believe, that what with Negotiations, and his Army, all things would succeed well. *Martinengo*, *Voghera*, and *Lucerna*, his chief Counsellors, judging the designs to be greater than could be effected, with great passions shew their dissent: and the first with so much freedom dissuades, that he incurred displeasure and distrust; but *Verna*, and *St. Giorgio*, of which the one, having an Estate in *Monferrat*, desired to bring it under the Dominion of his own Prince and Master, and the other being made odious to his natural Prince, affected to change him, seconded the inclinations of the Duke. His custom was for the most part to consult within himself, and to resolve according to the dictate of his own prudence; which being the infallible Counsellor of the wisest Princes, was very often in him defiled with the suggestions of ambition, always hazardous, seldom happy. Having some Troops on foot, part being the remains of the League with *France*, part a Guard against the Jealousie of *Spain*, he saw before his eyes a State exposed, and disarmed, which the Duke of *Mantua* could not defend, but with bewailing and complaints. He believed, that the Princes of *Italy* either stupified, or slumbering in a profound Peace, would hardly be brought to awaken: That the *Venetians*, more considerate than the rest, beside his entertaining of a mutual confidence with them, were wont rather to tolerate things done, then approve the designs. The Emperour had nothing remaining in *Italy* but the name, and for the two Crowns, he feared them not, the one having a minor King, and the other the Kingly Power afar off. The *Milanese*, disarmed and unprovided, was governed by *Mendoza*, his Confident, and little capable in matters of intricacy to play a wise part, or resist force. It was true, that in *Spain* the Favourite, Duke of *Lerma*, shewed himself averse to him; but he chiefly reflected, lest the fear that he should draw a *French Army* into *Italy*, in the distaste of it, would render the natural weight of those Counsels more grievous.

In conclusion, he deliberates to give a blow at unawares; because, when he should have put himself in possession of some part of *Monferrat*, before the minds of those that were remote would be stirred, and the Forces of those that were near could unite, and Princes in the darkness of the general Jealousies could discern their proper Interests, some time would spend; during which he hoped to find his security, and advantages; they well understanding him to be as active and nimble in Negotiations and Treaties, as they knew him wise and courageous in Arms.

Monferrat is a large Country, enriched with Cities, Villages, and People, equally fertile where it is extended into Plains, and where raised into frequent Hillocks. The Rivers, *Po* and *Tanaro*, water it,

it, (besides other lesser rivulets) the latter in particular running through the midst of it, gives to the part towards the Sea the name of the lower, and to the other, which on this side more amply enlarges it self, that of the upper. The Metropolis is *Casal*, and opposite to it is, if I may so say, a narrow slip, belonging to the *Milanese*. But on the side of *Piedmont* it extends it self more fully, cleaving in sunder, as it were, that State; and whereas in some place it runs inward even to the *Alpes*; at another it comes up close to *Turin*; interrupts the Navigation of the River *Po*; cuts off Commerce: and if in one part it divides the Territories of *Ascoli* and *Vercelli*, in another it doth almost encompass it. In effect, if the reasons for conquering of it were to be taken from profit and convenience, the Duke of *Savoy* had great motives to desire the having of it. In *Casal* the Duke of *Vincenzo* had planted a strong Citadel, under pretext to secure it from the *Savoyards*, but with no less intention to preserve it from *Spain*, who having the *Milanese* in the middle betwixt *Monferrat* and *Mantua*, obscures much of that lustre, which from States, otherwise so considerable, would accrue to the house of *Gonzagha*. There were no other places of strength; the fidelity of the people, most inclined to the present Government, serving as a sufficient defence; and that Jealousie much more, which being reciprocal betwixt the *Milanese* and *Piedmont*, did not permit that the one or the other should consent to the Conquest.

But *Carlos* with his abovesaid designs going out of *Vercelli* in the silence of the night, having commanded that the Government of *Chierscibo* should at the same time attempt the Surprise of *Alba*, and the Count of *Verna* attacke *Moncalvo*, himself drew towards *Trine*; and there applying a *Pettard*, with the noise whereof the small Garrison taking the Alarm, and, together with some of the Inhabitants, putting themselves in defence, the *Pettardier* with twelve others at the first Volley were killed. The Surprise vanished, *Carlo* stops at *Gabbiano*, to hinder relief, expecting the rest of his Troops and Cannon; at whose arrival, having first dispersed 200 Foot, which *Carlo de Rossi*, Governour of *Casal*, had sent through by-ways for its succours, to the place in two days, not without a report, that the Count of *St. George* had before-hand with money and other inventions opened a breach. *Alba* was surprized without opposition, and the Castle for want of Provisions rendred. At *Moncalvo* the Town quickly yielded, and was plundered: *La Rocca*, strengthened with some relief, held out fifteen days, and in the attacke the Duke substituted *St. Giorgio* in the place of *Verna* slain. With these three Posts, running a line along the *Tanaro* and the *Po*, *Carlo* found himself in possession of a great part of *Monferrat*, in which, what with contributions, what with booty, he hoped to make his Army to subsist with ease. Upon this emergency, it is not credible how much the Princes of *Italy* appeared moved, and the people themselves amazed; because, by reason of the long Peace, there remained but few that could remember the insolence of the Militia, and the slaughterers of Armies. The Discipline of War was turned into delight, and

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luxury. These successes now being increased by fame, and made greater by opinion, no discourse was heard, but of so many Enterprizes at one time, so many successes almost in one night, the gaining of a whole Country in a moment, and an Army of above twenty thousand men was seen in the field, before it was known that there was any Levies made. The Princes, taking the true measure of such an attempt, judged it of little continuance, nevertheless apprehended that the effect would be inquietness to the Neighbourhood, and disturbance to all.

The Venetians therefore in a serious manner exhorted Carlo to the moderation of more peaceable Counsels, viz. That the situation of his Country being the Guard of the Peace of Italy against strangers from without, he ought not to disturb it within: That it was but an ignoble acquisition, and not to be preferred before common quiet: That he should think of Interest, and of Glory also: That the greater Powers began to awaken, which would make themselves Arbiters and Parties to the Peace, as well as to the War: And therefore if he took Arms at present out of courage or humour, such accidents were like to follow, as would not give him leave to contain himself, nor to lay them down before he saw States in ashes by one common flame, and that to begin in his own Countries: What reputation could be added to his person, famous for so many notable actions; or what happiness to his House, esteemed no less for the largeness of his Territories, than for being adorned with the virtues of so many Princes? Therefore they conjured him not to leave to his Sons, to his Friends, to Italy, nay to all Europe, so lamentable an inheritance of blood; but by a speedy giving way to Accommodations and Treaties, confirm, that wise Princes hold prudence by the hand in making Peace, and Generosity in rescuing injuries.

Such considerations came not much pleasing to the Duke, who trusting in his fortune and dexterity, dispatches his Confessor to Milan to undeceive the Marquess, that the Bishop of Diocæsaria should be Prisoner at Vercelli, a Report spread abroad upon keeping the Gates of the Town for some time, the better to cover the secret of the Surprises, and withal to inform him, what his pretended disgusts, and the reasons and fitness of his proceedings were. All this passed in publick, but in private with humble excuses justifies, that he had not taken the Kings consent in what he had done, and offered several projects to the Crown of great advantage, but such as sometimes seeming difficult, and at others specious, perplexed Mendoza; who, just as Carlo did imagine, knew not how to resolve either for Peace or War. Ferdinand, who under the protection of Spain thought himself secure, and from the consideration of the Counsel of the Government of Milan, though admonished by others to take heed of them, found himself disarmed, was no less surprized in his mind, than in his Monferrat. He considered the Emperour and the French far remote; and if the one could assist no otherwise than in name, the other divided in their ends and counsels, would have been able to protect him rather with words than Arms. The friendship of Spain carried jealousy with it; if offended, it made it

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formidable to him. He knew the Pope was accustomed to employ only his good offices: Therefore turning himself to the Venetians, to whom no one thing could happen more grievous than the disturbance of Italy, opens to them in filial confidence the state of things, and his necessities.

The Senate handled it as a consult of great moment. Some, representing to themselves the novelty of War, the charge of Armies, and the cares attending businesses of that weight, inclined rather to be spectators, than take part in them; saying, *What hazard can the Republick apprehend from a War, which is not on its own Borders? But what War was that to be, which frightened only with the discourse and name? the gain of a few places open and unfortified, being but a robbing the right which would be re-taken so soon as it came to the knowledge of the greater Princes: That there would not want Mediators in the management of the business: That the powerful Neighbours would stop the progress of the War; and that the Republick had hitherto placed her safety and glory in Peace, which had enriched and adorned her.* It was resolved notwithstanding by that major power, to maintain the cause the most oppressed, both because Mantua should not be forced to precipitate himself into the protection of a more interested assistance, and that Savoy, finding that Duke assisted, and despairing of further progress, should be inclined to Peace. They sent therefore to reside at Mantua Antonio Maria Vincente, their Secretary, with money to raise and maintain 300 Foot for the Garrison of Casal. They afterwards had a mind to perfwade the Pope into the same counsels; but he excused himself, doubting lest the example of his declaration should draw along with it, that of France and Spain for one side or other; contenting himself only fully to approve what the Senate did, and to lay foundations for a Mediation of Peace, dispatching Innocentio de Massimi, Bishop of Bertinoro, to Turin, to Mantua, and to Milan, to the end, that, in order to it, the Crowns forbearing Arms, might exercise and improve that Authority, which they desired the world should take notice they had in Italy.

Ferdinand hastens to fortifie Casal, and Carlo de Gonzague, Duke of Nevers, puts himself also into it; who casually touching on the Coast of Genoa, sent the Prince Vincenzo, his Brother, thither, who passing through Milan, remonstrates to the Governour; *How much the Authority of the King would be debased, if a neighbour State, not only under his protection, but secured by his own word, should be invaded by a Prince, who aspired to greater matters, and who, if he durst at present in the face of the Spanish Ensigns, reputed with their shadow alone sufficient safeguards to those that depended on them, possess himself of Monferrat, would not be long before he set on foot his known designs upon the Milanese.*

Mendoza was wavering betwixt publick considerations, and his private affections; and Carlos Emanuel, to keep him in perplexities, making, as may be said, a War of Wit with him; now sending his Son the Prince Vittorio, then dispatching Ministers, and then again changing the persons, all with various and vast projects, with pressing instances,

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instances, excuses, and submissions becalmed and confounded him. His most special Offices consisted in Treaties, that he would not interrupt his progress, offering to render all again upon the recompense and satisfaction of his Rights. Sometimes he declared, that in the places taken by him, he would set up *spanish* Colours; but would keep them by his own Garrisons. He gave out, that he would refer all his pretensions to the Arbitrement of the most Catholic King; but his chief bait was, to offer the Conquest of *Casal* to *Spain*, contenting himself with the open Country, if the King would consent to his keeping of *Monferrat*. The Governour was not in a condition to embrace such offers, how specious soever, because, besides the artifices of the Duke, who, before he could well consider one, did still, to confound his mind, propose another of more hard digestion; he knew, that being disarmed, if he should consent to the Dukes Propositions, he left not only *Monferrat* as a prey, but the *Milanese* itself exposed; and that *Carlo*, either to conserve his Conquests, or to advance himself to greater designs, might with the same facility, either by calling in the *French*, or stirring up the *Italians*, have the opportunity to make use of the occasion to drive the *Spaniards* out of that Country. For that cause, shewing himself in appearance severe, he intimates to him an entire restitution of every thing, believing that the Authority of that Monarchy would have been a Weapon of sufficient strength even without force. By the Pomp of the same, he encourages the Princes not to fear disturbances in *Italy*: and in particular, *Alphonso della Queva*, Marquess of *Bedmar*, King *Philips* Ambassador with the *Venetians*, assures them, that without noise or trouble one of the Dukes should be restored, and the other chastised. That for maintaining the Peace of *Italy*, the intentions of the King did concur with theirs. That there was no cause to fear any body, or any thing to be troubled at, whilst the Power of *Philip* was still the same. That his goodness would not admit novelty or disturbance in that Peace, which was so happily enjoyed under the shadow of his Authority.

The Governour with various Arts fenced with the Duke of *Mantua* (who often repeated the instance of succours) perswading him to put himself into *Casal*, to give courage with his presence to those Troops which he prepared for his assistance, and to speak with him as he passed by. Others admonished *Ferdinand* to the contrary, because the Prince his Brother, being in *Monferrat*, it seemed not fit, that both should go and expose themselves, and be put in the power of the *Spanish* Ministers, leaving the Niece in *Mantua* open to any treachery or surprise. Yet to shew his respect to *Iniofa*, which was only that to which he pretended, and to render that Civility, which *Savoy* had practised by so often sending the Prince of *Piedmont* his Son, he was willing to go to *Milan*; whence from the discourse he had with him, he brought away nothing but riddles, and dark sayings, and returned to *Mantua* with a terrible jealousy, that the Governour were already overcome by Interests, or affections of the Enemies Family.

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Iniofa, having in former times born Arms under *Carlo's* Command, and for a reward, having the Marquisate of *St. German* conferred on him, professed himself so straitly obliged to him, that at his coming to *Milan*, before he entered on the Government, he had a desire to speak with him, and carried both Presents and Favours. This confidence thus begun, was even to this present nourished by the Duke, sometimes with publick Offices, and then with means more secret. From whence, though in the Council of State discourses of the business, and the motion of Troops were carried on against him with some kind of sharpness; yet it was well known, that there was a more secret Junctio of three persons only, his Confidants, which governed the mind of the Marquess, and sweetned all. This made the Duke so confident, that, although some Troops, long in raising, were sent to the Confines of *Piedmont*, he nevertheless over-run all *Monferrat*, laid it waste with Sword and Fire, and devoured in his hopes the keeping of the rest. All that therefore being insufferable to him, which contested his pretensions, and opposed his vast designs, or discountenanced his taking up Arms, he could not bear, that the *Venetians* should give assistance to the *Gonzaghi*. Provoked therefore with a vehement spite, he calls *Vincenzo Gussioni*, who resided with him Ambassadour for the Republick, and complaining to him of it, exhorted him to withdraw himself out of his Countries, because, the people having an ill impression of the assistance given against him, he could not assure him of that security in his Court, which the Law of Nations required to his Character. The Senate from thence conceiving, that the presence of their Minister was disliked by the Duke, or suspected, commanded him to depart. But the Duke having resolved to set *Italy* on fire, that he might make his advantage of the ruines and ashes, ambition and wrath blowing him up, seeing now the *spanish* Army to face him, threatned to bring the *French* into its bowels; and when the Pope exhorted him to Peace, he protested to overflow the Country with Hereticks; and if the *Venetians* should succour *Ferdinand*, he boasts that he would incite the *Turks*, and bring Pirates into the *Adriatick* Sea.

The *Spaniards* proposing to themselves to make a War of Authority, and to regulate the Interests of the Princes with their Mediation, or the shew of their power by their Army, were not at all willing that any body else should meddle with it. But the Empeour believing his Authority so much lessened, as that of the *Spaniards* increased, deputed *Francisco di Castilione*, that in his name he might bring things to a Treaty, admonish *Carlo*, and besides intimate to him the Imperial Ban, if laying down Arms, and restoring every thing, he should not contain himself within more moderate bounds. *Mendoza* provoked by the general clamor, saw at last a necessity to arm: And thereupon distributing numerous Patents throughout *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, had in a little while a very gallant Army on foot.

Neither was *Carlo* wanting to himself, but to his warlike Provisions

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But this pleased neither of the Dukes, and least of all the Governour of Milan, who abhorred to admit of Companions to his King, either in the management of the Treaty, or of the War. He nevertheless embraces every proposition, which might gain time and appearance, coolly fomenting that War, which in the beginning he might with resolution alone have suppressed. Hereupon Carlo, letting him know his intention to send the eldest Prince into Spain, to the end that the Son might represent more lively to the King the Fathers reasons, and the Successor in his States might serve for a pledge of the obedience of the whole House, though for all that he publicly denied to suspend the Declarations against the Duke, to which he was solicited; yet he was willing by all means to let time spend. From such proceedings the Venetians well understood, that Treaties would not be sufficient to untie this knot, but that they must quickly have recourse to the Sword. Therefore, according to their resolution, they arm themselves, receiving into pay 5000 stranger Foot, strengthening their Garrison with the Trained-bands, and appointing several Deputies representing the Authority of the State in the chiefest places. They sent Antonio Priuli, Cavalier and Procurator of St. Mark, Provéditeur General for the Land; but they entertained not that thought alone, because from the Sea

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also the destiny of Italy malignantly scattered poysonous seeds of future calamities.

For understanding of which thing, to be spoken of on this occasion, it is needful to take the relation from a higher beginning. It seems, that many States, in opposition perhaps to the natural Ambition accompanying Empires, are exercised with some troublesome Enemy or other, which being rather able to defeat, than overcome, continually provokes and infests. Such to the State of Venice ought to be termed the *Vscocchi*, whom not being able to extirpate by chastisements, nor to bring under by force, though for the most part beaten, and as frequently punished with the Ax or Halter, rose up still more bold and troublesome. Where *Istria* closes also the Confines of Italy, lies the Gulf *Flatanico*, at this day called *Quarnaro*. Thereby the abundance of Islands and Rocks, splitting as it were the Continent into pieces, the Sea in that bosom hath several entrances and Channels, with so great uncertainty of navigation and winds, and with such turnings, that if Nature have reserved it for the sepulchre of shipwracks, Pirates have made choice of it as a nest for their thieveries. Thence even to *Dalmazia* runs a most dangerous ledge of Rocks and flats intermingled; nevertheless with divers places inhabited, as *Fiume*, *Bucchari*, *Segna*, and others belonging to *Hungary*, which were under the Dominion, or much rather under the Government of Ferdinand Archduke of *Austria*, Cousin to the Emperour Matthias. The opposite Islands are subject to the Republick. The *Vscocchi* having there their habitations at land, from thence infested the Sea; a people, if we look to their original, not ignoble, boasting to derive themselves from certain valiant men, who when the *Turks* became Masters of the neighbouring Provinces, impatient of that *Barbarians* yoke, withdrew themselves to live secure and free in the mountains; but it being difficult in the poverty of Fortune, to preserve the original nobleness of their blood, they became degenerate; and being transported from place to place, were at last by the Emperour Ferdinand received into *Segna*, to the end they might defend that Frontier from the *Turks*. The place was little, but by the situation very strong. Many of the poorer sort retiring thither, together with many banished and fugitives out of the Dominion of the *Venetians*, it quickly became a receptacle for debauched people, that turned the Discipline of War into Thieveries, and instead of fighting with the *Turks*, when the Peace was made, continued to provoke him with Depredations and Incursions. The complaints of many, that were spoiled and oppressed by them, cryed loud at the Ottoman Port, whereupon the *Turks* threatned high to come with their own Forces, and an Army by Sea to drive them thence, and destroy them. They pressed the Republick, to whom the Dominion and Custody of the Sea belonged, to curb and punish them, and with a false becoming *Barbarians*, pretended to exact from all Christendom the revenge of the faults of a few insolent Pirates. The *Venetians* nevertheless resent it, sometimes hearing they had passed over and violated their Confines, and at another, that they

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had robbed their Islands, and Territories, at all times disturbing Navigation, and spoiling their Ships. And for this, they complained to the *Austrians*, requiring remedy, and over and above remonstrating to the rest of the Princes, how dear the spoil of these Villains would cost, if the *Ottoman* Port were provoked to Arms. But 'twas no easie matter to have it mended, reasons laid before the *Austrian* still meeting with the opposition of private Interests, which protracting the business, the remedy was always promised, but never performed. The *Venetians* therefore declared, that they would not suffer such an infamous ulcer in that bosom: whereupon they employ their Arms to bridle and punish them, but with little success, because in that Labyrinth of Sand and Sea, greater Ships were of no service, and the lesser were not always able to resist surprises, nor storms. Gallies therefore were of use for the guard of the Channels mouths, and Forts and Castles to shut the passages; Armed Barks gave chase, and as many as they could take, the Hangman dispatched with the most infamous punishments. The predictions were at last verified: For the *Turks*, irritated with so many vexations, broke out into a War in *Hungary* with the *Austrians*, and for many years infested them with great usury of ruines and blood. The employment of the *Vscocchi* elsewhere hindered not, but that towards the *Venetians* they went on from injuries to further offences, forming a cause of War from that which hitherto seemed as it were matter only of exercise: kept in at Sea, they broke forth at Land into *Austria*, and leaving every where in the open Country inhumane marks of cruelty, they attempted also Towns fortified. Repulsed at *Albona*, they made their entry into *Fianona*; where giving all things to the spoil, they set up the Imperial Standard, and would have exacted an oath of fidelity from the Inhabitants; but within a while they left it, fearing to be attacked there.

The *Venetians*, not behind-hand with them, made an Inroad into the *Austrian* Dominion; but they went not forward, as they might have done, out of the consideration of the Interests of Christendom, then ready to sink in *Hungary*. The Emperour very much disturbed with the clamours of these his people, orders the Archduke to remedy them, and he sends to *segna*, *Josepho* Baron of *Rabatta*, who by punishing some, banishing others, and delivering up Fugitives to the *Venetians*, would quickly have pulled up the evil by the roots, if, he being killed by the *Vscocchi*, incapable to suffer any strict Discipline, if, I say, with the return of those that had been banished, and the impunity of so hainous an offence, the evil it self had not been fomented. Whereupon the *Vscocchi* fall again to their depredations, violating in their passage against the *Turks*, the Dominion of the Republick by Sea and by Land; and against the *Venetians* themselves, robbing without any distinction all sorts of shipping. Guards being placed to keep them in; as if besieged, the Emperour sends to *segna* the General of *Croatia*, who, during the six months he remained there, curbed the disorder; but he being gone, and they at liberty, they passed through the Territory of *Sebenico* to plunder

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scardona, a place belonging to the *Turks*, who thought themselves so highly offended, that not being able to satiate themselves in exaggerating the damages, and jealousies that the Subjects of the Republick it self had a hand in them, sending a *Chiaux* to *Venice* to require satisfaction, could hardly with all the reasons they could give be appeased. The *Vscocchi* succeeded not, through the opposition of the Convoy, in the surprise of a Merchant Gally, which, with a rich Capital of Eastern Commodities, was sailing from *Spalato* to *Venice*; but they took near *Rovigno* a Frigate with Letters and money belonging to the Republick. Siege by Sea was then laid more straightly before *Fiume*, *Bucchari*, and *segna*. Whereupon the General of *Croatia* returns into those parts, making restitution of some things taken, and punishing some of the offenders; by which, together with the interposition besides of several Princes, the Senate was induced to cause the Siege to be withdrawn.

But such remedies giving time, rather than cure, to the evil, the *Vscocchi* return to their former mischiefs, and ravaging at Sea, the Siege was again laid; whereupon the Subjects of *Ferdinand*, who suffered much, making grievous complaints against the *Vscocchi* themselves, he sends two Commissaries, but to little purpose; for at the same time some of the banished did not only infest the Sea, but entering *Pola*, by a certain opening in the Wall, plundered several houses, and with the booty retired into *segna*. Some part of it was restored, but afterwards by the Truce, concluded in *Hungary*, the *Austrian* Ministers restraining with great care all attempts of the *Vscocchi* against the *Turks*, they brake forth with more violence on the side of the *Venetians*, plundering several Vessels in the Port of *Veglia*, and robbing at Sea all sorts of shipping. The Pope himself complained of the damage he suffered in the Commerce of *Ancona*; whereupon the Commissioners were sent by the Archduke, which condemned their Barks to be burnt; but the *Vscocchi* delivered them from the flames, in a manner, by force, spoiling some of the Islands, and in *Istria* it self seeking the Territory of *Barbana*. They entered also into the Country of the *Turk*; but returning with a great booty, it was taken from them by certain *Venetian* Gallies, with the death of many, and taking of others, which were immediately hanged at the Sail-yards. But all chastisement served but to irritate them the more; and although Commissioners were frequently sent from the Archduke, yet plainly a connivence of his Ministers appeared, receiving every where the Villains, and keeping the Booty. They took one of their Commanders, being Prisoner with the *Venetians*, the rest had a mind to attempt his rescue by the arrest of some chief Officer; which design failing at *Rovigno*, because the Town had put it self into a posture of safety, plundering only certain Barks in the Port, they lighted afterwards at *Basca* upon *Girolamo Marcello* Governour in the Island of *Veglia*, and carried him Prisoner into a certain Cave or Grotto near *segna*. This extravagancy could be no longer dissembled, and the Republick much moved, complaining of it, the Archduke caused him to be set at li-

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erty, sending to *Venice* the Commander of *Fiume* to offer satisfaction, and reparations. But the Senate, who had observed that an offender was now and then punished, but the fault not amended, would no more give ear to discourses, nor slacken the Siege, which did greatly incommode the *Austrians*, if the *Uscocchi* were not unroofed out of *Segna*, and the Sea-coast thereabouts.

For this cause the Emperour *Matthias*, sending for the Archduke *Ferdinand* to court, to appeale the further exasperation, and accommodate the business, wrought so much, that it was agreed betwixt *Girolamo Soranzo* Cavalier, Ambassadour for the Republick, and the Emperours Vice-Chancellor, that the Archduke should pass his promise to *Matthias*, to hinder the going forth of Ships, and to keep the Sea free from Pirates, to drive the unquiet *Uscocchi* out of *Segna*, and to punish the guilty, forbidding all protection to them, and the *Banditi* of the Republick: And besides this, to change the Governour of *Segna*, and supply the place with a Garrison of the *German* Nation, that might for the future be able to bridle them. Of all this the Emperour gave the *Venetians* his faith, and they on the other side were to raise the Siege, and deliver three of their principal Prisoners.

The Senate, as a gratification to the Emperour himself, embraced these conditions, the Prisoners were released, and the Guards removed. But slippery being the Faith which springs from Interest only, it was not long before they relapsed into the former mischief; because the Garrison put into *Segna*, soon wanting pay, disbanded in a moment; those few driven away were re-admitted, and the shipping being left in their power, they returned to their piracy. It happened, that the *Uscocchi* returning from plundering of *Trebigna*, a *Turkish* Town above *Castel-novo*, with twenty Ships in Triumph; *Felix Dobrovich* a *Venetian* Commander with as many attacks them, taking three, and chasing the rest became master of a great Booty, and a considerable number of Prisoners. But they, not at all thereby discouraged, entering through the Territory of *Sebenico* into the *Ottoman* Dominion, carry away much Cattel, bringing them back in safety the same way they went, not without grievous complaints of the *Turks* against the Republick it self. The Republick report it to the Imperial Court, summoning the Emperour to the observance of the things promised, and that by the means of *Angustin Nani*, and *Francisco Contarini*, Cavalieri, sent Ambassadors extraordinary to congratulate with him his assumption to the Empire. But while the *Venetians* were busied in this their complaint, the boldness of the *Uscocchi* transcends all patience and remedy. They enter with six Barks in the night into *Mandre*, a Port of the Island of *Pago*; where, through the carelessness of the Guards betwixt sleep and the security of their own Port, was the Galley of *Christoforo Veniero*, Vice-Admiral, softly stealing upon her, surprised, killing as well him that slept, as him that offered to resist. *Lucretio Gravioli*, one of the Marquesses of *Pietra Pelosa*, and many others, being made, one by one, to climb out of the Galley into the Ships, were killed with

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barbarous inhumanity. Flinging the dead bodies into the Sea, the Galley was carried away, the Cannon disimbarbed at *segna*, the spoil divided, and the action applauded by that barbarous Crew. Against *Veniero*, preserved for greater torture, they afterward satiate their hatred with all possible scorn. He was butchered at a Feast, suffering with great constancy a death, which with all the rules of Barbarism they studied to make horrid to him, and terrible to all. His reins were no sooner cut, but ripping up his breast, his heart was immediately roasted, and devoured for a dainty; his blood spilled in bowls, or eaten with bread dipped in it; his head placed in the most perspicuous place of the table, proverbiated and scorned. At the advice of such atrocity, the City of *Venice* was horribly inflamed, it was no where related but with interruptions of astonishment, and fears, some raging at the affront, all were ashamed of what had happened.

The Kindred cried loud for revenge, and all the people solicited for resolutions and resentments. But the Senate keeping themselves to more considerate Councils, heard one, who, to provoke them, spoke to this purpose: *How long shall these Robbers abuse our slowness? Surely we have given a notable lesson of prudence and patience. Fathers, you have here before you the dismembered mangled body of Christopher Veniero, here is his head cut off, and scorned, here drops his blood, here the carcases of so many well deserving Subjects are snit for the revenge. The Uscocchi hitherto have spoiled the Turks Country, violated our Borders, over-run our Islands, disordered Istria, disturbed the Sea, and robbed our Ships. We have spread our nets, set up Gibbets, punished the Pirates by our judicial Laws. Their insolence notwithstanding grows greater. Our gentleness is too highly slighted. They at present prey upon the honour and dignity of the Common-wealth; our chief Commanders are made their Prisoners; our Gallies are carried away; our Ports violated; the Sea defiled with the blood of our Citizens; our Subjects are made their slaves, and basely killed. Are the Children of this Country then born to be a laughing-stock to the Uscocchi? or do they preserve blood in their veins to no other purpose but to satiate their cruelty? what is become of the noble spirits of our generous Ancestors? Those venerable Carcasses, that left us the Dominion of the Sea for a legitimate Inheritance, are sensible from their graves of this affront. Those that conquered the Adriatick Sea with their blood, will reproach our sufferance to see it stained with infamy. The offence is done to the Sovereignty, and therefore belongs to us to resent it like Princes. Private men have the right of speaking, complaining, and shewing their duties; Princes are their own Judges, and from them is no appeal but to the most High God alone. Shall we yet stay to rouse up our slaves, till the Uscocchi, who in their pride have under our eyes already run over Dalmatia, Quarnero, and Istria, shall be entred into the never yet violated bowels of these Waters? Now they have tasted Patrician blood, who doubts but they feel a greater itch to cruelty and barbarism? They must be forced by Arms, and we must seek these wild beasts in their very Caves and Dens. Who shall ever take up Arms*

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more justly, or who can exercise them with more Generosity? We have hitherto been at a slow but great charge. The Fleet is numerous, and ready; Albania and Dalmatia will supply us with Souldiers. Nothing is wanting but to dispose our minds to it, and unite our Forces. Being shut up every where, and invaded in several Quarters, they will be constrained at last to receive the punishments due to so many horrible offences. If Ferdinand be innocent of their faults, he will abandon them to Justice; if consenting to them, it will not be fit for us longer to bear it. But let us suppose him interested, and resolved to maintain their defence; we shall still be stronger both at Sea and at Land. Matthias, a just Prince, hath pawned his word and faith to us. But to superfluous and unnecessary cautions, every thing seems to assent. What is the Empire else but a vast Engine composed of so many pieces, that it either gives way, or falls to the ground before it moves united? The Austrians delude us, the Turks threaten us, and, if our Subjects are pleased with this our slackness, strangers do scorn our sufferance of the injuries. This is a Decree fatal to our Country; if this ignominy be not wiped out, it will be necessary to begin to forget the fact, and seek to hide it from posterity.

To a discourse so full of heat, another answers more calmly: Passions themselves have their periods, and being the adulterers, not the spouses, of the mind, it is fit to repudiate and change them. Against the outrages of the Uscocchi, who is there that hath not his mind moved with a just resentment? The surprise of the Gally, the slaughter of the Captains, and the blood of so many besides, hath with great reason stirred our affections. We have sufficiently with tears, as private men, satisfied the ashes of our well deserv'ing Citizen. But here, as the Compendium of the Republick, we are assembled to deliberate as Princes. For Gods sake let maturity more than revenge preside in our Council. Scorn and disdain are a weak Weapon to him that wants prudence, or strength. Who will burn his house to preserve it from the insult of Robbers? They will fall at last, as they have often done? The wickedest, I say, of the Uscocchi will fall under the hand of the Hangman. Let us restrain their courses, let us besiege their Harbours, and that with a generous prudence and constancy, till no one such poisonous root remain unplucked up. Let us yield no more to promises, or Treaties. Let us practise revenge befitting a Prince; and if the Austrians shall not apply more wholesome remedies, let us procure it of our selves with a strong hand, but in its proper season. Shall we then begin to make War before we are thoroughly armed? Or shall we at present divert our care, and applications from the affairs of Italy, to involve our selves with the Uscocchi at Sea? Let us take them in their time. But if at present the Duke of Mantua be over-powered, if injustice triumph, and power prevail, what shall become of us, and the common Interests? It is an easie thing to make War in discourse, and in the Market-place; but at Land, and at Sea how much blood is spilt, how much treasure spent? Where shall we find the Uscocchi to joyn equal Battel with them, whose Victories are wont to be gotten by surprise? Where shall we place a Siege, if their strength consist in running away? We have to do with a Coast without Ports, and with

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Mountains impenetrable. They are protected by their situation, and by Princes; we have no cause as yet to be ashamed; we have an Enemy (if a Crew of Thieves deserve that name) that vexes, provokes, and insults, and yet in an honourable way, like Souldiers, we know not where to find them, and fight with them. In some cases there is nothing to be done, but to over-look and dissemble, and, as we are wont in a whirlwind, to pass through the troublesome dust with our eyes shut. With which Treaties, with Arms, and with time, we shall at last overcome the Uscocchi. But at present they deserve not so much honour, as to be made the celebrated Authors of a War, that will every where be talked of: A War which began with the Uscocchi, will necessarily go on with the Austrians, and possibly end with the Turks. Veniero Martyr of the Country, himself inspires from Heaven more moderate counsels, and prays for Peace, and tranquillity to the Commonwealth.

By the consideration of the Affairs of Italy, the minds of the Senators were prevailed upon; to which bending their chief care, holding a mean betwixt the publick good, and the opinion of the vulgar Common-people, they resolve, that at present Philippo Pasqualigo, General of Dalmatia, should prosecute the Uscocchi, straiten segna by Sea, and increase his strength with 20 armed Barks, a 1000 Albanian Foot, and 500 Croats. To Matthias and Ferdinand they caused vigorous complaints to be made, requiring the chastising of the offenders, the restitution of the Gally, the Cannon, and the Booty; and in Spain they made lively Remonstrances of all that had hapned. And to say truth, the minds of men in both Courts at so bloody a story appeared greatly moved. Nevertheless the Cannon was not rendred, nor the Gally; the first being disposed of into several Forts, and the last running ashore was beat to pieces by the Sea: Only by the Emperour three Commissioners were named, that they might meet with as many of the Republick in Fiume. But the Senate, that understood, delay was the thing aimed at, by such longsom remedies in a business, whereof the World was witness, refused to admit of any Negotiation, till that were performed which was agreed at Vienna. For which the Commissioners having no power, they retired from Fiume, whereupon the Siege continuing, and there happening such accidents as more and more stirred mens minds, they quickly broke off the thoughts of Peace.

The thing most minded now, was Monserrat; where Carlo remaining still in possession of what he had taken, while it was believed, that he would at least have expected the arrival of the Prince in Spain, moves on a sudden, and provoking Fortune, and hastening his disgrace, marches with his Army, leaving it doubtful, whether it would go towards Pontestura, or Nizza de la Paglia. Into the first, as nearest to Casal, were carefully sent 400 Foot, and to procure them greater respect, they bore the Colours of Spain; whereupon the Duke marching on, falls upon the other, the Count of St. George speeding before to invest it. The place being weak, and having scarce any Wall about it, had little other defence but the fidelity and valour of Manfrino Castiglione, a Gentleman of the Milanese, who

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who with some small Garrison commanded it. The *Savoyards* battered it from three places. The Governour on the other side exercised them with frequent Sallies, and making an example of the baseness of some, who inclined to render it, gave time for its relief. *Carlo*, to hinder that which by way of the Sea might come from the great Duke of *Tuscany*, or others, takes *Altare*, a place situate on the Confines of the *Genovesi*. But the Governour of *Milan* being not able to resist the exclamations of those of *Mantua*, and those stinging Satyrs, with which he was jeered, dispatches *Antonio di Leoni*, Prince of *Ascoli*, with 5000 Souldiers to joyn with the Prince *Vincenzo*, who waited for them with 3000 more. Their march was slow, as if *Ascoli* would give time to have it rendred, hearkening to the Imperial Commissioners propositions for a suspension of Arms for 15 days; but refused by those of *Mantua*, the Army at last came near to *Nizza*, which *Manfrino* defended beyond all belief. *Carlo* then having made use of all his art, publick and secret, to hinder *Inoiosa* from sending in succours, seeing him appear within his view, pretending respect to the *Spanish* Colours, retires. A Garrison of the Kings presently enters, and the Governour of *Milan* having gained the point of Authority, neglects the recovery of what remained, which with very much ease he might have done. The Prince of *Ascoli*, withdrawing the Army, goes himself to *Milan*, and those of *Mantua* remained facing the *Savoyards*, not without some Skirmishes, and Factions; whereof that of the greatest moment was, the *Mantuan* vain attempt upon *Canelio*, with the loss of above 100 Souldiers. Hostility going on in this manner, *Ferdinand*, that wanted every day more and more assistance, sends according to custom *Frederick Gonzagna* to *Venice* to return the Complement of his Succession, and to give thanks withal for the succours, which with a considerable sum of money, for provision of Victuals, and Ammunition for *Casal*, had been liberally furnished. Besides which *Cosmo*, grand Duke of *Tuscany*, had resolved to assist him with 2000 Foot, and 300 Horse; but having demanded of the *Genovesi* passage through their Country to send them into *Monferrat*, and afterwards of the Pope to get them at least into *Mantua*, he found it every where shut, as well from the considerations of not declaring themselves, as from the solicitations of the *Spaniards*, who loved not to see the *Italian* Princes assist one another, and so have a waking eye upon their own Interests; and therefore had endeavoured to divert them by several reasons. But *Cosmo* being thereby more inflamed, to manifest himself a free Prince, and abhorring the example, that it should not be lawful to assist his friends, and much more the consequence, that all ought to depend upon one sole Potentate, presseth the Duke of *Modena* for passage; who yet at the instance of *Inoiosa* denies it; and Count *Kalthasar Bix* coming from *Milan* into *Tuscany* attempts to dissuade *Cosmo* from asking of it any further.

But the Grand Duke, sending the men appointed for the succours under the Command of the Prince *Francisco*, his Brother, and joyn-

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ing to them 10000 of his Country Militia, with six Cannons, to the Confines of the *Modense*, where finding the passage of the Mountains shut, and barricadoed, and no friendly instances for passage, receiving from the Duke *Casars* Souldiers no other answer but Volleys of shot, the *Florentines* resolutely gave the assault, and forcing the defenders to give way, whether by force, or secret connivance of Duke *Cesar* himself, gain the passage, taking their Quarters upon the *Mantuan* Territory; but thereby, and for the security of Victuals becoming burdenson, *Ferdinand* sends them back upon the first hopes of Peace. He hearkens upon this occasion to a certain project of Marriage with a Princess of the House of *Medici*, it being evident from what had happened, how advantageous it would be for the Princes of *Italy* to unite themselves in the strictest bonds of correspondence and affection for the lessening that Authority, which Strangers arrogated to themselves; for which purpose the great Duke also, though with wariness, set on foot Propositions for Unions and Leagues; but all fell to the ground without effect, because as to the Marriage, the Duke did not find himself so free from the dependence of *Spain*, as to be able as yet to resolve it; neither would he quite break off the renewed Propositions of a new Alliance, which was suggested to him with the House of *Savoy*; and for those other Alliances, few of the Princes durst hear the discourse of them, much less owne them; and the *Venetians* themselves in that Conjunction judged them rather advantageous and desirable than possible or seasonable. The sense and judgment of Strangers upon the present Interests arrived now in *Italy*.

Mary, Queen Regent of *France*, having her self been much moved at the dangerous and disadvantageous condition of the House of *Gonzagba*, declares to uphold it with Treaties and Arms. Nevertheless some of her chief Ministers inclining to *Savoy*, and others not well affected to the *Gonzagba*, brought it again into deliberation: That it would not be wisely done of them in the time of a Minor King, by arming the Kingdom to put themselves to the necessity of trusting Armies to the Command of the great Ones. That upon the Confines of *Savoy* no other could be employed but *Desdiguieres*, Governour of Dauphin, who by authority and credit, being reputed the Head of the Hugonots, would give so much more vigour to that Party, by how much the increase of reputation and power should be given to him. They added, That it was impossible that both the Crowns should amicably agree in one and the same affair of *Italy*; whereupon going about to restrain the proceedings of *Savoy*, they might possibly meet with the power of *Spain* against them, and by one accident or other discompose the accomplishment of those reciprocal Marriages, which had been so lately concluded. This was enough to perswade the Queen to imploy her authority rather than force; because, besides giving her self to pleasures, and a peaceable Government rather than troubles, she had in the Marriage of the King, her Son, with the *Infanta*, and of her Daughter *Elizabeth* with *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, placed the strength of her authority; notwithstanding that upon the publishing of that Treaty all Princes,

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in amity with her, grew jealous, and the Genius it self of the French Nation disliked it. In favour therefore of her Kinsman *Ferdinand*, she employs nothing but good offices and intreaties in the Court of *Spain*, by which she seemed rather wholly to refer the affairs of *Italy* to that Kings arbitrement, than any way assist the Duke.

True it was, that in *Madrid* the Ministers, conformable to the pondering Genius of that Nation, had made long and wise reflections upon the whole emergency, and at last, not so much for the satisfaction of *France*, and the instances of the Princes of *Italy*, as for that ancient aversion of the Favourite to *Carlo*, the Secretary *Vargas* was dispatched to *Milan* with a short Order, but substantial, that *Carlo* should restore all; and not doing it presently, be constrained by Arms. *Vittorio*, who was landed in *Catolagna*, received a Command not to go forward till it should first be known, whether his Father yielded obedience or no. Such was published to be the Commission of *Vargas*, and taken for a good providence to *Italy*, and magnified for the justice and uprightness of the Kings intentions. Yet some from the carriage of the Spanish Ministers, and from things subsequent, took upon them to judge, that there were more secret orders to make advantage of the conjuncture of affairs; but Princes alone having knowledge of the truth of such secrets, the people can but guess at the counsels, and believe according to the events.

Carlo, to divert the effect of so severe a Commission, endeavoured to amuse the Governour, offering (provided he might keep what he had gotten himself) his State and Forces to run the Kings Fortune against whomsoever. In conclusion he offered to restore every thing, one place excepted to be kept as the pawn of his Rights, till the case should be decided; but *Inosofa* sends to him *Francisco Padiglio* General of the Artillery, a man formal, and nice in the points of Honour, who in few words, and with a severe superciliousness intimates to him an entire restitution, delivering Letters from the King directed to the Duke himself, by which in very concise terms he orders him to perform all that the Governour of *Milan* should prescribe him. *Carlo* in the height of his spirit raged, being touched in the very heart of his dignity; but forsaken of all, he could do no other but yield to the more powerful. Without giving a precise answer to *Padiglio*, he sends Count *Louis Crivelli* with Propositions to the Governour which carried the appearance to protract time. They therefore being rejected, it was intimated to him anew, that he should restore all, or the Prince of *Ascoli* with the Army should march to the Walls of *Trin*, and, in case of resistance, the Governour would transport himself thither, resolving to hang every one who should dare to help to defend it. *Carlo* offers then to resign; but about the reception there arose a Pundiglio betwixt the Prince *di Castiglione*, and the Governour, each insisting that the sole name of his Master might be used; but the one having nothing but authority, and the other the power, it was agreed, that both should concur. *Trin* in consequence was delivered to *Castiglione*; and *Alba* to *Ascoli*, and *Mancalvo* to *John Bravo*, a Spanish Colonel, and

and were all presently put into the hands of such as *Ferdinand* had deputed. The Garrisons also in *Ponteflura* and *Nizza* were withdrawn, all with great applause to the Court of *Spain*, if further actions, and the period of the calamity of *Italy* might have stopped here. Concerning this restitution, there had been drawn an hasty Writing betwixt the Prince and the Marquess *Crivelli*, assisted therein for *Savoy*, and *Annibal Chieppio* for *Mantua*, in which mention was only made of the Confignation, and not a word spoken of their reciprocal pretensions, nor of the reparation of damages, which *Mantua* required, or an Act of pardon for those of *Monferrat*, which *Carlo* desired. Moreover, besides having spoiled the Magazins of Arms, Cannon, and Victuals at his going out of *Trin*, the Count *de Verna* protested, that *Carlo* would sharply revenge whatsoever molestation should be offered to *St. George*; because he knew well, that *Ferdinand* had an implacable hatred to him; who afterwards proscribing him with others, as Rebels, caused his house to be razed to the ground. Such roots not plucked up in time quickly begot jealousies, and soon after hostility with new disasters: nor indeed were all men in *Italy* pleased with such a Peace; because it appeared, that the Governour hastening the performance of the resolutions to put himself out of engagement, and to preserve the appearance, had not sincerely separated himself from confidence with *Carlo*; but as if they two had colluded together for some secret and unknown designs, the Duke, at the time the places were rendered, re-inforced his Troops, and the Governour armed.

Ferdinand standing exposed betwixt the artifices of the one, and the power of the other, was in great fear; and thereupon the *Venetians* continued to him the payment of the 3000 Foot, and strengthening themselves with 2000 others, they solicited passage and Levies in *Switzerland*; *Gregory Barberigo*, who was going Ambassador to the King of *England*, staying some time at *Zurich* for that purpose. The first disturbance to the quiet was the reparation of damages, and the oblivion to Rebels: For *Ferdinand* would not give way to the one, and chose to keep the other on foot to oppose it to some of *Carlo's* pretensions. *Carlo* on the other side publishes in discourse and in print, that the Governour had promised him to restore the banished into the possession of favour, and their Estates, abolishing all mention of damages, provided he consented to have the Infant Princess brought to *Milan*. In effect, the Governour pours forth threatnings, and protests against *Ferdinand*, if he should not acquiesce in his will, and that with such vehemency, that thence forward all the Princes, being aware, that under the pretext of a long Peace servitude was slipped in, were offended at the terms of obedience, and command, in which he declared himself. *Monferrat* was the chief sufferer both from the frequent Incursions of *Carlo*, and the Quarters, which the Spaniards, under the title of protection, kept there; whence it was universally believed, that the Governour of *Milan* had brought things to that pass, that without Peace, and without War he thought it the most probable way to get it for that Crown.

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Other Princes made it their business to allay the disgusts; and *Castiglione* particularly in the name of the Emperour, admonishes the Marquess to use more complacency towards the Princes: whereupon from threatnings turning himself to intreaties and friendly offices, the effect was, that *Ferdinand*, induced thereto by the Councils of the Republick, offers to refer all his rights to the Pope, the Emperour, and the King. But *Inoiosa* not approving to admit Companions to his King, neither in the preheminance, nor in the business, in place of an answer, which was expected, sends to *Mantua Anthony Piemontelli*, Governour of the light Horse, to demand afresh the Princess. The Order came from *Spain*, and the Governour; who had suggested it, executed it with such urgency, that it looked, as if he had a mind to take her away by force.

Piemontelli represents seriously to *Ferdinand*; That the King himself took due care for the education of the Niece; That she belonged to him, not only by blood, but by authority and interest; and being advantaged by his alliance, and affection, she might be brought up in Milan as in her own house; That the King was so far from trusting her unto Savoy, that he had imposed upon him the respect due to the interests of Mantua; The pledge of the quiet of Italy being placed in the Child, it was in every respect fit she should be deposited into the hands of the King, who even to jealousy professed himself her security and Guardian. Of what was *Ferdinand* afraid? if his Countries were so happily recovered under the Royal protection? Can he possibly distrust, that she, who is near to them both, may not be in safety, and with a decorum under it? Can he possibly fear, that by such means the Child should be ravished from him, by him who restores him to his State, repairs his damages, and protects the Family? That he was to remember, that the resentments and power of great Princes are not to be sweetened and appeased but by obedience. The Duke was vexed at such discourses, knowing *Piemontellis* persuasions accompanied with authority and power, and his own replies assisted only with reason, and intreaties: yet he defended his negatives with alledging the respect, which he professed to the Emperour, and Queen Regent of France, who had seriously pressed upon him not to alienate the Niece; and to justify himself, required time to send some Minister of his to *Madrid*. But *Piemontelli* being not at all satisfied therewith, refuses to depart without the Princess, when she falling sick, and he being brought to see, that she was not in a condition to be hazarded in a journey, it served for a just excuse for his departure.

The Duke with all speed sends into *Spain* *Scipione Pasquali* Referendarie, and another Minister into France to represent his excuses to the one, and sollicite the assistance and good offices of the other Court. The Governor, at the same time he sent *Piemontelli* to *Mantua*, not to shew partiality, had dispatched *Sancho Luna*, Castellan of Milan, to *Turin*, to signify to the Duke he must disarm. *Carlo* foreseeing, that his disagreeing with *Ferdinand* tended to make them both fall under the Dominion of *Spain*, not being willing flatly to deny it, carries himself with several pretexts, and in particular, that hearing there

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there was a *Rendez-vous* of some French upon his Borders, it belonged to him to be upon his guard; and therefore desired, that he might be permitted to levy some foreign Forces, and for a greater pledge of his fidelity to the King, and disposition to peace, he desires some Spanish Regiments to quarter in *Piedmont*, to the end he might be in readiness to march whithersoever need should require. The Spanish Ministers observed well, that his aims were either to draw in, and at the same time set on the French, or betwixt ill Quarters and bad accommodation to consume the flower of the Forces of Milan. Rejecting therefore the Proposition, they pressed him to disarm, and the Secretary *Vargas* going into *Spain* passed by *Turin*, to know *Carlo* his positive intentions. He in the presence of *Vargas* caused a shew to be made of disbanding some Troops, but it was rather a reforming, because sending home the Militia of the Country, which might easily come together again, he kept on foot the Strangers. Neither did the Governour proceed in forms disproportionate; whereupon not being able to penetrate into the present Councils, nor make a judgment of future accidents, the minds of the Princes remained perplexed amidst the several Interests, and in no less suspicions.

The Venetians making these Interests their business, remonstrated to the Catholick King the glory of moderation, and the securing of the Peace. They put France in mind, that the Interest and Honour of the Nation would suffer prejudice, if they should wholly abandon the arbitrement of the affairs of Italy to others. They demanded from the Pope the care of his Pastoral Office; and of *Matthias* the Authority of the Imperial name, to confirm quiet. But the Spaniards in place of facilitating peace, and doing offices to the Princes for it, imposed such conditions, as appeared to all no less displeasing than a War, because they at *Madrid* finally expressed the Kings intentions to be; That the points of the Rebels, and damages, should be referred to the Pope, the Emperour, and himself: That the Princess should be brought to Milan; the Mother marry with *Ferdinand*, and both the Dukes disarm; the Forces of the King being sufficient to execute whatever should be needful for relieving the oppressed, and suppressing the refractory.

Carlo stormed, and *Ferdinand* resents highly, that at one and the same time his Niece should be violently taken out of his house from him, and his own will forced to the Marriage. Nevertheless not seeming to dissent, he interposes for excuse, that it was fit, that together with the Marriage, all diffidences should be reconciled, and the Rights of the States adjusted. In this uncertain state of affairs ends the year 1613; in which, for what concerns the Venetians at Sea (besides what we have related of the *Visocchi*) four Gallies of Barbary meeting at *Saseno* to rob, were by *Girolamo Cornaro*, Provveditor of the Fleet, chastised with the taking of one, and putting the rest to flight: two Christian Ships with many Slaves being by this means rescued out of the Pirates hands. This served rather for an example than was of much consequence. There appeared a greater

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greater danger arising from the attempt of *Ottavio d'Arragona*, who with eight Gallies of *Sicily*, passing beyond the Island of *Scio*, had surprised twelve *Turkish* Gallies, and taken seven with a very rich booty, and a great number of Slaves. The *Ottoman* Port, taking the outrage to be as great as the loss, published their threatnings to revenge themselves without distinction upon all Christians, and in the Spring to put a powerful Fleet to Sea.

The *Venetians*, as nearest and most exposed, made ready some armed Ships, and ordered the number of Gallies in *Candia* to be increased. *James* King of *England*, upon this rumour of preparations, and threatnings, though in such Interests he may with reason be said to be separate from the World, offers the Republick, in magnificent terms, his Forces, when they should be invaded by the *Turks*. The Republick publishing the offer, that it might serve for a terrour to the *Turks*, and an example to the Christians, answered both with thanks and applause.

Carlo, Duke of *Nivers*, about this time had conceived grievous thoughts against the *Turks*, and much greater than those, which the condition of a private Prince could bear, and under the name of a Christian Militia had engaged in several Provinces where he had been for that purpose, several men to follow him. In the parts of *France* he had some few Vessels ready, and carried on an Intelligence in *Morea*. Being now at liberty from that business, which had so long kept him in *Monferrat*, he went to *Rome* to communicate his designs to the Pope, demand a Squadron of his Gallies, and the authority of his endeavours to move the Princes of Christendom to set upon that vast Empire, not with Leagues, which were long and doubtful in treating, but every one with the Arms, which lay proper for him. The Pope encourages the *Venetians*, as the most powerful at Sea, in great earnest; but they measuring the business according to piety and prudence, offered considerations to the Pope, of how much mischief might happen from provoking so powerful an Enemy, without hope of bringing him under: Nevertheless offered, having above all others just provocations of interest and revenge, to concur with all their power, when the other Princes of Christendom should resolve upon it indeed, and lay aside those jealousies, which unseasonably distracted *Italy* at present. The Popes zeal being applauded in other Courts, all offering, and no body performing, the project fell quickly into silence.

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With the new year the affairs of *Italy* were much changed; for the two Crowns, having reposd in the Marriages concluded the secret of their union and power for the oppression of others, under the pretext of removing the War out of that Country, introduced servitude there. The Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* made their complaint upon like terms; the one, that his Army and his Daughter were violently taken from him; and the other, that his will, and his

his Niece were disposed of without his consent. *Carlo* aggravated with greater vehemence, telling the publick Ministers of Princes, which resided with him; *What signifies the requiring of my laying down Arms else, but to exact from Italy a Tribute of the basest slavery? I respecting the greatness and the authority of the King, my Kinsman, have yielded up at his beck my Conquests, and my hopes, and now am puid with ingratitude, and scorn. My rights are buried, Marriages are imposed upon me, I am commanded to disarm. Can slavery have any thing in it more base, and miserable? Shall I then give up for Hostages the Guard of my security, and shall my Countries Subjects, my Family, and my own Person remain disarmed, and exposed to the ambition of another? What testimonies of most partial affections have not I given to Spain? One of my Sons, though in great Command, is notwithstanding, if I may say so, a Prisoner, and a slave amidst the Spanish Guards. The other, who is the Heir to my Estates, I have delivered into the Kings hand for a pledge of Fidelity. All this is not sufficient, but now it is imposed upon me to disarm. Who shall secure my Fortresses from a potent Neighbour? Can the Spaniards possibly think to satisfy the jealousies of my mind, by the same way they make it lawful to dispose of my Daughter? The Governour of Milan disarms not, though protected by the name, and defended with the shadow of so great a Monarchy; and shall Piedmont be left destitute of all help? It belongs to the weaker, to beware of the more powerful; and in the defence of a mans self, and the protections of Subjects, the Laws, and obligation of Principality make all equal, why should Fortune alone predominate? If Spain can gain this point with me, we Princes of Italy shall from hence forward lye at his feet, either fearing punishment, or asking pardon, without other glory, than to be at the pleasure of his Ministers, either subdued by Arms, or deluded in Treaties. An unvary Peace hath brought us to this pass, and a more base obedience will degrade us from all Authority and Command. Such were the complaints of *Carlo*, who, though the Governour threatened, *France* suspected, his Country lay open, and his two Sons were in the power of the Spaniards, courageously professed to dye armed, no less than to live like a Prince. Many had a fellow-feeling with him, insinuated also by their own fear and interest in the first offence, taken at him for his unseasonable taking up of Arms.*

The Queen Regent of *France*, to make appear a shadow of her Authority, dispatches at last the Marquess de *Covure* Ambassador to the Princes of *Italy*; but *Carlo*, knowing that he brought nothing but offices, and pressing instances, that the Marriage might be accomplished, and Arms laid down, when the Marquess was arrived in *Piedmont*, went to *Nizza*, taking his pretext from some commotions by reason of grievances, which were risen amongst those people; whereupon the other staying some days, and having discovered what the matter was, seeing himself laugh at before he was received, passed hastily to *Milan*.

The Spanish Ministers, notwithstanding the apparent Confidences betwixt these Crowns, could not endure to have in *Italy* a Frenchman

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man for Companion or Opposite, labouring by all possible means, that not only the authority, but the name of that Monarchy should not be revived again in that Country; insomuch that the Governour declares to him; in excuse that he did not admit him, and withal not to disgust him, that, the Duke of *Mantua* having, by sending a Minister into *Spain*, transferred to *Madrid* the seat of the Treaty for those affairs, they were to be managed there, and not elsewhere. The Ambassadour then going to *Ferdinand*, to shew himself not wholly useles, besides general offices, and consolations, exhorts him, bating the deliver of the Niece, to consent to the Marriage, and the rest of the points. With this also the Councils of *Castiglione*, and the Resident of the *Venetians* agreed; because it being discovered, that *Italy* could promise little of it self, and that Strangers did conspire to her prejudice and destruction, it seemed best, that the impending storm should in some measure be diverted; and therefore they solicited the Duke for his consent, to the end that for matters of no great concernment, the fault of having disturbed *Italy* might not be laid on his shoulders; always excepting the Niece, who was thought a price worthy of the danger of a breach, and War. That which was the desire and prayer of all, came doubly confirmed from *Spain*, as a precise command, and particularly that the Marriage should be consummated, with the agreements made with the Duke *Francis* excepting the line, and cession of Rights; for their minds being by this new band united, the King would have seasonably provided for that, which his authority and the general quiet required. *Ferdinand*, out of a firm belief that *Carlo* would oppose it, feigns to shew compliance with *Spain*, to yield to their will; only solicited, that the marriage might be accomplished, under the the word of the King, Emperour, and *France*, that he should no more be disturbed by the *Savoyards* with Armies, and that the Niece might not be taken out of the Family; and for the rest, in consequence of the marriage he assented to the pardon of the Rebels, and not to keep on foot the pretension of damages, but to make use of them against some pretensions of the *Savoyards*; all which he declared to reprove for the publick good, and not to restrain the Kings will: But the Prince *Vittorio* returned from *Spain*, who, after the news of the restitution of the places possessed in *Monferrat*, being admitted to the Court, was from the pride of the Grandees, and the jealousy and aversion of the Favourite, though the Kings Nephew, received with coldness and scorn, related to his Father the absolute will of their Councils; That he was to obey or submit, otherwise they threatened to punish and chastise him, in design to bring down that natural height of his spirit, which made him suspicious to the *Spaniards*. That the Duke of *Jerma* spoke of his interests with hatred and disdain, vaunting that if heretofore he had diverted a Marriage betwixt the King and one *Carlo's* Daughter, he did now also know how to assist and mortifie him. Such thoughts as these served the Duke fitly as so many provocations to shake off the yoke; and therefore inveighing against the pretensions of the Court of *Spain*, he refuses to consent

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sent to the marriage of *Margaret* with *Ferdinand*, if the things in dispute were not first agreed, and that his pretensions might find such advantage, as he fancied to himself was due: But foreseeing, that the *Spaniards* would quickly follow their commands with force, he arms the best he could; invites some *French* of quality to his Service, raises men in the Vallies, and in *Bern*, implores the favour of all far and near, and in particular where he knew, that for interest or emulation the power of the *Spaniards* was suspected, he used all his Art to insinuate himself. With a considerable pension he obliges the Count *John* of *Nassau* to serve him, and begets a particular confidence with *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*.

The Governour of *Milan*, that saw himself against his will ingaged in a War of Reputation and Puntillio, neglects not any means to increase his Forces. *Italy* thus filled with Armies, the Princes grew more and more jealous, and disordered. *Monferrat* almost no less possessed, than oppressed by the *Spaniards* Quarters there, gave *Inoisia* occasion to insinuate under-hand to *Ferdinand*, that that Country languishing betwixt Jealousies and Armies, it would be more advantageous for him to exchange it for another less contentious and exposed. But the Duke alledged for excuse the discomposure of the present affairs, and the consideration he had of *Italy*, which being accustomed in the greatest calm to fluctuate amidst jealousies, would in this Conjunction be tossed up and down with more violent discontents. The *Spaniards*, to say truth, had alone the power in their hands: For the Queen Regent had recalled almost as soon as he appeared, the Marquess de *Coware* into *France*, contenting her self for that time to have laid a stone of Foundation for her Authority, to build upon when a better Conjunction should make way for it; there discovering it self just at that instant in that Kingdom one of the wonted storms of that Climate. For many of the great Ones having united themselves under the Conduct and Command of *Conde*, first Prince of the Blood Royal, pretended with a plausible pretext to hinder the Marriages with *Spain*, as if the Maxims and Interests of that Crown would thereby be introduced into the Government of *France*. The more secret motive nevertheless arose from the Interest of some, who proposed to make their profit in that Crisis, which the King, being near going out of his Minority, gave hopes to afford private advantages, and the hatred and envy of all concurred against *Concino Concini*, called the Marechal d'*Ancre*, who, brought by the Regent out of *Italy*, was from mean Parentage, by her great favour advanced to the chief-est place of Government.

Carlo, who from *France* expected jealousies rather than succours, was not ill pleased to see that disturbance, and the mind of the Regent distracted. He entertains therefore a Confidence with the discontented, and they, sending the Seigneur d'*Urfe* to *Thurin*, insinuate with several Propositions, that setting aside the Arbitrage of the Crowns, the differences betwixt the two Houses of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, might be referred to the Duke of *Nevers*, their common Parent.

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But that business, however neglected by *France*, was not so easily to be taken out of the hands of *Spain*, which held it fast by so many bonds of Authority and Power. The stir now in *France* quickly vanished, and a Conference held at *soissons* quieted all, with the promise in appearance of the Regent, to defer the consummation of the Marriages till the States of the Kingdom were called. And for this the united Princes conceived great merit to themselves, participating by the means of the said Seigneur d'Orfu, the agreement to the *Venetians*, and inviting them to cooperate, that the accomplishment, which would be troublesome to the Nation, and formidable to all, might be wholly disappointed. The more secret conditions notwithstanding consisted in private advantages; for to *Conde* was given the Castle of *Amboise*, to *Nevers* St. Menchond, and to all in general great recompences; fruits accustomed in *France* to be reaped from that, which elsewhere was punished by the Hangman. In *Milan* the suspicion of the Mediation of *France* disappearing, and the Treaty re-assumed, the *Savoyards* and *Mantuan* joyned issue for a meeting in the presence of the Governour to mediate the Peace of *Italy*. *Castiglione* wearied himself with many Expedients, and because *Carlo* as the recompence of his rights proposed, that some part of *Monferrat*, and namely the *Canavese* might be yielded to him, he insinuates the Marriage of *Margaret* with *Ferdinand*, and of his Sister *Eleonora* with the Prince *Vittorio*, giving to the *Savoyards* certain Lands near unto *Turin*, of about the value of 5000 Crowns yearly Revenue. But all was turned topsie-turvy by the Governours insisting, that *Carlo* should disarm, intimating that without more ado he should perform it within six days. On the other side *Carlo* undauntedly denies it, and knowing himself in the necessity to provide himself of Friends, fixed his eye upon the *Venetians*, whose Correspondence always heretofore having been improved by him with all sorts of offices, had had effects considerable, and honourable for *Italy*; but at present had been interrupted by his transport of anger for the assistances of the Republick to *Ferdinand*, for which the Ambassadour *Gussoni* was discharged; and although by means of *Hippolito* Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, he had endeavoured to renew it again, nevertheless in the Senate, which always maintains the point of its dignity, he had found a deaf ear to whatever he had proposed.

But now pricked forward by the urgency of more resolute reflections, he sends to *Venice* *Giovani Jacomo Piscina*, a Senator of much wit, and voluble eloquence, who was received by *Dudley Carleton* Ambassadour of *England*. That King shewed himself beyond measure partial for the Duke, by improving with such a friendship that rest of authority, which he had a mind to assume in the Affairs of *Italy*; and therefore the Ambassadour laboured exceedingly, that he might be introduced, remonstrating to the Senate, that to the testimonies of ancient respect, the Duke added at present one more apparent, than possibly could be desired, by sending an Ambassadour express, who should soon be followed with a Leiger, to cast himself into the arms of the Republick, and to open his heart to them, hear

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hear their judgment, and embrace their counsels. He interposed the intreaties of the King, and passing to more serious apprehensions of the present Conjunction, he considered that the affections of Princes, except in things belonging to Religion and Justice, did adjust themselves according to Interest and Time: the Punctilioes and Formalities rather befitting private men, ought not to divert Princes from the substance of more weighty affairs. He moved them to reflect, that if the *Italians* disunited, all would sink under the burden; but joyned together, would with impunity despise Foreign powers. He pressed upon the Conjunction and necessity of the times; whereupon at last, after some difficulty, *Piscina* was admitted into the Colledge, to open to them all that had passed between the Duke and the *Spaniards*. He insisted much upon the violences, which they presumed to offer him; deplored the condition of the *Italian* Princes; added the consequences of the example no less than the motives of the common Interest; despaired, through the pride of the Governour of *Milan*, *Castiglione* being weary of proposing Expedients, and *Ferdinand* having called back his Deputies to *Mantua*, of a good end of any Treaty. He therefore stirs up the Senate to reflections and remedies, how to uphold the Dignity of *Italy*, which if it revered that Assembly as the Tutelar Deity of its Liberty, *Carlo*, as eldest Son of the Republick, desired to have it for his Director and Father.

The *Venetians* consoled the Duke, and assured him of their affection, and good offices, and exhorting him to an agreement with *Ferdinand* and to Peace, that neither of them should omit anything to render that respect to *Spain*, which in the disproportion of their Forces might be compatible with the Dignity of a Free Prince: They at the same time earnestly pursue in all the Courts their sense and desire of Peace, moving some to be Mediators, intreating others to facilitate the rejoyning of the Treaties; in *Spain* particularly, and in *Milan* not missing to represent the dangers of the War, and the calamities. But *Inoiosa* shews himself rather provoked than satisfied with *Piscina's* journey to *Venice*; whereupon the Republick grounding their own jealousies upon those of his, the aspect of affairs continued to look more and more troubled: And he in consequence to arm her self, substituting *Antonio Lando*, Procurator di *St. Marco*, into the Generalat to *Priuli*, committed the Levy of 2000 Foot to the Prince *Lewis d'Este*, newly entred into their Service. Of the *Switzers* she procured, as hath been said, passage and Levies; but neither being to be obtained without a League, the Ambassadour *Barbarigo* applies himself to the management of it, remaining some time for that purpose among the *Grisons*, a people no less gross by nature, as they are rough by situation; but with them he found no disposition to renew that, which being formerly stipulated with the Republick was lately expired; because, besides the venality of their friendship and interests, opposition was made by *Pascal*, the *French* Minister, who by rendering the passage of *Rhetia* common to others, thought it would be a derogation to the pretended Authority

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thority of that Crown. Whereupon he goes back to *Zurich*, where, and at *Bern*, being the seats of the best Government, and greatest Power of *Helvetia*, it was no hard matter to adjust an Alliance. And in the Diet, called at *Baden* for that purpose, the project of the two Cantons was approved, notwithstanding the violent opposition made by the Governour of *Milan*, who could not suffer, that a way should be opened for the Princes of *Italy* to arm themselves; which if it served not wholly to discompose, might yet for the present prolong the Treaty.

In the intricacy of so many affairs, the thorn of the *Uscocchi* still pricking, *Uscim*, *Chiam* of the *Ottoman* Port arrives at *Venice*, with a bundle of complaints for the damages done by those Piqueroons, but he was sent away with the impression, that the Republick it self were no less sufferers by them: which continued the Siege for the restraint of their courses, and the revenge of injuries. Nevertheless frequent disturbances and assaults were heard of 400 of them, who roading along the shore, and chafing away the Guards came to *St. Michael*, a Rock opposite to *Zara*, where landing, and some being left as a guard to favour the retreat, the others passed through the Territory of the *Venetians* to plunder *Islan*, a Town of the *Turks*, returning with many Slaves and a rich booty, without withdrawing the Guard from the Rock, till they saw the *Venetians* in motion to drive them away by force. *Felice Dobrovich*, Governour of the *Albanese*, took one of their Barges, which was condemned to be burnt, and the men to be hanged. After this, *Pasqualigo* came to be General of *Dalmatia*, and *Lorenzo Veniero* of *Albania*, and still more and more straitened *Segna*, doubling the Guards, and having an eye every where; so that the *Uscocchi*, having the Sea shut up, had no choice but to turn themselves to free-booting at Land. As well the Subjects of the *Venetians*, as the *Austrian* Inhabitants in *Isfria* upon the declivity of *Monte Maggiore*, have a custom upon the change of the seasons for their flock to change their pasture. At the very time of the heat of Summer, those of the *Venetian* Subjects were, in the Territory of the Archduke, secured by the publick faith of the Lieutenant Governour of *Pisino*, that by none whomsoever, and especially the *Uscocchi* they should be molested. But 200 of them ransacking the Country, took away a considerable number, without the least respect to those of the *Austrians*, to whom nevertheless restitution was quickly made to the so much greater affrontment and indignation of the *Venetians*, as by how much oftner they had required theirs in vain. *Veniero* thought it not possible longer to dissemble the loss, and the affront; whereupon landing his men, he orders the Reprisal of a good number of Cattel upon the Lands of *Ferdinand*. The *Uscocchi* on the other side, besides the late Incurtion into *Isfria* pillaged upon the Island of *Offero* the two Villages of *Lussino*, *Mandre* in that of *Pago*, and the Rock of *Provecchio*.

The *Venetians* land again upon *Ferdinand's* Country, but found it defended by a Militia in pay: whereupon engagements going on, and War

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War with flying Colours declaring it self openly, some Troops of Horse were sent out of *Dalmatia* to *Pola*, and the Senate made choice of *Marco Loredano* for Superintendent in *Isfria*. The Emperour dispatches the Count of *Echemberg*, General of *Croatia*, to *Segna*, to hinder the progress of imbertiments and offences. But the wound, which required fire and sword, was either fomented by lenitives, or became corrupted through the delay of remedies. *Echemberg* by means of the Count de *Cesarea* gets knowledge from *Veniero*, what it was the Republick required, and having for answer, that they pretended the punishment of the guilty, the restoring of what had been taken, and above all, the performance of the agreement of *Vienna*, he insists to have the Siege raised. But the *Venetians* through past experiences denying it, he having only chastised some guilty of other facts, but left those, that took the Gally, unpunished, and appropriating to himself the last booty brought from the Islands, departs out of those Quarters. These Pirates, seeing that the bait of their Robberies was still pleasing to the taste of the great Ones, took greater confidence, and some few of them, who feigning fear were retired far off, being returned to *Segna*, were well received, as before. The *Venetians* then foreseeing that it belonged to them to apply the remedy, and that it ought to be such as might at the same time spur on the *Austrians* to Peace, *Antonio Ciurano*, their Captain of the Gulf, disbar's Souldiers betwixt *Laurana* and *Vesofca*, and ravaging the Country, burns some Towns, and brings away a great booty of Cattel. So that the Thunder of War did not yet cease from afflicting, but continued burning in several parts, and particularly in *Piedmont*, where the Interests of the two Houses were no more disputed, but the Authority of *Spain*, and the liberty of *Savoy*. The Governour, as hath been said, positively requires *Carlo* to disarm, and will besides have him promise in writing, not to molest the Country of *Ferdinand*; and for the disbanding of his own Army declares, that the King his Master was to receive no conditions but from his own moderation; nor went further than the offer of his own word to the Pope, and the Emperour, not to offend *Piedmont*. But the Duke in the one considered the decay of the Age, and in the other the frailty of that Authority; and therefore, for his indemnity, desired also a promise from the *Venetians*, and above all, that the Governour would take away the jealousy, which so great an Army gave, and that the disbanding might be alternative; in which, in token of his reverence, he offered to begin first on his part.

But *Inoiosa* refuses every thing that might have but the resemblance of Capitulation, much less the shew of parity; and although by his own inclination he was far from breaking, yet he could not avoid, by strict reiterated Commissions from *Spain*, coming to a protest, letting the Duke know so much by *Luigi Gaetano* Ambassador of that Crown in *Turin*; and himself at the same time marches with his Army to the Borders of *Piedmont*. But the Duke not at all frightened, nor rendring himself at his threatnings, bidding *Gaetano* be gone, delivers to him to be carried to the King the Order of the Golden

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Golden Fleece, denying to retain so much as the bonds of honour from him, who threatned him with chains; and immediately going to *Asti* assembles his Army. The Governour without dispute was superior in number, and there being arrived in those parts some thousands of men from *Spain*, it was observed, that they were convoyed and disbarked at *Genova* by the Prince *Filibert*, a Son of *Carlo's*, General at Sea, in ostentation, as it were, that the Son should be made the Minister of the Fathers chastisements. But *Inoiosa* passing *sesta*, quarters at *Caresana* in the *Vercellese*, in a belief, that the Kings Army having fame and reputation, the Duke at the first appearance of it would have humbled himself and yielded. But *Carlo*, in a defence so necessary, knowing he should be excused by many no less than commended by all, leaving to the Governour the blame of having first moved, passes to the other side of the *sesta*, entring into the *Novarese*, and there surprising *Palestre*, burns certain Villages, returning with booty, Prisoners and an elevated mind. The *Spanish* Chivalry, to be even, marching along the *sesta*, met with a notable Encounter, where they would have come off with the worst, if the Prince of *Acoli*, with a great body of Foot, had not seasonably come in to their succour, so that the *Savoyards* received a blow, and the Marquess of *Caluso*, Governour of *Vercelli*, taken Prisoner by the *Spaniards*. The *Germans* of the Kings Army burnt *Caresana* and *la Mota*, and the *Savoyards* in revenge fired some Towns of the *Milanese*; the burning of the Bridge, built by the *Spaniards* at *Villatta* over the *sesta*, not succeeding, which the Duke attempted, so to have cut off their Camp from the *Milanese*.

Such resistance, among the *Spaniards*, had the qualification of a hainous offence; and *Inoiosa* shewed himself so disordered at it, that to *Augustino Dolce* the Resident at *Venice*, who perswaded to more peaceable remedies, he sharply answered; *That if the Grandeur of the King abhorred to take away what was anothers, it equally belonged to his power to mortifie the contumacy of the Duke, whose offences were gone so far, that they left him nothing in his power but punishment and correction. For pardon, he was to have recourse to the Kings clemency at the Court it self.* To this discourse followed a Declaration in print, which devolved to the King all the State of *Carlo*, which held of the *Milanese*. And *Castiglione* at the same time, by suggestion of the *Spaniards*, thunders forth from the Frontier the Ban of the Empire, if within a certain time the Duke should not lay down his Arms, and bear due respect to *Monferrat*, and every other Fief of the Empire. The *Spaniards* themselves nevertheless have desired something more of the Emperour, and particularly, that *Piedmont* might have been as a prey to whosoever could possess it, and that the Governour of *Milan* might have been the Executor of the Ban. Against these two paper-blows, *Carlo* without much ado defends himself by one of the same stamp, and therefore with a Manifesto denies, that his house did hold any portion of his States of the Dukes of *Milan*, and to the Emperour he accuses the Prince of *Castiglione* for suspect, sending an Ambassadour into *Germany* to inform him better.

After

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After *Pisfina*, arrives also at *Venice* *Carlo Seiglia*, Son of the Count of *Verrua*, as Ambassadour in Ordinary: both together press the Senate for assistance, who chusing first to make tryal of the ways of Peace, made choice of *Renieri Zeni* Ambassadour Extraordinary to go first to *Milan*; and thence to *Turin*, to pass offices seasonable for Peace. But their minds being equally incensed, they inclined more to with the Republick a Partner in the War, than a Mediator for Peace. The Governour, to render the *Venetians* suspect to *Carlo*, pressed, that the Duke of *Mantua* might yield up to him 2000 Foot, which were in *Casale*, being the residue of those paid by the Republick. But the Republick understanding the instance, hindred it, notwithstanding that *Monferrat*, for Passage, Victuals, and Quarters, was altogether at the disposition of the *Spaniards*. In *Madrid*, so soon as they heard the spoil *Carlo* had done in the *Milanese*, the Ministers were so much the more easily inflamed with anger, by how much they had not been accustomed to find resistance in *Italy*. They therefore swear his ruine, execrating his name, and the impudence he had to violate the Royal Army, Standard, and Confines; and reproaching *Inoiosa* of faint heartedness, stir him up to more rigorous resentments. But in direct opposition to the ordinary government of the World, it might be said, that the severe influence of the higher Region, which in *Spain* was that ill will, the Duke of *Lerma* bore to *Carlo*, was mitigated and corrected by that of the lower and nearer, which in *Milan* was the Marquess Governour; because finding the *Milanese* was invaded, and on all sides open and undefended, he immediately abandoning the Posts of *Piedmont*, retires within his own Confines, to the so much heightning of the Duke, that he esteemed and published him conquered.

The Governour incamps not far from *Vercelli*, to secure the building of a great Fortrefs, which, being a mile in circuit, he placed within the Kings Confines in a situation very commodious; for it did not only serve to bridle *Vercelli*, but to cover the *Milanese*, and shut up a passage open enough to strangers for the Invasion of that State: An old design of the *Spanish* Ministers; but, not to raise jealousies in time of quiet amongst the Princes with novelty, deferred to be put in effect till this present Conjunction. It was named *sandoval*, in honour of the Duke of *Lerma*: and *Inoiosa* amuses himself there without further action for several weeks, with great reproach from those who would have wished rather, that he had marched into the bowels of *Piedmont* to chastise the Duke, and lay waste the Country. The season, to say truth, for the employment of Armies passed in this interim, and gave time, that in the name of the King of *France*, who, though come out of his Minority, left the burden of the Government to his Mother, arrives as Ambassadour in *Italy* *Carlo* Marquess of *Ramboghet*, to perswade and press the Duke of *Savoy* to disarm. It sufficiently appeared, that the Councils of that Crown tended to make a Peace at the charge of the Dukes Honour and Estate, and it was made the more evident, that while *Ramboghet* passed the *Alps*, Monsieur de *Sillery* was on his way from *Paris*.

An. Dom. 1614. *ris into Spain to concert the exchange of the two Spouses on the Borders. Carlo utters his mind with bitter complaints, that both the Crowns conspired against his dignity and security. But Rambogliet, passing by the consideration of what was fit, judged warrantly enough the word which France offered with an order to Digbieres to march immediately to his assistance, if any molestation should come upon him from Milan; otherwise if he should continue refusing to lay down Arms, threatens him to give a summons to all the French; of which the greatest strength of his Army consisted, to abandon his Standard and Service.*

The Duke considering, that succours, after a loss received, would come too late, and be unprofitable, judged, that the safest guard for a Prince consisted in his own strength; another mans word, faith, and orders would not want evasions and pretexts. He says; *I am divided from France by Mountains, Precipices, and Rocks, and separated from the Milaneſe with narrow Ditches only. How often may the seasons and the snow contest for me the passages from France? The King hath the name, the Queen the power. The Marriages are desired, the bonds to joyn interest with Spain are hastning. If that Crown abandon me falling, I shall be laughed at when I am down. If I lay down Arms in the fear of my armed Enemy, who shall secure me from blows? Upon the dispatch of a Courier, Armies are not so quickly ready for motion. Whither shall I direct my complaints, and who shall be the judge of my wrongs and my offences? Reason without force is little differing from a trick of wit; and on the other side force without reason passes for the height of justice.* With such reasonings the Duke counselled himself not to yield, and Julio Savelli, the Popes Nuntio, having proposed, that the Army might be consigned to the French Ambassador, to the end the disbanding might be treated by a Peer with equal dignity, he refuses it: not to subject himself to the judgment of both, while he contended with the predominancy but of one of the Crowns.

All the Spanish Ministers in Italy, seeing it difficult to bend the Duke to the respect pretended by them, solicited Inoiosa, that since he had threatened with so much earnest, that he would not employ force so faintly, it seeming to them, that the Arms of that Monarchy were fallen below that opinion of Invincible, into which they had endeavoured to invest her. But the edge of the affairs at Land by the Governours slackness seeming to be blunted, they deliberate to employ a maritime power to torment Piedmont on all sides. The Fleet, making a course into Sicily to defend it from the attempts, which the Turks threatened in requital of what had passed the year before, failed within sight of Navarino, where the Turks lay; but without hazarding a Fight: they losing two of their Gallies, which were sent out to discover, both retired. Part of the Spanish with Philibert failed into Spain; but the Squadron of Italy with the Merchant Ships of Genoa, which were in the Kings Service, making a good body, attempt the enterprise upon Oneglia. The Dukes Territories face two ways towards the Mediterranean; the one, where towards the West

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The Spaniard, finding they had not a power to attempt Nizza, nor being willing by such an undertaking to make France jealous, turned their design towards this other, which being incompassed by the Genouese, and divided from Piedmont by the cragginess of the Appennine, was not to be relieved. Alvaro Bassano, Marquess de St. Croix, coming near it with twenty four Gallies, disembarks in the Territory of the Genouese, and from within their Confines (so near are they to the Town) plants his Cannon to batter it. The Marquess Dogliani defended that very weak place for five days, having made some little Fortification at a Monastery. At last renders it with honourable conditions, and a part of the Garrison with the Cavalier Broglia enters into Mirro, a Castle upon certain steep Rocks, which commanded the Vallies. With the arrival of the Gallies of Sicily, the Spanish Forces being increased to 5000 men, Giovanni Girolamo Doris attempts to take it, and succeeds sooner than could have been imagined, because the Governour in a certain Faction was killed.

The Genouese having denied passage for the succours, which under the Command of St. Giorgio the Duke had sent, he revenges himself by taking Zuccarello, a Fief of the Empire protected by the Genouese, and situated to do them great mischief. In further resentment, he had in his mind greater designs by the surprisal of the Citadel of the Capital City it self, which was to be executed by certain English Ships; but being discovered, gave only to understand, that amidst the straits of a most dangerous War, his mind was still carried forth to great Conquests. To manifest the friendship, renewed with the Republick, he had received in Asst the Ambassador Zeno with all possible honour, and having heard the inclinations and Councils of the Senate tending to Peace, one day, all fire and courage, he spake to this purpose; *I deny not but the deliciousness of Sovereignty, the good of Italy, and the felicity of the World are placed in Peace. But what is that Peace which an Enemy offers, who hath War in his heart, and in his hands? Let us, I pray, draw it out in its proper shape, and well consider if we can tell how to distinguish it from baseness, servitude, and insamy. I do not see but an imperfect mixture, which is compounded of these two Elements only, Empire and Obedience. The one I hold from Heaven common with the King. The other is not known in my Family. Liberty is a Twin of Dignity; they have Chance, Fate, Accidents common; the one is not offended, but the other resents it. Oh let us once resolve to attempt great things, and not distrust Fortune! We shall find that power, which in perspective appears terrible, to grow less from it self, and vanish like a shadow, if we shall have hearts to go near it. Let us joyn our selves together, and in that union vindicate the contempt Strangers have of Italy, because at discord.*

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What cause more just to shake off the yoke, which is made more insupportable by our own patience? where can the Republick better employ their Power, their greatness of Mind, and their Treasures than to the relief of an oppressed Prince, and oppressed for no other occasion, but because he would live and dye like a Prince. The Republick hath large Confines with Spain, but by this League may enlarge them, even to Piedmont. This State shall be all at her devotion, and she shall be able to say, that she environs the Milanese more than she is encompassed by it. My own breast, and those of my Sons shall be the Frontiers of the Republick. If she attacke, we will draw the gross of the Enemies force on this side; if invaded, we will divert the mischief with the hazard of our lives and blood. God hath given to the Republick and to me two flourishing States, which are balances to Italy, scourges and tongs to the Milanese. We have need to bind and unite our selves without delay; for if the Spaniards should come to disadvantage one part, the other will be made of no use. We are both armed, and to what purpose consume our selves betwixt jealousies and expences, without other advantage, but not to be overcome? The Republick abounds in Arms and Money, and to me men are not wanting. What a number of people should we have begging passage, if we had once declared War, and I have the Keys of the Mountains? We will cause floods of stranger Nations to come down into Italy, whither the Spaniards can have no passage but with slow voyages by Sea, and most tedious marches by Land. If France will not be with us, it will not be against us. And when War is once declared, it cannot be, but that the French, at least privately, will run to our Colours. To a duplicated vigorous Invasion how will the Milanese be able to resist, lull'd asleep in a long Peace, and under the shadow of an imaginary reputation, with weak places, an unwarlike people, and so remote from succours? I invite the Republick to the spoils, not to dangers. I will be the first that shall invade, I will take some place or other, and then if the Republick will go before, and give the Princes of Italy an example, we shall not be alone. Those that cover themselves most under the wings of that Monarchy, will be the first to pluck the feathers out of them. The Indies, Spain, and Flanders are not places we ought to be afraid of, but the States of Italy are the fetters of our slavery. Let us free our selves from them at last: for in the Milanese, as in the Center, the Register of all the Monarchy being kept; disorder that, the rest will be dismembered and remote; nor shall we any more fear to have the Spaniards our enemies, when we shall not have them so near Neighbours.

Such generous conceptions were heard, but not approved by the Senate, so long as there appeared any hopes of Peace; and believing withal, that Carlo, in the love of a great War and general Conflagration, to enlarge amidst fire and destruction the greatness of his States, and the lustre of his Name, did refuse to prefer his own and common quiet before the vast ambition of his nature. The Duke failed not to do the like with others, using the same instigations to the King of England, the States of Holland, and the Princes of the Union in the Empire, and with the same success: For, the first as

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ready as he was to interpose good offices, was as backward to consent to the War. The Hollanders professed to follow the Kings example, and Germany did not yet owe its Authority and Power.

The Governour of Milan, to second the maritime undertaking, yielding to the reproofs and accusations of those that envied them, rather than following his own inclination, in Autumn moved the Army, though afflicted with several sicknesses, and in their march incommodated by excessive rains, which overflowed all the Country. Having passed the Tanaro in view of the Duke, who endeavoured to hinder him, he found himself perplexed; because the Siege of Asti, considering the season, and the Dukes strength, who was there in person, was not advisable. To quarter at large, served the Enemy for pastime, who being vigilant, and bold, would harass it with continual surprises. He resolves therefore to retire in all haste into the Country about Alessandria, against the opinion of Giovanni Vives, Spanish Ambassadour in Genoa, the fierce incendiary of this War, and of other principal Ministers, who would have rather disposed of the Armies lodging into the Territory of Asti, while the Troops of Santa Croce should have taken their Quarters about Ceva and Mondovi, to torment and oppress Piedmont. Carlo, on the other side, commodiously enjoys his Lodgings upon the intermixtures of the Fiefs of the Empire, to the great relief and sparing of his own Countries. In the Spring the Armies were re-inforced, and great provisions made, but the Duke with a new blow of a Treaty, being solicited by the Mediators, signs a paper for Peace, in which he consents to disarm, retaining only wanted and necessary Garrisons. It was promised him, that within fifteen or twenty days after the Governour should also disband his Army, and give his word to the Pope and King of France not to offend him, and in case of default, the Princes, called the Defenders of the Faith of Ivouloza, and Vindicators of the Duke, should do it with Arms. The Prisoners, and places taken, were to be reciprocally rendred, and Ferdinand was to restore to Carlo the Dowry and Jewels of Margaret; other things in controversie betwixt these two houses were to be decided within six months after, or to be determined by Law, if any difficulty arose. The Dowry of Blanche was to be restored within two years, and the Rebels to be pardoned.

It was much doubted, whether to this project, which secured few things, and left many undecided; Carlo, for the desire of quiet, and apprehension of the Enemies Forces, or to gain applause, and to interest the Mediators in his cause, would give his consent. But if that were his intention, the design deceived him not; for the Treaty being carried by the Nuntio and Rambogliet to Ivouloza, with an assured hope, that he would approve it, because the Ambassadour of Spain at Paris had also notified the Proposition to the Court, they found, that by a late Commission from Madrid, all power concerning Peace was taken from him. It is not to be believed, how much they were offended at it; but not being able to obtain more, they demanded at least a suspension of Arms for forty days. The

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1615. Governour denies that also, knowing nevertheless, that the season of it self did it. But the Prince *Thomaso*, who was *Carlo's* youngest Son, marching out of *Vercelli* with twenty Companies of Foot, and 700 Horse, surprises *Candia*, a great Town in the *Milanese*, and giving it to fire and spoil, brought away a great booty. For which the Governour and the Mediators equally complaining, the Duke endeavours to excuse what had happened by his Sons being far off, and not knowing of the Treaty, but the *Spaniards* compensated themselves with the taking of *Monbaldona* and *Denice*, Towns in the Mountains of *Piedmont*.

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King *Philip* being not to be persuaded to treat with *Carlo de pari*, all endeavour was in vain to get the Treaty approved at *Madrid*, notwithstanding the Pope with his own hand wrote earnestly to him about it. Neither were the *French* much pleased with it, because *Ramboghet*, more desirous of the glory to conclude it, than applying himself to the means of having it well executed, had not well provided for the Interests of *Ferdinand*. Divers Princes of *Italy* in the vanity of their obsequiousness, had offered to the Governour of *Milan* their Militia, and he seasonably accepting the offer, either to take from *Carlo* the hope of assistance, or to boast his predominancy, intimates to all, they should either according to the band of Capitulations, or in testimony of their affection, perform it. By the investiture of *Siena* he required 4000 of the *Grand Duke*; of *Modena*, *Parma*, and *Urbino*, each a Regiment of Foot; of *Genova* as much, and a certain number of *Luca*. *Cosmo* sends 2000 Foot, on condition they should not go out of the Confines of the *Milanese*, and disbursts besides pay for 400 Horse. From the Dukes of *Parma* and *Urbino* was sent a third, *Modena* alone his excuse was admitted, either from his inability, or kindred, he having a Daughter of *Carlo's* for his Daughter-in-law. Those of *Luca* gave liberty to the *Spaniards* to make Levies in their State, and the *Genouese* were exempted from their assistance, by the necessity of being vigilant for their own safety round about them, and by their known aversion to the *Savoyards*. Besides all this, many private men of the richest, having their private interests dis-joyined from the publick, furnished the King upon several conditions with some millions. So did *Italy* study to overcome it self by it self!

The *Venetians*, who in the long Peace had, for the honour and safety of the one, and the others Fortune, gathered together a great Treasure, had now in pay 12000 *Italian* Foot, divided into four Bodies; the Commanders of which were, *Camillo Cauriolo*, *Giovanni Baptista Martinengo*, *Giacomo Giusi*, and *Antonio Savorgniano*. *Giovanni Baptista* General of the Infantry being dead in a decrepit age, they received into their service *Pompeo Justiniani* a *Genouese*, who had made himself a name in the War of *Flanders*. To visit the places, and particularly *Peschiera*, to the end the Fortifications

tions might be reformed to the use of modern defence, they sent three Senators, *Giovanni Garzoni*, *Nicholo Contarini*, *Benedetto Tagliapietra*, who joyning with *Lando*, General, and *Girolamo Cornaro*, chief Commissary, upon hearing the opinions of the Chief of the Army, should resolve upon that which was judged fit. Hereupon they resolved to levy 3000 Foot more, desiring they might be strangers, in regard *Italy*, degenerating by idleness, hath with liberty lost military vertue. Order was given to the Ambassadour *Barbarigo* to conclude a League with the two Cantons, *Zurich* and *Bern*, which consisted in promises from the Republick, to assist them with a sum of money, if they should be invaded; and for the Cantons, to permit the Levy of 4000 Foot of their Nation, whenever they should have occasion: in consideration whereof, it was agreed, that the two Cities should each receive a yearly pension of 5000 Ducats, conformable to the custom of the greater Potentates, from whom the *Helvetians* extract gold with their Valour and their Swords. The League notwithstanding was not yet published, because, to assure the passages in the *Grisons* Country, it was agreed, that *Barbarigo* should go thither with the Ambassadors of the two associated Cities. That people, who of their government make a mystery also of trade and gain, unmindful of the benefits received from the Common-wealth, of their own liberty, and of their obligation to open the passage to the Cantons, suffered themselves to be seduced by the Ministers of *France* and *Spain* to deny it.

Both the Crowns agreed therein, to the admiration of many; because, if it served the *Spaniards* turn for the subjecting of *Italy* to shut up every passage whence it might have relief, it did as much disserve *France*, who by frustrating the union of the Republick with the *Grisons*, helping to introduce the *Spaniards* there, it was clearly evident, that they prevailing in cunning, power, and money, would quickly exclude the *French* themselves. *Barbarigo* could not overcome the opposition; therefore going on to his Ambassie for *London*, leaves in *Zurich* *Christoforo Suriano* Secretary, resident in *Helvetia*. In the beginning of this year, the Governour of *Milan* appeared at the head of a flourishing Army of 30000 men. The *Savoyard* had not above 17000; but if in the one, the valour of the General was wanting, in the other the courage of the Duke supplied it. The Prince of *Castiglione*, by order of *Matthias*, who complained that he had been left out in the project of Peace, and that the judgment of the Dukes pretensions were deferred to others, sends to *Carlo* the intimation of the Imperial Ban. He imprisoning him that secretly put it into his hands amongst other papers, appeals, with many protestations of obedience, to the Emperour himself, who, without much ado, at the intercession of the Dukes of *Saxony*, from whom the House of *Savoy* boasts its Original, lets all things fall into silence and oblivion. The Duke himself, by means of the *Venetians*, renews the project heretofore set on foot by *Castiglione*, of the reciprocal Marriages of *Margaret*, and *Eleonora*, with *Ferdinand*, and *Vittorio*, with equal Dowries, and with a certain Parcel of *Montferrat*.

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James King of *England*, hiding the intern weakness of his Kingdom under a great Cloak of Authority, and honouring his own quiet with the name of Studies and Learning, contributes nothing but his good offices, commending him to the *Venetians*, as a Prince animated with the ancient Genius, Valour, and Lustre of *Italy*; and for a better appearance, orders his Ambassadour at *Venice* to go and reside in *Piedmont*. The *Hollanders* forbid the Levies to the Count of *Nassau*, which *Carlo* desired, and in *France* some paid the penalty of having transgressed the Kings Orders, by going to serve him. *Carlo*, to justify himself in that which was imputed to him, viz. that too immoderately he desired War, calling one day the Ministers of Princes, then with him, desires their advice to what conditions they would counsel him to condescend, protesting that bating Dignity, which was the Pupil of Principality, he was willing to any thing. The Ambassadors of *England* and *Venice*, applauding greatly his understanding of things, carried it to the Governour; but he finding himself not yet authorized, nothing could be done, but to expect the resolutions from *Spain*, whither the Senate with serious Letters to the King himself ceased not to exhort earnestly to Peace.

At last the *Spanish* Ministers explain themselves; That at the intercession of so many Princes the King did graciously oversee all that humiliation, which he might pretend from the Duke; but did require, for the publick Peace, his disarming no less than the adjustment of the differences with *Ferdinand*. Upon which they declared themselves more fully to *Monsieur de Sillery*: That it was to be understood, that *Carlo*, retaining convenient Garrisons, should disband his Army, and the Emperour should be Judge of their pretensions of *Monferrat*; in the mean time, Hostility, and offences ceasing, the places possessed with the Prisoners should be restored. They promise moreover, so to dispose of their Army, that no Prince of *Italy* shall have cause to be jealous of it.

This being arrived at *Turin*, the Duke having always feared, that the *spaniards* would have him disarm, the more easily to wound him, joyning to difficulty delays, denied to consent, that those that had followed his party, being Subjects of *Ferdinand*, should remain excluded from pardon, and that his own rights to *Monferrat* should be

be buried for ever in the wonted tediousness of the Imperial Court. With this he got so much time, that the Spring opened the field for the action of Armies. The events of the War had not hitherto been suitable to the power nor dignity of the Princes, employed only in plundering, spoiling, and burning. The *Spanish* Chiefs in the mean time endeavoured to shew themselves in more becoming Achievements. The first occasion was given by the Inhabitants of *Roccaverrano*, who being weary of quartering some insolent *French*, called in the *spaniards* to help to drive them away. The Marquels di *Mortara*, Governour of *Alexandria*, who was very much one of those who above all others kindled the fire, marched in great haste with 5 or 6000 men, in hope that getting into that Town through a place in the Walls, which lay open to take also *Cortemiglia*, and so to encompass *Piedmont* on that side, he might have the opportunity to do it much mischief. But the Duke, who had a most vigilant eye to observe the first motions of the *spaniards*, sends presently *St. Giorgio* into *Cortemiglia*, and himself going from *Turin* with 7000 men, meets *Mortara* in *Bistagno*, a place belonging to *Monferrat*, situated upon a height commanding a High way, which goes from the Sea into the *Milanese*. He attacks him there, and wanting his Cannon, which by reason of the speedy march was stayed behind, he thought with the Spade to make a breach. But the *spaniards*, with Muskets and frequent Sallies killed some of the boldest in the Assault. *Inoiola*, at his wits end, to see the Dukes courage, and the danger of the loss of those men, which was the flower of the *Spanish* Souldiery, hastes thither with a great Body; neither did the Duke stir, till he saw him camped, and then with excellent order retires in his sight without being molested. It was then generally reported, that the *spaniards*, by not following the Duke inferiour in strength, lost a signal Victory. But they marched away to *Asi*, a City lying on the Frontier of the Territory of the *Alexandrino*, environed with several parcels of *Monferrat*, with a Campagna round about it, inclosed with many little Hills of equal fertility and beauty. At the foot of these, the City stands upon a Plain; which afterwards presently rises and terminates, where an old Castle stands above it, incapable of fortification or defence. The *Tanara*, a little way from it, runs from the Southward, and the *Versa* a small River on the other side. The City being of a large circuit, and the Walls old, the Duke, who was got thither first, places the hope of the defence in keeping the Enemy far off, intrenching himself both on the Hills, and in the Plain. The Governour, to disturb *Piedmont* on all sides, leaving about *Sandoval* 6000 Foot, and 500 Horse, and by consent of *Ferdinand*, having placed Garrisons in *St. Damiano* and *Ulpiano*, Towns of *Monferrat* the first on the side of *Asi*, and the other just before *Turin*, found himself 24000 strong in view of the Duke. The other not more than 15000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, had intrenched them longest the *Versa*, and at the first appearing of the *spaniards* having sent a gros of Cavalry towards them, they engaged in a Skirmish so hot, that the Governour found it necessary to employ all his,

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his, when at last the *Savoyard* giving way to their number, *Inoiofa* had liberty to form his Camp. He designs afterwards, ascending the Hillocks, to get behind the Duke, and constrain him to abandon the Plain, and to command the Town it self; for although *Carlo* had fortified some Posts, nevertheless the shortness of time had not permitted him to perfect them. The Prince of *Ascoli* then taking the Land of *Castiglione*, opens the way for that whole Army to march thither, and the *Savoyards* abandoning the Campagna and the passages of the Rivers, betook themselves to their own defence, making choice of two principal Posts, the one committed to the *French*, the other to the *Switzers*, with some pieces of Cannon: These two Nations making betwixt them 10000 Souldiers. Against the first came the *Spaniards* in a well-designed order, and *Pietro Sermino*, who led the Vanguard, attacked them with great courage. The Cavalry of *Savoy*, who flanked the Posts in a Plain a little below, attempted in full speed to stop them, but were repulsed by other Troops that interposed.

The *Spaniards* advanced boldly without losing their order, but where now and then the straitsness of that way required it, or the Volleys of Muskets made them to open. But where the first were killed, or wounded, the second File taking their place, they gained the height, where they had not only liberty to put themselves again into order, but plant two pieces of Cannon, by which the *French* taking fright, turned their backs. Certain Troops of Horse, who endeavoured to rally them, and stop the Enemy, the place being steep and narrow, was the cause of greater confusion and disorder. *Giovanni Bravo*, which led the second Battaglion of the *Spaniards*, seeing the first master of the field, marches beyond it, and gives upon the flank of the second Post: neither was the resistance greater there; for the *Switzers*, some flinging away their Arms, others forgetting they had them, with their flight gave no occasion of further dispute. The Duke alone with equal skill both of a Prince, and a common Souldier, directing the fight, mingling himself where he apprehended disorder, and either staying where the danger was greatest, or flying thither whither need required, gave proof of great valour by animating the weary, rallying the faint-hearted, and reproaching the fugitives. But he found it fit at last to yield to the cowardise of his own men, and the number of his Enemy: not to lose all his Cannon, he caused two pieces to be flung off the Hill, and to be recovered in the night. Three others were brought into *Alexandria* in great triumph.

On the *Savoyards* side *Francisco di Sylva*, Brother of the Duke of *Pastrana*, was Prisoner, and dyed a while after at *Turin* of the wounds he had received. The common opinion now was, that to prosecute this Victory, and make *Italy* tremble, nothing was wanting but *Carlo* at the Head of the *Spanish* Army, or the *Spanish* Army under the Colours of *Carlo*. But the *Spaniards* halting there, gave time to the Enemy, who weak and much in disorder, was retired into the Town to recruit their courage and strength, in such sort,

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that the one did not overcome, nor the other lose. The Governour applies himself to fortifie a great Circumvallation, taking in Hills, and doubling Trenches and redoubts, to defend himself as if he had been the weakest, and in a condition ready to be overcome. The Duke keeping himself more close, notwithstanding many Skirmishes, and other Feats of War. The *Spaniards*, as the more provoked and insulted, breaking ground, run a line with many Works towards the Fort; but the *Savoyards* having taken and fortified another Post of certain houses in the middle, turned another way. With Fire-batteries, but afar off, they play upon the City, and the Dukes Camp, who with 1800 men assaults the Quarter of *Gambaloina*, burning their Parapet of *Gabions*, but were at last repulsed. The Governour with his slackness made War to himself, and found the greatest arise from the Situation and the Elements. Upon the Hills they suffered for want of water, and the filth of the Army causing sickness, men and beasts dyed. Lodging in the open Air, the heat, the nourishment, the unripe fruits corrupted health. The Camp was not to be distinguished from an Hospital or a Church-yard, so great was the number of the sick and dead. From whence, although the Army was re-inforced with the Troops left at *Sandoval*, and others come to them by Sea, it was nevertheless not half so strong as when it sat down before *Assti*.

Carlo, as to his Quarters, had greater commodity, but in other things was in no less difficulty, because his own Country being not able to supply the charges, he had so frequent experience of Mutinies among the stranger Militia for want of pay, that oftentimes he could not distinguish whether they were a greater burden or assistance to him. In this state of affairs *Kambogliet* arrives at *Assti*, and the *Spanish* Cannon in honour of the Mediation suspended their Battery. But the Duke even in this precipice of Fortune practising the arts of wit, interposed always the difficulties of requiring honour and safety. *Zeno*, and the Ambassadour of *England* failed not to beset the Duke with many reasons, and he acknowledged, his happiness lay in peace; but added, that as Fortune obliged him to yield to the more powerful, so to expose himself to dangers, to obedience, and humiliation, were not the counsel of prudence, nor permitted by his Fortune. He insisted upon the Governours disarming, or that the Republick might be the Warranty of the Peace: knowing in it to be stability of Government, and a faith not subject (as in the *Pope*, and in *France*) to the vicissitude of time, the mutation of Princes, and the corruption of Ministers. The Senate seriously weighed of what importance that was, because great Princes not being to be constrained to performance but by the same faith with which they promise, if the *Spaniards* should profane theirs by reason of interest, the Republick put it self into great trouble.

Nevertheless the desire of Peace prevailing, they command *Zeno* to sign, and over and above to promise assistance to the Duke,

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1615. when (others failing) France alone should concur in it. Such orders arrive very opportunely in *Piedmont*, because *Rambogliet* having a little before pressed the Duke in vain with threatnings and protests to consent to the Peace without any such caution, was ready to take his leave, commanding those of the Nation to follow him, and with much ado had yielded to a short suspension of his journey at the instance of the Ambassadors of *England* and *Venice*. But *Zeno* giving his word, the Duke, who had dextrously directed his counsels to such an end, threatned by one party, secured by another, and intreated by all, under-writes the Treaty, which took its name from *Asti*. *Carleton* and *Zeno* deliver it to *Rambogliet*; he and the Bishop of *Savona*, the Nuntio succeeded to *Savelli*, carried it to the Governour of *Milan*, and being greedily received by him, he confirms it with a Writing, which he put into the hands of the *French*. The Capitulation for disarming contained, that the Duke, except some Companies of *Switzers*, should within a month disband the Strangers, and of his Subjects should only keep on foot so many as sufficed for Garrisons. He gave his word not to offend the States of *Mantua*, and to refer his pretensions to the judgment of the Emperour. On the other side *Rambogliet* promises for France, that the Subjects of *Ferdinand*, which had served *Carlo*, should, with the security of their persons, be restored to the enjoyment of their estates; Prisoners and places to be reciprocally rendred: And for the Dukes security, France declares him to be in their protection to assist him with all their power, whensoever he should be molested by the *Spaniards*; and Orders were consigned to him to oblige *Digbieres* to march to his assistance, without expecting other Commission from the Court. And because it was known, that some Levies were making by private persons out of *Italy* in favour of *Carlo*, he was obliged to communicate the peace to his friends, and stop all proceedings; and on the other side it was agreed, that for six months the *Spaniards* should not require of him passage for *Flanders*. But concerning the manner of retiring, it was also agreed, that the Duke at the intreaty of *Rambogliet* withdrawing 1000 Foot out of *Asti*, the Governour should retire from the Hills to *Croce bianca*, and to *Quarto*, places belonging to the Jurisdiction of *Asti*; after which *Carlo*, leaving a convenient Garrison in the Town, should remove his Army further off, and then the Governour should return into the *Milanese*, where, as to number and time, he should so dispose of the Army, that neither to *Savoy*, or any other, there should remain any occasion of suspicion. In this manner the Duke seemed to have preserved his dignity and indemnity, and *Italy* applauded him, and most especially the *Venetians*, who with their Council had maintained the Common Interest. By the Expedition, with which these first steps were accomplished, great hope was conceived, that all the rest would have been duly executed; whereupon the *Venetians* reform a great part of their Militia, and reduced the payment of *Casal* to 1000 Souldiers, giving passage to the Duke of *Mantua* for 500 *Germans*, which, as an independent Militia, he thought fit to bring in there.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REPUBLICK
OF
VENICE.

THE SECOND BOOK.

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1615. THE stormy blasts of *Piedmont* quieted by the pacification of *Asti*, a continued dissembled connivence of the Princes of *Austria* at the uncontrollable boldness of the *Uscocchi*, amassed in the minds of the *Venetians* a great heap of resentments and revenge. Some believed, that the suffering and permission of the villanies of that most wicked people proceeded from the want of power in the *Austrians*; because it being necessary, for keeping them in order, to maintain a Garrison in *Segna*, the Archduke had not the means to defray the Charge. Others judged, that it was interest and profit to keep that Frontier of the *Turks* armed without charge, and besides to exercise a certain pretended Jurisdiction, though a thieving one, by Sea. Neither did there want that thought, that the Archduke was encouraged by the *Spaniards*, because, having discovered, by what had passed in the affairs of *Savoy*, the Republick to be jealous above all things of their own and others liberty, they took pleasure to entertain and distract her in and by so troublesome an exercise. This is certain, that if upon the continual complaints of the *Venetians*, the Emperour inclined to the remedy, those of the Archdukes side did always infeeble his earnest and interposed delays. In order to this, it fitly happened, that *John Prainer*, dispatched by the Emperour as Commissioner to punish the insolences, and find means that the Treaty of *Vienna* might be executed, was, when he came

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to *Ferdinands* Court, hindred from going forward, as if it were not seemly to yield, while in Arms, to Conditions, and during a Siege about those places of refuge, where the *Ulcocchi* were freely received, where their booties were kept, and the spoils, together with the dignity and patience of the Commonwealth, were publicly exposed to sale. The Garrison in *Fiume* and other places were now increased with *German* Souldiers, who now and then assisted the enterprises of the Pirates with ingaging the Colours and name of the *Austrian* Princes, who authorizing their transgressions, rendered the enduring of them more difficult, and unworthy of the *Venetians*. In the beginning of the year one action did much exasperate mens minds, too much disturbed already. For *Antonio Giorgio*, who governed the Isle of *Pago* for the *Venetians*, seeing *Scrisa* just over against him, where was *Carlopagio*, a little Fortrels, but a nest of the most infamous amongst the Pirates, suffered himself to be deluded by a false Treaty to attempt its surprize, and with six Barks only, and a few Souldiers, without the General *Veniero* his knowledge, was by concerted signs drawn on; but no sooner disembarked, but being received and environed with an Ambuscade, left his life there with eighty others, part Souldiers, and part Inhabitants of *Pago*, whom he had brought along, as to a sure Victory. His own Standard, with anothers Colours, and one Bark, remained in the hands of the enemy.

This success was variously interpreted by both parties; but in effect both reckoned themselves offended, though amidst so many dissatisfactions there was occasion given for Treaty; for that the Lieutenant of *Pisino* by his Letters to some of the chief *Venetian* Ministers, proposed an interview of Commissioners, but *Giorgio Justiniani*, Ambassadour for the Republick at the Emperours Court, remonstrated, *That they were no more to treat about adjusting differences or confines, but the faith of the Princes. That the Treaty of Vienna was in force, concluded by the Imperialists, and executed by the Republick. That to gratifie Matthias, Prisoners were set loose, Guards removed; but on the other side, what was there practised but cruelty and rapine? That complaints had several times been made to the Emperour and Archduke of Islands laid waste, the Sea infested, whole Territories given to spoil, of Colours taken, Gallies surprized, Patricians killed, some intrapped by fraud, and others drawn in by treason. On the other side dash there appear any Forces garrisoned in Segna, according to the agreement? Whence have the *Ulcocchi* been driven away, or where punished? Are their Barks burnt? Are the Confines, the Subjects Navigation, and the Sea free? It is not denied but that the Emperour commands, the Archduke dispatches Ministers; but let it be to execute the old agreements, and not to contest new ones. That the Republick, knowing common happiness to consist in Peace, was ready to forget what was past, but as much resolved not to endure loss and invasions for the future.*

These reasons were admitted by the Emperours Ministers; but being opposed by the Archdukes with various delays, gave occasion for new accidents, which hastened open War. *Lorenzo Veniero*, General

neral of the *Venetians*, brought up from his youth in Sea-affairs, could not bear the memory of the Gally surprized, and the insult of *Giorgio* killed. He observed *Nozi* to lye before him (a place of the Jurisdiction of *Frangipani* upon the Sea-coast, and situated high) defended by some of those Cannon, which being taken on the Gally aforesaid, were brought in thither by the Count *Niccolo*, now Governour of *Segna*, in triumph and memory of the action. Resolved therefore to cancel that indignity, and to get them again by force, disembarking men with Ladders and Petards surprized it by night. In the assault and fury of the Souldiers, all fell by the Sword who offered to resist. All things were given to spoil; but the Church-furniture and sacred Vessels, not spared in that military licence, were upon severe inquisition restored. The Town, with such Barks as then there, was burnt; the Salt-pans destroyed, the Governour made Prisoner, but above all the Cannon of the Gally were brought away.

They on the Archdukes side aggravated this success as a manifest provocation of War, forgetting, as is usual to them that do the wrong, the insults which the *Venetians* had suffered; who on the other side maintained, *That they had no reason to respect the Walls and Dens of the *Ulcocchi*, more than they had preserved the Towns, Waters, Ports, Confines, and Territories of the Republick, their Gallies and armed Ships, which were their floating Fortresses.* But *Ferdinand* not satisfied with such reasons, sequesters the Revenues of the Subjects of the Commonwealth which lay in his Country, obliging the practice of the same towards those of *Ferdinand*. On the Borders of *Istria* they prosecute Hostility, both the *Ulcocchi* alone, and often in conjunction with the Archdukes Souldiery; whereupon some going out of *Pogdavia*, made prey of the Cattel of those of *Poppechio*, who were not long without making themselves amends. A while after, about 800 *Germans*, Souldiers, and Natives, returned from attempting an Incurfion of more moment. The *Corfi*, who guarded the Confines of the Republick, falling into their Rear, forced them to abandon their booty, and retire upon the *Carsi*; whence going deeper into the Country, they spoiled *Cernicale* and *Cremosich*, Towns belonging to *Benvenuto Petazzo*, a turbulent Fellow, and who above all others troubled the Confines. The *Ulcocchi* made an attempt upon *Veglia*, but were repulsed, and *Felice Dobrovich* scouring that River with armed Barks, destroyed and sunk many of theirs. It was now foreseen, that going thus on from irruptions to offences, it would quickly come to an open breach.

Some Princes therefore interposed themselves, and in particular Pope *Paul*, to *Matthias*, to the Republick, and to *Ferdinand*, contributed his incessant intreaties for Peace, complaining, that two of the principal powers of Christendom should fall to Wars, and kindle a fire on the Frontiers, and under the view of the *Turks*, who alone would enjoy the warmth and profit. His considerations to the Republick were; *That having with so much wisdom quenched the War of Piedmont, they would with the like zeal for publick good, pass by offences*

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cos and revenge. To the Austrians he represented *The blemish, that redounded to their splendour of their august name, from the protection of Piratical Thieves and Robbers. That the Uscocchi being now rendered the abomination of the World, they should give up to common revenge that infamous sacrifice made sat with the goods and blood of so many men.* The Austrians answered with excuses, and the Venetians insisted with reasons; *That there remained after so long time no place for a longer patience, but that which was unworthy of Principality. That they had for many years past by the insolences of the Uscocchi, the complaints of their Subjects, and the threatnings of the Turks. From the many relapses they judged the remedy desperate; and what then was there more to be expected? It was fit at last to do right to themselves, and justice to their people, and to give protection to their Navigation. Proper defence is suggested from nature, from use, and from necessity. The burning of so many places were almost to be seen from the Capital City, and the cry of innumerable persons afflicted heard there: Instances, prayers, complaints themselves had never had any effect. It was now in vain to propose Treaties, if those already concluded were not fulfilled. The Senate had been willing, not once, but many times, not to appear suspicious, to trust to promises; but it was not fit out of too much credulity, to let her self be any longer deluded. He was therefore to convert his offices to the Austrians, and with his paternal Authority require their observance of the things promised; for the conditions accorded, and the proceedings since, made it easily to be discerned, who it was that was against Peace.*

At this instant of time happens to be proposed in the Imperial Court a suspension of Arms, and the Venetians accept it for two months; during which, the Uscocchi were to abstain from their courses, and to be removed from their maritime places. But the Archduke refuses the prescription of time; whereupon, by new intercession of Princes, the Senate gives consent, that there should be a cessation without limit, with promise nevertheless, that during the same, the mischiefs should be remedied, by cutting them up by the root, which could no otherwise be done, but by removing the Uscocchi. The Archduke then pretended, that the Guards before *Segna* and other places should be removed; but the Venetians, taught by former experience, would not without further security consent. Thus, while they differed in opinion about the Treaty, Hostility going on, and growing hotter, *Petazzo*, to repair his losses, attempts the Villages of *Hofpo*, and *Gobrovizza* in *Istria*; but being repulsed by the Guards, spends all his spite against *Benedetto da Legge*, Provveditor in that Province, publishing him banished with a severe sentence. *Legge* proceeds against *Petazzo* in a way of justice, he having first practised the same thing. Then applying himself to more proper resentments, he burns the Town of *St. servolo*; *Prebenich*, *Poghdaria*, and *Polina*. Thence going down to spoil the Salt-pits of *Trieste* (a thing heretofore for the Dominion of the Sea practised by the Republick in more quiet times;) with about 800 Soldiers under *Fabio Gallo*, Colonel; provoked those of *Triest* to come forth

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forth first with some Horse and 300 Foot, which afterwards, strengthened by *Wolfrango Frangipani*, Earl of *Tersaco*, come in with a great number of Germans and Uscocchi, found themselves strong 20 Companies of Foot, and 300 Horse. The Venetians, who having some armed Barks on the shore, had put hand to the work, seeing the enemy so much exceeding in number, resolved to retire, and putting their men into two Squadrons, take the way towards *Muglia*, which along the Sea is so narrow, that being assaulted by the Archducalians, the Rear led by *Gallo* himself, could receive no assistance from those in the Van; nevertheless withstood the Charge so long, till finding the passage a little too open, he was able to put himself in better order. But *Gallo* killed by a Musket-shot, his men fell into confusion, in such sort that the other Squadron, commanded by *Legge*, falling into the same, the field with 200 dead, many wounded and some Prisoners, was left to the enemy.

The Austrians, animated hereby, spoiled five Villages, and in the Territory of *Monsalcon* burnt seven, besides two plundered. Upon these successes *Veniero*, to give courage to the people with his presence and Fleet, comes to the *Istrian* shore, puts a Garrison into *Albona*, *Fianona*, and other maritime places, and with eight Gallies attempts to take *Moschenizza*; but, the stone of which the Wall was made being Cannon-proof, and the season not permitting a longer stay, retires further off, after he had laid waste for 15 miles in length the appurtenances of *Monte Major*. A design, the Germans now had upon *St. Vincenti*, succeeded not, but the Venetians made spoil of *Chersano*, and then left it, not to be engaged in the Siege of the Castle and the Church, which was fortified. The Venetians, from these little doings called to greater thoughts, and preparations, dispatched to the places most exposed their Lieutenants Extraordinary; and chose *Pietro Barbarigo*, Procurator, Commissary General of the *Terra firma*, and for General, *Marco Loredano*; with whom, for the better directing the affairs of the Army and War, they sent *Pauo Emilio Martinengo*, giving Commission for 4000 Italians and some few Corsi. These preparations went not so fast forward, as invasions and offences did. The Senate knew, that their great advantage consisted in prevention, and firmly believed, that from the Mediation of Princes, the clamour of Subjects, and the damage of his own Country, the Archduke would be induced to fulfil the Treaty of *Vienna*. But the event succeeded not so happily as the intention was prudent, by reason of the nature of War, which, contrary to a Labyrinth, admits not of a going out the same way you go in. And though now the season grew towards the end of the year, the Senate ordered *Francisco Erizzo* General of *Palma*, that sending forth some Forces under *Pompeo Justiniano*, he should possess those open places, which lay on this side the *Lijonzo*, and lodge them there to hinder the passage of the Archdukes people; who gave out they would build Forts, and over-run the Country to the Walls of *Palma*. It is here necessary to describe that part of the Country, wherein, as in a Theatre, we shall presently see the War confined, which

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1615. which was made by puissant Forces, but ballanced; carried on amidst many distractions and reservations with unequal success, but at last overcome by the Republick with Treaties more than Arms, and was followed with great jealousies.

Istria, a Peninsula of the *Adriatick*, confines with *Croatia*, where the Limits of the *Austrians* separate those of the *Venetians* from the *Turks*. The County of *Pisino*, subject to the *Austrians*, comes in betwixt; and *Trieste*, which gives name to a little Bay or Gulph, faces upon the Sea. Beyond on this side are the Mountains of *Carso*, not steep, but rough and craggy, and may well be called one great stone; amidst these incompassed by the Sea and *Lisonzo*, lies in *Friuli* the Territory of *Montsalcon*, subject to the *Venetians*; but where those Hills terminate near to the River before mentioned, a large Plain extends it self to the *Julian Alps*, which in ancient times was frequently made the door to let in the *Barbarians*, and in these latter Ages the high way for the *Turks*.

Corstia, which gives the name to a County, is situate in this Plain, leaning to a Hillock, which in its ascent leads to the top of the Castle. It is defended by a strong Tower, there is a Bridge there over the *Lisonzo*, beyond which the *Campagna* extends it self with many Towns upon some little Hills. Five miles lower upon the right shore of the River, lies *Gradisca* built upon a Rock, of the form of an oblong square, with a good Castle, and heretofore garrisoned by the *Venetians* against the incursions of the *Turks*. It hath beyond the *Lisonzo* the Mountains of *Carso*, directly opposite, and on this side many Towns environ it, as *Lucinis*, *Cormons*, *Medea*, *Fara*, *Romans*, and other places of less moment; which nevertheless in the progress of the War will become so many Ports, and so many Forts, which will consume Armies and Souldiers.

Towards the Mountains, out of which riseth the *Lisonzo*, the Country is straitned with certain narrow Vallies bordering on *Cariniola*, and other Provinces of the *Austrians*, who towards the Sea command certain Villages, and in *Maranto*, *Castel Porpetto* and *Aquileia*, though of these there remains nothing but the ruins and the name, kept Souldiers. In those parts on this side the *Lisonzo*, the *Venetians* made their Invasion, nor was it difficult to possess every place; for except *Medea*, which they got with approaches and Trenches, though it was in vain to resist, every one yielded at the first appearance. The Garrisons without much ado quit the Tower of *Aquileia*, *Castel Porpetto*, and *Maranto*, which were demolished. On the other side of the *Lisonzo*, *Eliso Pierantoni* and *Hugo Crutta*, for a diversion, marched out of *Montsalcon*, and took in *Sagra*, then left it: and *Pompeo Justiniano* did the same with *Lucinis*, which was afterward much repented; for had it been kept, it might have served to get the Bridge, and the Tower upon the *Lisonzo*, and by them to have straitned *Gradisca* from succours; and passing to the other side of the River, which was so many times after attempted in vain, might not only have shut up *Goritia* on all sides, but taken it also, being open and exposed; as was the counsel of *Marc Antonio Manzano*. But the

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1615. the Orders of the Senate containing only to lodge in the Archdukes Country in *Campagna*, without attacking places, as not willing to divide into so many parts their men; which consisted for the most part of Trained-bands, *Justiniano* took up his Quarters in the Towns of *Meriano* and *Cormons*. The *Austrians*, in disorder at the appearance of the *Venetian* Colours, applied themselves with all speed to a vigorous defence. *Gradisca* was fortified by *Riccardo Strafoldo*, its Governour. The Count of *Torfacio* puts himself into *Goritia*, and the Baron *Adam de Trautmanstorff* arriving soon after with Title of *Ferdinands* General, ordered Repairs and Garrisons for both those places, fortifying *Rubia*, *St. Florian*, *Vipulzano*, and *Dobra* on this and that side of the *Lisonzo*.

This first Rumour of War being spread abroad, sad judgments were made of it, and the Princes discovered in themselves thoughts and reflections of no less. The Duke of *Savoy* offers the Senate himself, his Sons, his States, and his Army; and others were not wanting to animate to greater designs. In orders to which, the *English* Ambassadour being returned from *Turin* to *Venice*, exhorting the Republick to reflect upon the state of things, while the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* linked together by Marriages, did conspire at present in the same Maxims to divide betwixt them, what with Negotiations, what with Arms, the Arbitrement of *Italy* and the world, offered a League with his King; who, though separated by situation, yet never by authority and prudence to the common Interest, might with the moveable Bridge of his Fleet upon the vast Ocean, joyn *England* to *Italy*. He remonstrated the association of the Northern Princes against the vast designs of the House of *Austria*; and considering that those friendships were never remote, which were made upon the ground of common Concern, he besought the Republick to joyn their reputation and wisdom to that League, assuring them they should find a candid heart and warm spirits amongst those people, who are thought to have Sea and Darkness for their Element and Climate.

The Senate, with many wary and respectful answers, entertains and cherishes these good dispositions; but in their moderate counsels, did not consent to conjoyn their Interests with those of Princes so far remote. As to the affairs of *Italy*, in a belief, that the Peace of *Asi* was secure, *Ramboghist* had taken his leave of *Friedmont*; but was no sooner gone, but the Duke of *Mantua* denying to have given his consent to the oblivion, proceeded to execution against the Rebels. The *Venetians*, interposing themselves, obtain, that suspending any further act, he should yield that to their intreaties, which they perceived for decency he would not yield to authority.

Carlo, as to the point of disarming, proceeds with great caution: because he had a mind to hear the judgment of *Spain* concerning the Treaty of *Asi*; and although he had discharged those of the Vallies and the *French*, yet he had with them recruited some Companies of *Savogards*, and delayed to discharge the *Swizzers*, upon a difficulty risen about the accounts of their pay, and because the

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Governour of *Milan* had denied them passage. These on the other side set at liberty no Prisoners, nor were the places possessed reciprocally rendred, the Duke himself not caring to be thought advantaged by the acquisition of some far Fiefs. The truth was, that at *Madrid*, upon the advice of the Peace, there was observed a long and severe silence both in the King and his Ministers, but discourses were universally published, so much the more licentious against *Mendoza*, thought a man equally weak in the management of Civil and Military affairs. It was nevertheless evident to those of the best Judgment, that the facility contributed by him, proceeded from secret orders from the Duke of *Lerma*, to the end the Marriages with *France* might be accomplished without disturbances; after which, and the exchange of the Brides, a change of Councils presently appeared. *Spain* in that business did certainly keep concealed one great Stratagem of their Secrets; and had therefore offered to the Court of *France* all assistance against whomsoever should disturb her; because the States of that Kingdom having for a shew been called and separated with good words only, and the Committees to whom the reformation of abuses were committed done nothing, the male-contents had again united themselves to the Prince of *Conde*, and endeavoured to stir up the *Hugonots*.

The Queen, that for her own interest was resolved, the Marriages, whatever came of it, should be accomplished, sending the Marshal de *Boisdauphin* with an Army into *Champagne* to oppose the united Princes, and giving the Command of another to the Duke of *Guise* to be her Convoy on the Journey, parts from *Paris* with her Sons; and arrives in *October* upon the Confines of *Spain*, whither King *Philip* was come also. The Kingdoms shewing equal magnificence, each giving and receiving the Brides, it looked nevertheless as if *France* only were to change Interest. The little River *Vidasso*, which separates the two Kingdoms, joyns together at present the Spouses, and nothing was wanting of that, which from ambition and luxury could be added to the greatness of the Princes. At the same instant of time, the two Princesses in Boats looting from the respective shores, and it being observed, that in the *Spanish* Boat there was a Globe, representing the World, placed under the Crown and Trophies of Arms, the *French* would have it put out, prefiging, as time, the ordinary Judge of Events, hath since made appear, that from this Marriage, in which the *Spaniards* placed the strongest foundation of the universal Monarchy, is seasonably sprung up that contention, which more than ever hath opposed it. The Queen-Mother receiving her Daughter-in-law at *Bordeaux*, the Marriage being not consummate, by reason of her tender age, brings her to *Paris*.

The united Princes, notwithstanding the opposition of *Boisdauphin*, had passed the *Loire*; but *Conde* being fallen sick in *Poitiers*, the rest were easily perswaded to hearken to Propositions, which the *English* Ambassadors and the Duke of *Nevers* made for an agreement; whereupon the Treaty was concluded in *London*, the

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Princes and others of their party, according to custom, rewarded, who for their own profit easily gave over the pretext of their Arms. But the Spouses were no sooner exchanged in *France*, but the Councils in *Spain* began to inveigh against the Capitulation of *Asti*, because it was out of the way of the Dignity of that Crown, and the usual Arts of its Ministers. Above all others, no man declaimed so much against it as *Pietro di Toledo* Marquess de *Villa Franca*, a Minister, who with bold and vehement counsels upheld the credit of those that shewed themselves zealous against it. He was allied in blood to the Duke of *Mantua*, and shewed himself so much the more averse to that of *Savoy*, and emulating *Inoiosa*. From his judgment therefore and from his inclinations he appeared fit for the Government of *Milan*, and was thereto chosen with this clear argument, that he was not a fit Minister for Peace, who was the publick Author of Councils for War. A forerunning order, for shew at least, was dispatched to *Inoiosa*, that the Duke having disarmed, he also should license stranger Souldiers; whereupon *Claudio Marini*, Resident of *France* at *Turin*, bringing an attest to the Governour, that there remained nothing to be desired on *Carlo's* part to fulfil the agreement, he discharging only the Auxiliaries of the *Italian* Princes, begins to reform the rest. But behold *Toledo*, unlooked for, now arrives with a great supply of money, and *Inoiosa* not able to bear the sight of him, because as one that envied him, he came in word and deed to discredit the past Government, takes his Journey for *Spain*, where the Governours of *Milan* having been accustomed to arrive with applause, for having increased authority and enlarged advantages, he being accused to have given occasion for discredit, by having managed the Army weakly, and the Treasure with little fidelity, was subjected to censure; in which being protected by the favour of *Lerma*, the Judges differing in their opinions, the King assuming the cause to himself, absolves him. *Toledo* now in *Milan*, giving no credit to the disarming of the Duke, excluding *Marini* from negotiating, and declaring no more to acknowledge him for a Minister of the Crown of *France*, laying aside the reformation of the Militia, applies himself presently to the raising of new Forces.

A N N O M D C X V I.

In the very end of the year past, *Marco Antonio Memo*, Duke of *Venice*, dying, *Giovanni Bembo* gave happy prelates to the Commonwealth, being taken up from the Procuratorship of *St. Marco* into the highest dignity, after having gone through considerable Employments, and the Command of the Sea; a person of much virtue and a decrepit age, as is usual in the Government, in which men rise to the height by long steps of merit, and not by the favorable wings of Fortune. The *Venetians*, in the beginning of this current year, acquainting the Princes with the motion of their Arms, and informing them of the necessity of making use of them, added also their intentions to be as much distant from the desire of

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Conquests, or the enlarging their State, as they should be inclined to Peace, when the causes of so many calamities being removed, the Treaty of Vienna should be put in practice; the *Uscocchi* should be sent far from the Sea, that is, they which employ themselves in Piracy, and under three distinct names of Adventurers, Hirelings, and Outlawed, formed but one Colluvies of people; who without other profession but thieving, had wickedness for their trade. The Archduke on his part failed not to represent to the Courts his sense and complaints of being invaded in his own Country; which were variously hearkned to, according to the diversity of interests and dispositions. The Pope and France declared themselves to employ their offices for Peace with equal zeal and affection. In Spain the Ministers at first seemed in suspense, yet offered their interposition; and Toledo contented perhaps that the War should go on, declared publicly in Milan, that the *Venetians* had reason to seek just reparations; but soon after, seeking War more than the cause, they changed their mind. Although some discourses, to give jealousy to the *Venetians*, were scattered abroad of *Ferdinand's* nearest Kindred, the Emperor and *Maximilian* Archduke of *Innsbruck*: yet neither of them departed from Neutrality; and the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* went no further than intreaties for the Peace and good Offices.

The *Venetians* appointing *Ottavio Bono* for Ambassadour Extraordinary in France, caused *Vincenzo Giussani*, who had served in that Court for Ordinary, to take his way to the Rhine, to improve the affections of those Princes of Germany, which called themselves of the Union, to the end to oppose them to the Emperor, if he should take part in the Interests of his Cousin with Arms, and in the mean time inform them of the whole affair, and of their reasons not at all separated from sincere desires of Peace; which produced such an effect, that the Duke of *Witttemberg*, Head of it, offered to send an Ambassadour to Vienna to mediate the Peace, and the Elector *Palatine* moved *Matthias* with Letters very effectual. But with *Ferdinand* the Negotiation proceeded not with a pace equal to the common desire; for that *Matthias* soliciting him for a suspension of Arms, accepted by the *Venetians*, he offended at the Invasion of his Country, sends *Ecchemberg* to the Emperor, to offer him considerations, how great the resentment ought to be after such offences; and in case it should be thought necessary to admit of a Truce, he yet understood that the places taken should be first restored. On the other side, the *Venetians* scorned such an extravagant Proposition, which seemed absurd to all, even to Toledo himself, the execution never preceding the Agreement. They notwithstanding offered, in case the Treaty of Vienna were accomplished within two months, to render all. An offer, which being not only approved, but commended by the Emperours Ministers, was notwithstanding rejected by those of the Archduke, to the great advantage of the *Venetians*; because not liking that cause which condemned it self, the Emperor angry at the Archdukes backwardness, did for ever deny him those assistances, which he thought were due to the common

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interest of the Family, and which he solicited with great earnest, and reproach sometimes to the Favourite as long as any Hostility remained.

Thus the War from Injuries goes on to Treaties of Accommodation, and now at last to new Engagements, contrary perhaps to the belief of those themselves that were engaged in it. Now, to say truth, were the preparations proportionable to the motions in several parts; for the *Venetians* in particular having, in hopes of Peace in *Piedmont*, disbanded a good number of their Militia, found their Army not sufficient for their necessity. Therefore till men could be raised, they sent into *Friuli* the Militia of the Territories thereabouts; and from the Archdukes side, notwithstanding the snow, Troops came down from the Mountains. Those of *Trieſte* with thirty Barks hastily got together, attempted to make some disturbance, but were quickly by *Giovanni Giacomo Zane*, who succeeded in *Dalmatia* into the Generalship of *Venice*, with certain Gallies repulsed. Those of the Archduke over-running the Territory of *Pola*, were also driven back. At the same time, in the Country of *Montefalcon*, the Count *Ferdinand Scotto* put to flight 500 men, which attempting to plunder it, he obliged to leave their booty. To enlarge the way for the supply of Provisions, *Francisco Justiniano* had a mind to attempt *Vipolzano*; but his party being but small, and those that defended it more numerous, he retired without doing any thing. *Daniello Anthonino* with 300 Horse, stops a Party of the Enemy near *Dobra*, which ran up and down the Country, and had wholly defeated them, if he had had foot with him to have forced a strong house into which they retired; but a little while after, he meets in a more open Campaign *Daniel Francol of Trieſte*, one of the principal troublers of *Istria*, who being come out of *Gradiſca* with 300 Musquetiers, was so beset, that after a brave defence, himself, together with the major part of his men, were killed. The General *Barberigo*, at his coming into *Friuli*, resolves by means of a Ford over the *Lisonzo* to possess *Chiavoretto*, where near to its Fountain the River is constrained betwixt the Hills. But *Hettore Savorgnano*, who had the Command to attempt it, understanding by the way, more from report than truth, that it was too well provided, returns without effecting other than that the Archdukes people, comprehending the design and importance of the Post, put a stronger Garrison into it. *Trautmanſdorf*, having in this interim strengthened himself, plants a Fort betwixt *Goritia* and *Gradiſca*; to assure the communication of those two places; after that, raises another on the other side of the *Lisonzo*, called the *Trinity*, upon the Hills of *Lucinis*; obliging the *Venetians* to oppose one at *Medea*, and to contract their Quarters.

To second the designs in *Friuli*, the General *Loredano* marching into *Istria* with 2300 Foot, 150 Horse, and two pieces of Cannon, took *Antignano*, a great Town in the County of *Pisino*, and left it garrisoned. By Sea *Giovanni Giacomo Zane* coming to *Moschenizza*, takes it after two days resistance, and afterwards *Barzech* by assault. But in *Friuli* *Pompeo Justiniano*, made *Maestro di Campo*

General,

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It being resolved with better hope than counsel to attempt it, about the midst of *February* with 2000 Foot and 500 Horse he takes in *Fara*, which on the upper side lies upon the *Lisanzo*, betwixt *Licinis* and *Gradisca*. He soon after abandons it to amuse the Enemy with the uncertainty of his designs; but having viewed the place, returns unexpectedly thither with the whole Body, and intrenching himself, fortifies the chief Quarter which hindred relief to the Town by the River. The rest of the line, but that very large, was drawn on this side the River from *Cormons*, *Medea*, and *Meriano* with Guards of Horse between. The Army lying at large and about many Posts, consisted of 12000 men, of which all could not be called Souldiers, in an age, in which men were rather bought than chosen, and at a time when the *Venetians* were enough unprovided of a stranger Militia. There was within the Town, besides *strafoldo*, the Governour *Giovanni Perino* a *Walloon*, with a Garrison of 1200 men. They seeming to make little account of this attack, suffered the *Venetians* to carry on their approaches without disturbance. Only *Trautmanstorff* with the Horse frequently molested the Camp; but the Skirmishes went on with equal success, without contributing the least to the issue of the business, and without other reflection but to have been the cause of the death, by a Cannon-bullet, of *Daniello Antonini*, a valiant Souldier. To the common sorrow for this accident the Senate adds testimonies of honour to his Brothers; and to encourage Posterity, caused an honourable Monument to be set up for him in the Cathedral of *Udine*. Some Works being finished, four Batteries with 24 pieces of Cannon on them were raised in the Camp, some playing upon the Port filled with earth, and the Bastions, others ruining the houses. Some of the Enemies Cannon were dismounted, and a Cavalier or Catt beat down. Howsoever the effect of the Cannon imitating a Thunderbolt, which with a great rumbling for the most part doth little hurt, was not answerable to the noise. A Half-moon defended the Wall, and the *Venetians* entering into the Ditch, tried to mine it; but the stone being hard, whilst they were labouring to pierce into it below, those within had time to cut off a place of retreat above; but seeing themselves straightned, they at last make a Sally at break of the day with three Troops, one at the head of the approaches, the other upon the flanks, and forcing away, the first Guards, which negligently kept that Work, they enter the Trenches. *Justiniano* was seasonably present; but disturbed at the fright of his own, and the boldness of the Enemy, and being put hard to it betwixt

twixt those that abandoned him, and those that pursued him, hardly escaped from being taken. But getting at last into a Fort that was near, the Enemy stopped not but at the first redoute at the Battery, where *Lelio Martinengo* was with his Regiment, with which giving courage to the run-aways, and with the Cannon, the Enemy being put to a stand, he forces them to retire. Four Companies of the *Venetians* were defeated; two Captains were killed, and one made Prisoner. A relief of some *Corse* arrived at this time from *Fara*, and supplied their place in the Trenches, which the Enemy might in that disorder easily have slighted, and filled up the Mine, if they had not alone made it their business to pursue those that fled from them. The Besiegers, to retain their credit, attempted to storm it. *Oratio Baglione*, who commanded the first Squadron, made a brave assault, and forced the Enemy to betake themselves to their cutting off; but being hurt in the face with a stone, and many of his men killed about him, and *Francisco Justiniano* for private grudge not seconding him, as it was his charge to do, he was constrained to retire. At last springing the Mine, eight *French* Souldiers, hired by reward, hazarded themselves at the head of some others to climb the breach, which was wide enough. But three running away before they came to grapple, and the five not being seconded by a Troop which should have followed them, two of them were killed, one taken Prisoner, and the other, after having been in the breach, retired.

Justiniano seeing that neither Courage nor Fortune favoured the enterprises, getting together a good number of Pioneers, endeavours to straighten the Town more nearly, and to change the place of the attack. Upon the first report of the Siege of *Gradisca*, the Archduke *Ferdinand* tries more than ever to stir up the Emperour to assist him; but he refusing to depart from mediation, did nothing but nominate two Commissaries in *Italy*, which were *Cosmo* Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, and *Ferdinand* Duke of *Mantua*, to the end they might procure an adjustment of Peace; but they employed nothing else in it but some offices and the name. The *Spanish* Ministers taking for a pretext that their King was allied to the Archduke, thought the Conjunction very fit for their design to promote their greatness in *Italy*, that the Republick should be employed elsewhere; and therefore declared in *Madrid*, that they could do no less than assist *Ferdinand*; and the Governour of *Milan* sending the Marques *Andrea Manriquez di Lara* to *Venice*, he pressed, that to make way for a Treaty, the Siege might be removed from *Gradisca*, his King promising to interpose with *Ferdinand* for a suspension of Arms, and offering that the Town should remain in the present state, without repairing or bettering any thing. This office was not free from jealousy, because at that very time *Gamboloita* lodging in *Giara* upon the *Adda*, environed the Territory of *Crema*; and there being 24 pieces of Cannon mounted in *Pavia*, it was given out, that 8000 Souldiers under the Command of *Zanchio Luna*, *Casillan* of *Milan* should move towards the Confines of the Republick. The Republick

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The Popes Nuntio and other Ministers of the Princes interceded with the Republick, if not for a Treaty, at least by connivence for a forbearance of Hostility; whereupon the Senate, considering the instances of so many, the difficulty of what they had undertaken, and the distractions in *Lombardy*, answered in the same sense to all, *That remembring the past provocations, the injuries long suffered, and last of all their declared inclination to Peace; for a greater proof of it they were contented to slacken the Siege, and withdraw the Batteries, to give time to them, the Mediators, that implying their affectionate offices to the Archduke, he might be induced to take away the causes of those resentments, which depended wholly upon the Uscocchi.*

Manriquez with this returns to *Milan*, and the *Venetians* withdraw from the Posts nearest to *Gradisca*, retiring with the grols to *Alexisno*; after forty four days attacke, and twenty five of Battery. The Negotiation upon these terms seemed in a fair way: but it was not long before it changed its aspect, the Pope making a Proposition, that the places possessed should be deposited; a thing no ways pleasing to the *Venetians*; because, besides the doubt of relapsing into the former slackness, and delays, it seemed no easie matter to make choice of one, into whose hands to deposit them, while the Pope being very aged, could not dispose of the will of his Successors, who for the most bring along with them new affections and interests. The Emperour and *Spaniards* were too near allied to one of the parties, and suspected by the other, the lesser Princes falling not under consideration, as wanting power and credit, to maintain reason and right against force. *Manriquez* then arriving a second time at *Venice*, the Negotiation is made more difficult than before; because perswading himself to obtain every thing with the same facility, he proposes, *That Ferdinand giving his word to Toledo, that the Commanders and most mischievous of the Uscocchi should certainly be removed, the Republick should presently restore what they possessed in Friuli and Istria, after which Don Ferdinand should execute the foresaid remove, and the differences be adjusted within a term limited.* The *Venetians* highly offended, made this complaint, *That the conditions were by the Governour made worse, in place of better, which they expected, in proportion to the respect they had shewed to his offices, and that he pretended to perswade them to a restitution upon the uncertainty of that which might afterwards be agreed on, the apparent banishment of some few not sufficing to take away the encouragement from so great a number of such mischievous Villains.*

Manriquez hereupon returning without satisfaction to *Milan*, leaves the Ambassadour *la Queva* to pursue his instances, and he continues them with such urgency, and withal insolence, ascribing the withdrawing the Siege to the difficulty alone of the enterprize, that the Senate offended at it, openly rejected his importunities. In the

the Emperours Court things were treated more calmly; because the Archduke thinking it best to endeavour to adjust an agreement without speaking of a cessation of Arms, the Ambassadour of *Infancy* proposed, *That to reconcile the diffidence of the Parties, and the puntilio, the restitution of places possessed on the one side, and the execution of the promises on the other should be practised piece by piece alternately, so that one Article should be the defence of the other; A Proposition which then came to nothing, but was the foundation afterwards of the Peace, though with some protraction of time; for it was necessary that it should be ripened under another Climate more remote.* The Republick in this manner tossed to and fro with Hostility, with Jealousies, and with Treaties, the Duke of *Savoy* was not much more quiet, but being hurried about amidst no less suspicions, it happened, that his interests were interwoven with those of the Republick; nay in such sort ingrafted, as may be said that the cause became common, and therefore the Narrative with equal exactness ought not to be omitted.

Carlo covering with a profound dissimulation the jealousy he had of *Toledo*, sends at his arrival in *Milan* the Seigneur *de Parela*, not so much to complement him, as to penetrate his intentions, and insinuate to him the conveniencies in fulfilling the Treaty of *Aszi*, with restitutions and disarming. If the Governour was new in his Office, he shewed himself also a very Novice in the discourse of Treaties and Peace, and so clearly expresses himself; *That he knew not to what a powerful King could be obliged: That he was bound to no Law or Contract, but his own moderation and clemency. And if Carlo would make trial of it, and cast himself upon his favour and Royal arbitrement, he should experience that the bounty of a great Prince is the only restraint of his power.* As to the disarming he declares, *That the Reputation of the King, the State of Italy, the Motions of the Venetians, and the Concernments of Ferdinand did not permit it.* From such an answer was clearly understood the sum of *Toledo's* instructions to consist in breaking the Treaty of *Aszi*, to re-establish either by Arms, or Treaty the pre-eminency of that Crown in *Italy*. The Duke nevertheless upon his perswasions is reduced to write into *Spain*, and make some kind of excuse for the things past, and press for the fulfilling of that Treaty; but at the same time came Orders to the Governour of *Milan* to press the Duke to ask pardon, to refer himself concerning the Capitulation to the Royal Favour, and that *Maurice* the Cardinal his Son should go to the Court of *Spain*.

All this being a bitter Pill for *Carlo* to swallow, *Toledo* sweetens it with an offer to give him assistance to recover *Geneva*, and reclaim that City from disobedience to their Prince, and their Apostasie from the Faith. This did not at all satisfy the wary and wise disposition of the Duke, and so much the less for having towards the end of the past year discovered some practices of the Government against his own person, and came daily more and more to know, that the eldest Prince his Son had been tempted by the *Spaniards* to solicit the Succession, though he that retained towards his Father an

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affection equal to veneration resisted all their suggestions. There was a Treaty in *Zuccarello* to deliver that place to the *Spaniards*, which came to be discovered, and the flight of the Colonel *Allardi* Provençal, who passed from the Service of the Duke to that of the Governour of *Milan*, confirmed it. He gives out that the *savoyards* held Intelligence in several places of the *Milanese*, and particularly in *Pavia*. But the Duke denied every thing, bitterly complaining that *Toledo* should lay Plots to intrap him, corrupted the Governors of his places, received his Rebels, and debauched his Souldiers.

Preparations for War were now strongly carried on, and the Agent of *France* being gone to *Milan* to endeavour means to bring the Treaty to effect, *Toledo* inveighing against the Duke, solicited *France* to force *Carlo* to lay down Arms, promising that when by the restitutions he should have shewn the respect due, *Spain* should leave nothing to be desired from its just Greatness; declaring nevertheless, that the present Arms tending to the relief of the Archduke, and to bring the *Venetians* to a Peace, were to be reputed out of this case, and the obligation of laying them down. But *Carlo* sustained, that by the Treaty not only himself, but all *Italy* ought to be freed from the Jealousie of his Arms, and offered the restitutions whensoever *Toledo* should first disarm. These then were the steps to a new War in *Piedmont*; and *Carlo*, informing the Princes, especially those which were Protectors of the Treaty of *Asti*, represented the opposition of the Governour, and with his own suspicions the common dangers. The Pope, to prevent the impendent mischiefs, appoints for Nuntio Extraordinary *Alessandro Lodovisi*, Archbishop of *Bologna*.

The King of *England* presses anew, that the Republick and the Duke would enter into the Northern League; but they, thinking it not an adequate remedy for the diseases of *Italy*, King *James* applies himself to the ways of procuring Peace. For the same purpose arrives from *France* Monsieur de *Bethune* Ambassadour in *Italy*, and under-hand proposes a Marriage betwixt *Christina* the Kings Sister, and *Vittorio* Prince of *Piedmont*: But *Carlo* receives it with a kind of distrust, as if it aimed at disarming and amusing him. *France*, to say truth, was not now in a condition to give the Duke that assistance of Arms which he earnestly required; for, *d'Ancre* governing all by private Counsellors, grounding himself upon the Marriages contracted with *Spain*, and the impressions he received from that Crown, had perswaded the Queen to imprison the Prince of *Conde*; upon which many withdrew from Court, complaining, that promises and treaties served but to insnare and make ridiculous the unwary. So that the Duke of *Savoy* had little more hope of assistance left than of the *Venetians*, who by the Jealousie they received from *Toledo*, and for the Declarations of the King in favour of the Archduke, were very much perplexed.

The Ambassadour *scaglia* then coming into the Senate, relates the series of the former Negotiations, the endeavours of *Carlo*, the answers of the Governour, his actions, the designs justly giving Jealousie

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lousie to all, but to the Republick and the Duke chiefly mischievous, then adds: *It is known how much Carlo, a generous and magnanimous Prince, in his consent to the Peace, hath considered the satisfaction of the Princes Mediators, and particularly of this Republick, on whose word and warrant, and none other, he was willing to let his Arms fall out of his hand. And now I beseech you, what is the state of Affairs? Treaties, the just Rules of Friendship, are converted into the treacherous snares of interest. Heretofore we fought armed; but now under the fraudulent name of Peace we find our selves little better than without Arms, environed by a most powerful King, exposed to dangers. It is uncertain how far the Spaniards will extend the greatness of their power and arbitrage. If enlarging Dominion be their design, no other mans state is more secure than that of Piedmont. True it is, that my Prince stands the first exposed, and although he be strengthened with his own generosity, and animated by the hopes of friends, yet he hath recourse, as to the inviolable Sanctuary of Faith, to your assistance. He supposes them because of the treaties, the promises, and your friendship; I may say, of your own interest: but let that be left to be weighed in the scales alone of your greatest prudence. 'Tis certain, that common and greater troubles are at hand. Toledo either imposes disarming, or threatens War. Betwixt two great, and little less than equal, dangers, the Duke must either lose himself in the one, or hazard himself in the other. Betwixt War and Servitude there is no middle security. But to lose generously the State, is a courting of Fortune; to stand the shock of death, is to yield a little before-hand to the right of Nature; but to make himself a Slave, what will it be else but to subscribe to the perpetual reproaches of Fame, and to the contempt of Posterity. Hitherto the Duke hath made resistance: he hath done himself right, and repaid injuries. Mendoza's provocations have not gone scot-free; and now Toledo would overcome him with treaties, promises, and threatnings. But Carlo supported by your constant friendship, will equally despise their flatteries and their frights. It properly belongs to your greatness and wisdom to blunt the edge of that injury which is offered to the Word and Honour of Princes, and to resist that pride, which thinks it self of no authority, if not feared. Does Philip possibly forget the so many Kingdoms which he enjoys, largely scattered in all the parts of the world? Do not the States of Italy suffice, which heretofore made several Princes great? If Piedmont be not added to it, Monarchy, it seems they conclude, will fall to the ground, without glory, discredited and neglected. It is, O Fathers too true, that ambition hath placed the Centre, and from thence it seems they draw the circumference. The Conquest of Piedmont is but a step of ascent to the Monarchy of Europe; the States, the Treasures, Liberty, Dignity, this very Capital City, which is the representative of the felicity and beauty of Italy, is destinated in their hopes to spoil, to fire, and to slavery. Now at length they thrust themselves into your rights, they assume the interests, they divert resentments and just revenge, and under the specious title of assisting the weaker, they aim at nothing but establishing Authority and Power. What more remains there in Italy free and beautiful, when the glory of this Republick,*

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and the generosity of my Prince shall be laid low. Let those dangers, and the foreboding of them be far from us. O Senators, let us joy here, that we may not fear their threatenings, nor experience the loss of our Arms; and if we shall be necessitated to make use of them, the labour will be gloriously crowned by our constancy. Carlo is displeased to be a burden before he can be of service to you; but he has heretofore offered you all he hath, and now he makes a present of his very will to you. Direct his Arms by your counsels, who therein will be your faithful friend, and an inseparable follower in this cause, in which not glory only, but common safety is in question.

Scaglia by this discourse aimed to incite mens minds to those two affections, which in Republicks, composed of many, are powerful enough; the one relating to private men, the other to Princes, that is, scorn and suspicion. But Carlo at Turin to the Ambassadour *Antonio Donato* used with great art incitements yet more moving; for discoursing things more narrowly with themselves, and of the means of defence, he represented his state, wasted with the late Wars, incapable to withstand the burden for the time to come, leaving him to comprehend, that the Common-wealth not stepping in with effectual assistance, he should be forced by necessity to some kind of agreement, though disadvantageous, in which case the whole power of the Arms of Spain, besides that of the Archdukes might fall upon them alone. The Senate being obliged to deliberate upon so weighty a matter, it was the opinion of some, that so many other Princes, equally Trustees for the Peace of *Asia*, standing Spectators, or at least interposing nothing but desires and endeavours, the Republic alone ought neither to espouse so great a quarrel against so potent a King; Saying, That Wars were the Crisis, and most dangerous sickness of States, subject to chance, to accidents, and the uncertainty of the remedies themselves. If the Republic found one War at present not a little burdensome, why would they distract their thoughts and forces into two several parts? Have they possibly so much assurance of the Dukes faith, or so great proof of his constancy, that it is firmly to be believed, that one day either beaten or flattered, he will not abandon us? must the Army of Piedmont be maintained by the Treasure of the Republic? But what Treasury will be able sufficiently to supply two such devouring Gulphs? The beginning of a War was ready, and easie, the progress of it difficult, and the issue uncertain. In sum: that Fortune makes sport with Princes, and that of Princes those prevail, who with the greatest powers are able to weary the adversity of Fortune. That the Republic in times of greatest strait was wont to make use of the prudence of Councils before the noise of Arms, whilst in affairs most difficult, time is the fittest and most wary Counsellor, which oftentimes gains that which Fortune cannot give. To the most powerful what is the benefit of being Conquerours? And of the conquered, how many are the dangers and losses which they reckon? Their Judgment therefore was, not to pass beyond the offices of a good amity with Carlo, and that in other Courts they should employ their exhortations to Peace.

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But *Nicolo Contarini*, a Senator of a warm spirit, abhorring such flow opinions, spake in this manner: Whilst we lose the occasion of the present Conjunction, and thereby declare our opinions, that affairs for the future will go on prosperously without our mingling in them, we our selves by our own Counsels greaten the Enemy. We have so long neglected injuries, that now, being proceeded to violence, we ought no longer to suffer them, nor indeed can we. God presents us an occasion for our constancy, and withal gives us for a Companion in it a Prince generous in common Interest. Can we possibly have a mind to expect the enjoyment of our liberty precariously at the will of the Governour of Milan? He violates Faith and Treaties, forces Savoy to obedience, threatens our Dominions; which to you is so much the more compulsive, or more miserable, by how much reason and justice, trod under foot by the more powerful, do not give their votes for the Princes. Shall free Princes then take up just Arms but at the good pleasure of another; and must they expect no Peace but upon servile Conditions? Let the generosity of Italy once awaken, and let us hear words worthy of Princes. But I would to God it were permitted at present to resolve upon that which the Dignity, the Decorum, and Expediency requires, and that necessity interposed not with Counsels more resolute and precise. Fathers, if we will not have the War in our bowels, we must resolve to nourish and keep it afar off. Well is that Treasure spent, and most happy those cares, if they can remove from us the miseries, the calamities, and the mischiefs which Armies bring with them. From Carlo what hostage of gratitude, and what pledge of faith can we have more sincere, than the drawing the Enemy into his own Country? And if we will have him yet more secure, how can the Duke abandon us, if he be abandoned of all? Amongst Princes there is no stronger tie, than that which adjusts a conformity of Interests. They are the heart-veins, which meet in the liberty of the one, and the safety of the other. Both in a word are threatened and despised, and may at last be insnared and oppressed. The assistance of the Republic is necessary for Carlo, and a diversion by him is necessary for the Republic; if by Arms or Treaty we pretend to bring the Archduke to reason and quiet, we must give that fatal Remora of the Forces of Spain employment elsewhere. I imagine, the charge will be objected; but for what employment have our Ancestors left us a rich Treasure, but to be serviceable at need to maintain honour, and make good the greatest and most unlooked for emergencies. Do you think our servitude will be less grievous, when we shall be bound with our unemployed Treasure, and bound with the chains of our own gold? It is much better to fear, than make trial of the Spanish Forces; and if we fear them, let us dispose of a defence far from us. The rule of just is of equal extent amongst Princes. If Philip give his most vigorous assistance to the Archduke; why should we offend in giving ours to Carlo? To Carlo, with whom interest combines us, and faith given requires it. After the promise given, deliberation and counsel are no more in our own power. Let us look out Examples of old, and revolve the Memorials of fresher date, we shall not find, that the worm of a promise falsified hath ever corroded the integrity of publick faith: And that for this reason, because

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this bond of things divine and humane cannot be loosned, but the order of the world will be confounded, and civil societies left as a prey to opinions, interests, and affections. If we will make our selves idle spectators of others oppressions, we our selves shall deserve to be abandoned by all in our dangers; and with what heart can we invoke God, much less our friends to our succour, if obliged, and also required, we should leave the Duke in prey to Toledo? Assistance is to be implored from Heaven it self with the right hand held up to joyn endeavour to the vow, in imitation of the Marriners, that have the Helm in their hand, and their eye on the Stars. God himself will assist our cause, because this War, whether it be with Arms or Money, takes not counsel from ambition, but is the resolution both of necessity and justice, in whose bosom the Commonwealth hath always found Peace or Victory. Let us courageously adventure to take the resolution this day, because though the entrance should prove difficult, certainly in the progress we shall meet with accidents of hopes, friendships, interests, and succours that we think not of. I know, that in great affairs it is dangerous to discover ones opinion, because the Authors of resolute Councils are like to those that sling heavy stones into the air, not without danger of having them return upon their own heads; rather than hit the mark to which the hand directed it. I know also, that of good success every body will be a sharer, and that if it prove unprosperous, the blame shall be imputed to me alone; but if such respects persuade me to silence, the zeal for my Country hath forced from me this discourse.

The Senate was really inclined to comply with the Dukes instances, moved also from their own concerns; whereupon they resolve to assist him, and though upon no particular Treaty, yet it was done under the bond of common Interest, so inviolable in the minds of Princes, that till the very end of the War the one wanted not money, nor was the other failing in his faith. They immediately consent the levy of 4000 French under the Command of Monsieur de Chastillon, at the charge of the Republick, that 2000 might serve the Duke of Savoy, and the other pass by Sea into Frinli; but in the conclusion they remained all in Piedmont. They disburse 50000 Ducats for another Levy, that the Marshal Dediguieres offered of the same Nation; and to the end the Army in Piedmont might be kept vigorous and contented, they contribute, besides other extraordinary assistances, 72000 Ducats a month. The Duke had a close and particular confidence with Dediguieres, and he, little regarding the counsels of the Court, either corrupted by Strangers, or confounded in the private interests of the Favourite, did not only leave the passage of the Mountains open to the Souldiers, which in great numbers flocked to the readines of the pay; but was moved to go himself in person to Turin. 'Tis not to be doubted, but Carlo thinking to gain great reputation to his Forces and Counsels, drew him thither with the powerful attractive of gold: for the Marshal grown old in glory and the Wars, yielding easily to it, had gained from slender beginnings equal reputation and wealth. The Duke versed in the management of things, suddenly orders a meeting

ing with the Marshal that should make a noise, in the presence not only of his own Sons and Ministers, but of the Ambassadors of France, England, and Venice.

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Bethune come into Italy with Court-impressions, approves the disarming of the Duke; but upon better discussion of the business, the prospect of affairs, and the state of the present Juncture being otherwise represented, Dediguieres shewing no less wisdom in his discourses than affection to Italy, it was unanimously concluded, that first with Negotiation, and afterwards, if need should be, with Arms, Carlo his dignity and the common interest should be maintained. Dediguieres offers to the service of the Republick 2000 men under his Nephew the Count Sol; but the difficulty of the passage through Rhetia made it without effect. Noble was the offer of the Duke of Maine, to come with an Army levied at his own charge into Piedmont, and forcing the passage into the Milanese to penetrate into the State of the Republick. But vast obstacles lying in the way, though the Duke courageously boasted to overcome them, the Senate accepted only the good affection; judging it also their advantage, that he should reside at Court to make opposition to those, who in the disadvantages of Italy understood not the loss of that Crown also. Willing therefore to procure elsewhere a Levy of Strangers, they send to the united Switzers, to have 4000 men, and to the Grisons to obtain passage, Giovanni Baptista Padavino their Secretary, who formerly having concluded the League, expired a few years since, was very acceptable among that people, with particular applause of wisdom and dexterity. He employs himself together with Augustin Dolce Resident in Zurich, by those means which suit with Rhetia, where poverty, the defect of the Country, goes hand in hand with avarice the vice of that Nation. From France, the Court taking it, as if the Republick did not procure those passages but for their own safety, and the indemnity of Italy, came order to Gheffier not to oppose it; but the Spaniards, engaged in the French Factions, as Auxiliaries, were now grown to have almost the chief credit amongst them, drawing to them the good will and inclinations of many. Their Minister thereupon circumventing the people, calling Councils, and sowing Jealousies, put them in mind of the mischiefs, formerly by the like Treaties suffered by the Count of Fuentes; threatened anew to interdict Commerce, extolled the benefits of the vicinity, and of the quiet; and intermingling gifts with his protestations and promises, turned the people about as he pleased, imprinting upon them hopes, fears, and jealousies, passions common to the ignorant vulgar. The multitude therefore presuming themselves necessary to all, fancied also every thing to be lawful; those few, which adhered to the ancient friendships, and knew that the liberty of Government consisted in Justice rather than insolence, could prevail nothing. Whereupon in a Pittach (so for they call the general Council of the three Leagues) congregated at the instance of the Venetian Ministers, so far were they from granting the passage, that they dispatched away Guards to the places lying fit to hinder

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hinder it, and recalled all those that were already in service of the Republick. The aforesaid Ministers then agree to leave the Country, leaving that popular passion to spend it self, and till those seditious Conferences should be dissolved.

But the *Spaniards*, upon the consent of a great Levy among Catholic *Switzers*, published that they would employ it immediately against the *Venetians*; to whose Confines, having got knowledge of the concerts betwixt them and the Duke, they send a great many Forces. The Cardinal *Borgia* not long after in *Rome* endeavoured, though in vain, to stir them up against the Pope, requiring restitution to *Spain* of those assistances, which in the beginning of his Pontificate had been largely given by the *Spaniard* against the Republick it self. The Vice-King of *Naples* arming some Ships, professed to give jealousy to the Duke of *Savoy* towards *Villa Franca*, and stop the *Venetian* Levies by Sea; and to spread their applications and forces into all parts, published besides to infest the *Adriatick*, the part, whereof the Republick is above all others jealous. The Republick sends to *Corfu* the Provéditor of the Fleet, that it might joyne in that Port after it had destroyed the Salt-pits of *Trieste*; and as to the *Terra ferma*, the Confines were no sooner fortified, but *Toledo* was quickly obliged to recal the Militia towards *Piedmont*, because the Duke was in the field, in a condition rather to give than receive jealousies.

The *Venetians* now apply their mind more attentively on *Friuli*, and send to the Camp *Ferrante de Rosso* and *Francisco Martinengo*, the one General of the Ordinance, and the other of the Horse; persons advanced in years, and of tryed experience, to the end that with their help and counsel they might amend past miscarriages. There went also the Prince *d'Este* as Governour General of the Gendarms; notwithstanding that the Duke his Father, to please the *Austrians*, had severely forbid him; and because the market-place in *Venice*, which in its discourses hath its Arms so much the more sharp as they are secret, inveighed against the Chiefs of the Army, with some sort of ignominy, *Antonio Priuli*, Cavalier and Procurator, was sent Provéditor General of the Army with supreme Authority. And *Barbarigo* within a while after had leave to return home.

Giovanni Battista Foscarini and *Francisco Erizzo* were added as Provéditors, to the end that they, with the General and the advice of the Chiefs of the Army, might determine upon the state of affairs; but all counsel being in vain without an increase of strength, assembling with all speed the most Troops they could, especially of strangers, they made haste into the field. And to *Trantmanstorff* also in the opening of the new Campagna arrived from *Hungary* 1000 Foot, and he with money from *Spain* levies a Regiment of 3000 more, besides 500 Cuirassiers, which the *Spaniards* under *Baltazar Marradas* sent to assist *Ferdinand*. Heightened therefore in courage with these and other assistances, he passes to this side of the *Lisongo*, and incamps at *Lucinis*, designing not only to cover *Gradisca*, but to dispute the possession of the Campagne with the

the *Venetians*. The design troubled them not a little, because they became obliged to put themselves under the Walls of *Palma* for the defence of their own Country; whereupon the business being put to debate, it was resolved to try by all means to dislodge him by force. The Army then ordered accordingly, the attacke by way of the Plain was assigned to *Baglione* with the *Italians* and *Corse*; that of the Hills, avoiding the steepy part of them, where was the Fort, to *Camillo Trevisano* Provéditor of the *Croatian* and *Albanese* Cavalry with the Strangers. *Justiniano* followed with the gros to assist where occasion should lead him; and *Barbarigo* (not yet gone) was in the Army, assisted by *Rossi* and *Martinengo*.

They began to march in the night, and *Trantmanstorff* was found in his Quarter with 5000 Foot and 1500 Horse, fortified with confidence and the undervaluing of his Enemy, rather than with Guards or Ramparts. *Baglione* surprizing some Sentinels, entred into the Quarter, possessing the Gate of a great Court-yard which served for the entrance; but finding not the other, covered by the situation and darkness, so readily as to advance further, the *Germans* had time to take the Alarm, and make it good. Constrained therefore to retire hence, he attackes in another part, and penetrates into certain Trenches; but the Enemy, being now every where in Arms, and the Cannon playing from the Fort, found every where a vigorous resistance. *Trevisano* upon the Hills had possessed two Redoubts; but the enterprize not succeeding prosperously on the other side, *Justiniano* commands the Retreat after two hours fight; during which, with some few Souldiers, some Officers were slain on each side, and particularly of the *Venetians*, *Lucio Richieri*, whose death was lamented, and honoured by the Senate with testimonies of Honour to his Family. The assistants joynd again to the gros, defied the Enemy with the sound of Trumpets; but *Trantmanstorff*, glad to have had the better by accident, and as it were sleeping, came not forth, but applies himself to the better fortifying of his Quarter. After this there followed several Skirmishes and Incurfions on both sides, but of little moment, the most considerable being that of *Trevisano* in the Canal of *Ronzina*, which lies in the utmost parts of *Friuli* fast by the *Lisongo*, with the spoil of some Villages, and bringing away booty. *Antonino* his Brother, a young man of great courage and extraordinary hopes, perished miserably in *Meriano*, killed by a casual stroke, whilst the Souldiers in the idleness of the Quarter, being fallen to blows, he was hastened to quiet them. But Summer coming on with excessive heat, sickness increased in such sort in the Armies, that men and horses dying, both sides thought it best to keep themselves for a time upon the defensive only. Building of certain Forts was their only employment, those of the Archduke raising one at *Fara*, which was called *St. Pietro*, and the *Venetians* another at *Foggiano*, to cover the Territory of *Montefalcon*, and was called *Prijuli*. To that which was beyond the *Lisongo*, *Trantmanstorff* opposes another a little upon the side, called the Star, and at *Gradisca* caused to be made a Ravelin, which covered the

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old Port. This last Fort vexed the *Venetians*, because it might hinder the design of laying a quarter upon the *Carso*, at which they aimed, so soon as their Army should be re-inforced; whereupon command was given to *Francisco Justiniano*, with some Companies of *Corse*, and to *Baglione* with others of the *Albanese*, to attempt the taking of it by Scalade; but were beaten off by those within, and from the discovery of relief, which came behind them, perswaded to retire. After this preparations go every where roundly on for greater attempts.

Where *Friuli* confines with *Carinthia*, falls in one of the principal Roads, which descends into *Italy* out of *Germany*, and there lies *Ponteba* a great Town, and of good trade; it is divided by a Bridge, the part on the other side is belonging to the Empire, and that on this to the *Venetians*. Trade, by reason of common benefit, went secretly on under the tacit faith, and good correspondence of the neighbourhood, and the rather, because the Towns adjacent and *Ponteba* it self were of the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Bamberg*. Those of the Archduke designed to make a sudden irruption into *Friuli* from that side, hoping to ransack many places in their way to *Gemona*, and perhaps get into the more open Country, and *Trautmanstorff* from the other side marching in thither, either make the Seat of the War upon the State of the Republick, or at least with inconvenience and confusion divide their defence and Army. The Bishop being perswaded to give his consent, there came down from the Hills into *Ponteba* 400 of his Souldiers to strengthen his Confines, and second the design. *Guglielmo Smit* with 400 more of *Ferdinands* follows, and surprises the *Venetian* *Ponteba* with the Inhabitants buried in security and sleep. Two Forts were presently raised, one on this side the River kept by himself, and the other on the other side, which he put into the hands of those of *Bamberg*. His intention was to go on further when he should be re-inforced with more Troops, which he expected, but found, that the Peasants, especially those of *Venzzone*, possessing the tops of the Mountains, and fortifying the High-ways with some Works, threatned to oppose with Arms and Stones whosoever should dare to attempt the passage.

No sooner was the News hereof come to the *Venetian* Camp, but a sudden remedy was judged necessary for an unexpected evil. And therefore the Proveditor *Fo. Carini* hastens thither with the Generals *Martinengo*, Count *Nicholo Gualdo* Governour of *Udina*, and *Marco Antonio Manzano*, commanding the Cavalry of the Country for that time. At *Dogna* upon the *Fella*, finding the Bridge broken, they got it mended, and the *Germans* making opposition, such was the mettle of the *Corse* and *Albanese*, that flinging themselves into the water, and passing from Rock to Rock, they so disabled *Smiths* people, that they were forced to retire in disorder. The *Venetians* then pursuing the flight, entred mingled with them into the *Ponteba* of this side, and passing the Bridge, the Bishops Souldiers giving way, they take the Imperial also. The *Germans* were almost all of them cut to pieces. The Plunder and Booty was great; neither did

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did the resentment of this surprize stop here, but invading the Confines of the *Austrians*, they pillaged *Alborghetto* of the *Manzano*. A little above *Trevise*, a place somewhat bigger, and that making no resistance, became the prey of the Souldiers. Terrour spreading it self as a stone in the water which inforces one wave upon another, the City of *Villaco* was upon rendring; but the *Venetians* not willing to remove their Forces far from the center of the War, nor engage them amongst those craggy Mountains, having fortified *Ponteba* retired. At the same time *Erizzo* emulating his Colleague attempts *Chiavoretto*, where lay intrenched in a convenient Post 800 Foot of the Archdukes, and 150 Horse. *Livio Puppi*, a man of credit amongst those of the Country, advancing before the rest with a good number of those who inhabiting the Mountains about *Cividale* are called Slaves, attacks the Trenches, seconded by *Giovanni Martinengo* with the Souldiers in pay. The Enemy were easily disordered, because the Horse instead of helping them in those narrow passages, being not able to govern themselves, trod them under foot, and brought them into confusion; whereupon every one provides for his safety by a Retreat. The *Albanese* following the instinct of the Nation, fell presently to pillage the place and the Quarter; which and their disorder some of the Archdukes people perceiving, came down to fall into their Rere, and snatched away one Colours. But being presently beaten back, left that place in the power of the *Venetians* who fortified it. *Trautmanstorff* hereupon fearing, if the *Venetians* should pass the *Lisonzo* thereabouts, to be taken napping, abandoning the Quarter of *Lucinis*, goes to incamp himself in the Plain near *Goritia*. The *Venetians* having gotten the chief end of their intentions, follow him a little way, but without doing him any hurt, and being aware of it too late invest *Lucinis*, and attacke the Fort there. It concerned *Trautmanstorff* to preserve it, and therefore entertaining the Besiegers with frequent skirmishes, he brought into it, through by-paths, 200 Souldiers with several provisions; but all in vain, because those within having no more water resolved silently to withdraw, and leave it. The *Venetians* entred into it, appointing for Governour the Count *Alberto Pompei*, and placed in the Town one of their principal Quarters. The Fort also of *Fara* being viewed by *Baglione*, who was there hurt with a Musket-shot, was immediately attacked, and battered from a place of eminence, which for want of powder, Captain *Sibit* quickly rendred upon honourable conditions, there marching out 230 Souldiers besides some hurt. In the heat of these good successes *Erizzo* attempts *Vipulzano*, where being about 100 Souldiers in a great house, he batters it with three Cannons, and demolishing part of the wall forces it to render, to go out with their swords. *Tolmino*, which is a great Town on the other side the *Lisonzo* in the Mountains, was attempted by the Count *Gualdo* with 500 of the Country Militia and some in pay; but the Castle discharging some Guns, the Peasants that knew not to distinguish where there was danger, or safety, hearing the noise disbanded, obliging the Count to retire but with a few.

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The *Venetians* nevertheless, a little more backwards raised another, and with some great pieces destroyed the Bridge, which was of great convenience to the Enemy; but *Trautmanstorff* a little above laid another upon Rapis covered by a certain turning of the Chancel, and fortified it with some Trenches and Cannons upon the River it self. The *Venetians* thereupon withdraw their Battery, become now of little profit, and in the Hills more distant from *Lucinis* made another Fort, called from the Family of the Provveditor, *Erizzo*, or from its figure the *Star*. After this, doubting lest the Enemy strengthened with many Companies under the *Spanish* pay, and by *Isolani* with some Troops out of *Croatia*, should possess the Plain of *Mainizza* betwixt *Lucinis* and *Fara*, another Fort was laid there in form

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Henry Count *d'Ampierre*, French by Nation, was no sooner come into *Ferdinands* Camp with 500 *Hungarian* Foot, and 400 Horse, but attempts to get himself reputation, by going out of *Gradisca* and falling into the *Venetian* Quarters at *Romans*, where in a large circuit a few men were lodged: And it happened that he brake in upon them; but the Souldiers recovering their first disorder, and putting themselves in defence in a great house which stood in the midst, obliged them to retire. To repay them in the same coin, *Camillo Trevisano* passed at noon-day the *Lisongo*, which in that season was very shallow, and forces a Quarter of *Walloons*, who save themselves by flight, he retiring in good order, upon the confluence of the Enemy from all parts thither. *Trautmanstorff*, to resent it with equal boldness, passes with all his Horse to this side with more happy success; for having driven in certain Guards advanced, he meets with *Trevisano* come out of *Lucinis* with few Companies of *Capelletty* on Horse-back. Five Companies of Cuirassiers a little behind were to serve for their Retreat with some *Corsi*, placed in ambuscade betwixt Ditches and Hedges. But the heavy Horse of *Trautmanstorff* shocking the light ones of the *Venetians*, obliged them in the charge to such disorder, that in place of rallying behind the Squadrons of the Cuirassiers, they forced in upon them, and confused them in such sort, that they drew them to run with them. The *Germans*, pursued to the Trenches of *Lucinis*, by which and the Forts being repulsed, thought fit to retire; the Infantry remaining a prey to the Enemy, who cutting off their way, they were either cut to pieces or dispersed; *Francisco Justiniano* and *Giovanni Domenico Ornano*, Captain of the *Corsi*, being Prisoners. *Foggia* a French Captain was killed, and on the Archdukes side *Trautmanstorff*, *Murradar*, and other chief Officers were slightly hurt. *Justiniano* a while after was exchanged with Father *Valerio* a Jesuit and *Ferdinands* Confessor, who, contrary to the orders of the Republick, passing through their Country in a disguised habit, came to be a Prisoner.

From *Dalmatia* and *Iliria* came at the same time advice of several successes; for the General *Zane* dis-embarking at *Scrisa*, suddenly by night plants his Cannon, with such a fright to the defenders, which consisted of *Germans*, *Segnans*, and some *Vscocchi* (whose principal nest it was) that they sent out to treat of a surrender. *Giovanni sarsich*, one of the very vilest of the *Vscocchi*, Captain of the place, considering that for him, made criminal already of hainous offences, there could be no place in the agreement, attempts to make his

An. Dom. his escape; but finding the passages stopped, enters the Town again, animating those of his party, who despaired of pardon, to defend themselves. The others intimidated with the threatnings of the General, that, if they delayed till the first Volley of his Cannon, he would give them no quarter, rising up against *Sarsich* cut off his head, sending it with the Keys of the Town to *Zane*, who received them at discretion, giving them all afterwards liberty and life, except the *Vscocchi*, who lost their heads by the hand of the Hangman. The Cannon taken away, *Scrisa* was utterly demolished; and afterwards attempting to land at *Buccari*, succours, by reason of the importance of the place, flocking from all parts, the season permitted not longer stay for the Gallies there. In *Istria*, whilst the unwholesomeness of the air consumed the Souldiers, taking away also some of the Chiefs, as it happened to *Martinengo*, and the Cavalier *Thomaso Cocapani*; to the General *Loredano*, *Antonio Barbaro* was appointed to succeed. *Trautmanstorff* made a course thither to oblige the *Venetians*, as afterwards happened, to quit the Posts possessed about *Zemino*, which is a Town of some moment in the County of *Pisino*, and walked the Country about *Polesina*, a fruitful Plain of that Province. But being called back into *Friuli* by the successes of *Ponteba* and *Chiavoretto*, it gave opportunity to the *Venetians* to ruin the *Austrians* harvest. *Luigi Giorgio*, Provéditeur of the Cavalry, sacked *Verma*; forced a strong Monastery near *St. Pietro di Selve*; burnt the Suburbs of *Umber* and of *Lindar*, with the death of some of the *Vscocchi*, one of the Chiefs whereof, called *Andrea Ferletich*, revenged himself by robbing seven Barks and a Frigate in the open Port of *Selve*. *Barbaro* also at last falling sick by reason of the ill air, the Generalat was conferred upon *Maffeo Michele*.

All these successes in both these Provinces of *Friuli* and *Istria* served rather to entertain than decide the War: But in *Piedmont* the rupture broke out with greater noise; for *Bethune*, having with the Governour of *Milan* used means and instances for Peace and for disarming, had after twenty days received in answer, that the Duke having not sincerely performed the disbanding of his Militia, and having broken the Articles of *Assi*, neither did the King think himself obliged to them: Nevertheless declared, that when *Carlo* should have effectually disarmed and restored, he then would give his word not to offend him; but for the general disarming, he would not consent to it, by reason of the proceedings of the *Venetians*, rendered suspect as well by the Invasions made upon the Archduke, as for the succours given to *Carlo*. He added a promise by word of mouth of a suspension for a month, when the Duke should give his word in the same manner to *Bethune*, not to offend the *Milanese*. *Carlo* consents to it, persuaded by *Dedigueres*; and induced with many reasons, or rather forced by the Authority of the *French* Ministers to forbear, if not provoked by Invasions and Hostilities; upon conditions nevertheless to retract his word, whensoever the State of the *Venetians* should be assaulted by the *Spaniards*. But the Governour, whose aim was by such a Proposition to make the

Venetians

An. D. m. *Venetians* jealous by making them believe, that the Duke by little and little would be engaged in other Treaties with other counsels, draws near to the Frontier of *Piedmont*, casting several Bridges over the *seba* and *Tanaro* to facilitate his attack in several parts, and give time for the springing of a great Mine elsewhere, capable to bring the Dukes affairs to the last gasp, if the Treacheries contrived, and the Forces now ready, might be able to proceed with equal steps.

There was in *France* the Duke of *Nemours*, a Branch of the House of *Savoy*, and next to the succession into those States, if the Line of *Carlo* should come to fail. He postponing certain private discords in being, about his appanage, shewed himself very earnest in maintaining the common Interests and Grandeur of the Family; and on that score had promised *Carlo* a Levy of *French* to help to defend *Piedmont*. But having in his heart the motives of interest and ambition, which more vigorously stirred him up to have a view afar off, of the succession to those States, hearkens to the insinuations of the Governour of *Milan*, who represented to him, that he might accelerate the hopes, rendered almost impossible by reason of *Carlo's* numerous issue, if he would turn his Arms against his Kinsman, and conspiring with *Spain* to his expulsion, reap as it were without hazard a most rich booty. *Nemours* no sooner heard the offer, but he readily embraces it, consenting to hold those States in Fief of that Crown. Such a cozening blow could not succeed but by surprise and a carriage of great secrecy; he therefore continues to assemble his Levies with deep dissimulation, making a shew to employ them for *Carlo's* assistance; but the concert was when he should be entered into *Savoy*, where it was designed to give him his place of Arms suddenly, and with all his Force to march into the heart of the Country, and in the surprise and so great a confusion possess himself of all that which could not resist; and at the same instant a great strength raised by the *Spaniards* in *Burgundy* were immediately to hasten to his succours, while *Toledo* with the powerful Army of the *Milanese* should make such an impression into *Piedmont*, that they should not leave to *Carlo*, betrayed by his own, and at the same time assaulted by his enemies, any way of safety, nor hardly of escape. But he, always vigilant, having got knowledge, that money had been furnished by the Governour of *Milan* to *Nemours*, came to discover the bottom of the secret, and orders the Marquess of *Lants* Governour of *Savoy*, that he should have a careful eye upon the Troops of *Nemours*, and receive them but in one place, and that far from any Town. It seemed, that *Nemours* was displeased at this distrust, and at last doubting to be suspected, sends to the other side of the *Rhosne* 1500 men; who seduced by the Officers, endeavoured to fortify themselves in *Clermont*, and another Town near-by. *Lants* immediately dispatches, to drive them thence, some Troops, which sent to *Carlo* by the Duke of *Main*, were passing through *Savoy*; whereupon the former, that did not willingly bear Arms against him, in whose name and under whose pay they had

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been raised, repass presently the River, before *Nemours*, with other Forces, or any of the *Burgundy* Troops now upon the way, could arrive to strengthen them. *Toledo* expecting that the design beyond the Mountains should discover it self, stays with his Army of 30000 men at *Villata* and *Candia*, his chief Quarters. And the Duke lodges in the *Vercellese* at *Caresana* and *la Motta*, with his Army of 20000; Forces unequal, not only for the number, but for the esteem and power which gave reputation to those of *Spain*: whereas on the Dukes side there appeared scarce any thing considerable but his own courage and the constancy of his friends.

Toledo himself had a little after it had been given, retracted his word for a suspension of Arms, displeased that the Duke should reserve to himself a power to assist the *Venetians*; and although *Bethune* took the trouble to go to *Pavia* to propose one more general, which might comprehend the *Venetians* also, he found opposition, and the Governour was heard to declare himself, that as things stood, he had no power but to assist *Ferdinand*. And so the War hereupon breaks forth into *Piedmont*, receiving its first motion from 200 *Spanish* Horse, which on the other side of the *Sesia* over-run the Country towards *Stroppiana* for booty. The Duke believing them more in number, went to meet with them, and obliged them to retire. He afterward attempts to burn the Bridge, which *Toledo* had over the *Sesia*; but the Fire-boats, stopt by certain impediments laid longt the shores, had no effect. He then enters into *Monferrat*, plunders certain Villages, takes *Villa nova*, and casting a Bridge over the *Sesia*, threatens to pass into the *Milanese*. The Governour sends 6000 men to recover *Villa nova*, in the defence of which the *Savoyards* not willing to engage themselves burnt it; and thereupon followed a notable Skirmish in the open field, where were killed on the *Spanish* side, together with 200 Souldiers, the Son of the Prince of *Ascoli*, and *Lodovico Gambalotta* Colonel of the *Lombards*, an experienced and valiant Commander. The Governour aiming to inclose the Duke, sends towards *Gattinara* a body of his Army, and with the rest takes his march towards *Crescentino*.

Carlo was first posted in *Sigliano*, which is a place environed by moorish grounds and waters, with one sole avenue, and very opportune to succour *Vercelli*, if the Governour should attacke it. Seeing afterwards the Enemies motion towards *Crescentino*, taking with him his Cavalry, and 2000 Musquetiers behind them, passes in sight of them, and coming first he provides, and preserves that place. Threatning as he passed to fire *Livorno*, a great Town of *Monferrat*, he receives Hostages with promise of contribution. Several Skirmishes happened; in one of which *Francisco Viver*, Son of the Ambassadour in *Genova*, commanding 100 Horse, fell into the hands of the *Savoyards*. The *Spaniards* frustrated in their first design vented their malice with burning the Villages of *Piedmont*; and *Carlo*, of *Monferrat*, to be even with him, either out of hatred to the Duke of *Mantua*, or because willing to proceed with a certain respect towards the *Milanese*. *Alphonso d'Avalos* was Governour

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Governour of *Monferrat*, born in *Italy*, but by extraction and no less in affection *Spanish*, who having several times provoked a rupture, experiences now the equal burden of the Arms both of his friends and of his enemies. He assembles a certain number of the Country-Militia; but *Carlo* fearing lest the *Spanish* Garrisons should practise to get themselves into those places, which should make themselves most troublesome to them, caused the Prince Cardinal *Mauritio* to take, as he did with little opposition, and demolish *Vulpiano*.

Autumn was now come, and with so much rain, that the Rivers overflowed on all sides. The chief bodies of the Armies were therefore constrained to halt for some days, the *Spaniards* in *Livorno* and *Bianze*, and in *Crescentino* the *Savoyard*. The waters at last making place, *Toledo*, who aimed at *Vercelli*, commands *Madruccio* with the *Germans* to lodge at *St. Ja.* and he with the rest goes to *St. Germano*, eight miles distant from *Vercelli*, a place, though not exquisitely fortified, that had nevertheless a good Rampart, and a Ravellin without. The Signor di *Cro* was Governour, with 500 Foot *Savoyards*, and 300 of *Piedmont*; but scarce had the *Spaniards* planted five pieces of Cannon in Battery, but he, first overcome either by fear or infidelity, renders himself, saving the plundering to the Town, and to the Souldiers their Arms. *Carlo* was on the way to relieve it, when understanding the loss, enraged with grief and anger he retired; and inveighing bitterly against the baseness of the Governour, caused him to be arrested, and his head taken off; venting his fury afterwards upon *Monferrat*, *Bianze*, which made resistance against his Vanguard experienced the utmost of rigour, and many Towns and Villages yielded to the fire, sword, spoil, and contributions. *Piedmont* in the mean time was no less afflicted with sword and burning, in that part especially situate betwixt the *Sesia* and the *Dora*, though the Duke to restrain excursions had laid two Forts in places convenient for it.

But *Toledo*, having his aim still upon *Vercelli*, feigns his march towards *Crescentino*, when the Duke still marching in his flank endeavours to prevent him. Each Army aspired to anticipate his Enemy, and be first in the Plain called *Apertole*, where they might conveniently range themselves, and either give or receive battel. The Duke hastened to pass, being the more earnest in it, because *Toledo* made as if he would amuse and hinder him, and therefore brings the best of his Forces into the Vanguard, in hope to come to blows. The *Spaniards* feigning to attacke him in Front, charged with 10000 Foot and 2000 Horse his Rear, which consisted of 4000 *French*, and some few Horse, and in the sitting through a Wood was disordered; so that he was now put to fight with his Enemy, with the situation, and with his own disorder; and although the Count of *St. Giorgio* with 500 commanded Musquetiers arrived to their relief, yet it was so late, that it served only to put the Enemy to a stand for a while, till night coming on the fight ended, and the *French* retired to the gross of the Army. Though the number of the dead on the Dukes side exceeded not 200 Foot and 50 Horse, the *Spaniards*

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The Duke had the contentment to see the French blooded, hoping that the ancient hatred and emulation betwixt these Nations being once awakened, they would repair their losses, and bring no small advantage to himself. He retires to *Crescentino*, and the Governour returns to *Lucedio* from whence he was come; passes afterwards to *Venavio* to begirt *Vercelli* from far, and orders the Germans to take in *Sallizzolo*, which lying on the way of *Inverea*, excluded all succours from that side. Nevertheless *Carlo* had brought them in before; so that under the Marquis *di Caluso*, who by flight had saved himself out of the Spaniards hands, there was 5000 effectual Foot and 250 Horse, strengthening the place in such sort, that *Toledo* judged the enterprise for that year too late and unreasonable, and contents himself to possess those Posts only, which in the next Campagna might best serve for his purpose. To keep the Forces of the Savoyards separated into several parts, *Mortara* the Governour of *Alessandria* taking the field with few less than 5000 Foot and Horse, for the most part of the Militia of the Country, takes in *Canelli*, and afterwards *Cortemiglia*. The Duke presently orders the Prince Cardinal to oppose him, joining 3000 Souldiers of the Country Militia to 1000 French. Three hundred of the *Monferrins* lodging in *St. Sebastiano* upon the Po, shut up the River, and infested the parts thereabouts. A thousand five hundred of the Savoyards attaqued this Port, and with little ado cutting to pieces the defenders, razed it to the ground. *St. Giorgio* attempted *St. Damiano*, but was repulsed, and *Mortara* at *Cestola* had no better success. Thus betwixt the parties passed several factions and ambuscadoes, wherein Fortune gave little advantage to either.

But beyond the Mountains *Nemours* having got together about 7000 men, gave not only jealousy to the Savoyards, but some apprehensions also to the neighbouring Provinces of France; whereupon *Monsieur d'Allingcourt*, the Duke of *Bellegarde*, and *Dediguières*, who governed the *Lisozzo*, *Burgundy*, and *Dauphine*, having a Meeting in *Lyons* (where also was Prince *Thomas*, whom the Duke his Father had sent with a good strength into *Savoy*) and falling to reflect upon the intestine troubles of the Kingdom, and the artifices of Strangers that might under this Army either be fomented or concealed, they resolved to deny him passage, and by all fair means to persuade him to Peace. It behoved him therefore to restrain himself within that narrow corner, which served the Spaniards for passage of their Troops into *Flanders*. Being repulsed at the Bridge of *Gressin*, which he attempted to pass, he was there abandoned by the French, who in a body marched away with flying Colours. He was no sooner got back with the Troops of Spain into the County of *Burgundy*, but he lends his ear to an accord; and though he pretended some place in Sovereignty, and to keep a Garrison in *Nixi*, as it were for his Appennage, nevertheless he was contented that 50 Switzers should be left there for a year, and 50000 Crowns, beside

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some hopes of having one of *Carlo's* Daughters for his Wife.

The prize and prey of fraud being come to nought, *Toledo*, to prepare for some enterprise worthy of himself and of his Forces, applied so much the more to straighten *Vercelli*, causing *dal Luna* to possess *Gatinara*, which stopped another passage over the River to the Town it self. All this while Treaties of Peace ceased not; the season now become very sharp, giving opportunity for it. For that purpose *Lodoviso* already assumed into a Cardinalship, and *Bethune*, conferred with the Governour in *Trin*, and with the Duke in *Chivasso*, and finding in both an equal peevishness and punctuality not to be willing to offer Propositions; they offered a rough draught containing, That the Duke for the first step, licensing the French, the Governour should then retire out of *Piedmont*, and quit the places possessed during this War. That he should then also discharge the Switzers and Germans with a part of the Horse, and should promise not to molest the Venetians. That *Savoy* should then quit all that had been taken in this War, and that *Toledo* should at last do the same. The Duke made no difficulty to give his assent, because the conditions were seemly, and preserved common safety. But the Governour of *Milan* denies them upon the wonted pretext, to have no power to meddle in the affairs of the Venetians otherwise than by Arms. As for *Savoy*, he promised nothing more but his word to the Pope and to France not to offend him, and to restore what he possessed when the Duke with an effectual disarming should shew an inclination to Peace, refer to the Judgment of the Emperour the differences with the House of *Gonzage*, and render the places taken. But *Carlo* not observing in these conditions any footstep of the Treaty of *Aissi*, saw Italy and himself involved in greater suspicions, and the Venetians in more considerable dangers. And therefore to the faith of the promises agreed on, and the gratitude of the succours received, he added this consideration; That the Governour aiming to break this Union, the better to oppress all, he could expect no other advantage by it, but to be the last should perish in the common deluge. For this cause, although the Mediators did *de novo* speak with him, and also with the Governour, discoursing of modifications and reprises, and that the Governour insinuated to him particular advantages, if separating from the Republick he would make a private accord, he constantly resisted all their Propositions. In this management *Bethune* encountered the Dukes kind acceptance and applause, and *Lodoviso* that of Spain, it seeming that he now designed to lodge in that Monarchy the hopes, which together with their habit many of the Cardinals use to put on. The Treaty being now at an end, *Bethune* would have repassed the Alps, if the Venetians had not prevailed with him to stay for the order and grace of the Treaty. Peace then despaired of, all parties arm with great diligence, and the Governour making great Levies every where, keeps his Army in great vigour. *Carlo* strengthens himself with 6000 Foot and 700 Horse, which after the accord with *Nemours* being of no use in *Savoy*, he causes to descend into *Piedmont*, and *Dediguières*

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The courage of the Duke and Ernesto Count of Mansfelt arriving, Souldiers in great number, and the gold of the Republick drew in the name of the Protestant Princes of the Empire, at Turin, offered as many as they needed. The Venetians finding the difficulty great to get supplies through the straits of the passages of the Grisons, resolved to make use of the Sea, although with greater charge, agreeing with the Count Levestein for the Levy of 3000 Walloons and of as many Hollanders under Count John Ernest of Nassau. The Winter was spent in giving orders, and making provisions; yet not wholly without some intermixture of enterprises of War; for Ferdinand Duke of Mantua, the better to redress by his presence the affairs of his States, being come to Casale, Carlo resolved now to do him a publick affront, causing several of his Towns to be plundered under his nose, and Moncuco to be assaulted, which by its vicinity was very troublesome to Chieri. Though Ferdinand desired to bring succours into it, yet the Savoyards Cannon not giving time, the place was presently buried in its own ruins, and the Governour coming forth without Arms, the Germans that were of the Garrison being cut to pieces, the Monferrins had their lives given them. These attempted a revenge upon Passerano, assisted by some of the Spanish Horse; but being repulsed by the Peasants alone, left dead upon the place the Cavalier Rivara, Governour of Trino, with the reputation of a gallant Souldier. On the other side the Signor Varica with some few French, recovered by Scalada Salizuela, not well guarded by the Germans. Toledo, not to let the whole Winter pass without some advantage, frames a design to surprise Crescentino, put upon it by two Nephews of the Signor of Albigni, who upon some distast with the Duke had taken employment on the Spanish side.

But Carlo, with good Spies having his eyes and ears every where, came to the knowledge of it, and carefully sending Prince Thomaso to change the Garrison he brake the design. The Governour seeing, that remaining in the field did diminish the Army without any advantage, orders Mortara, that abandoning the Posts possessed, he should withdraw it into the most convenient and quiet Quarters of the Milanese, leaving Garrisons in Trino for Monferrat, and in St. Germano and Gattinara for Piedmont. But the Duke through excessive fatigue falling to be crazy, was still active with his mind, ordering the Prince Vittorio to attack Gattinara where were 4000 Foot in Garrison. To dispatch it quickly, the Prince had a mind to take it by Assault; but the French Officers thinking it a hazard of too great difficulty, he would not engage himself in it, but turned about to Musserano. This is a little Principality on the other side the Sesia, where for the more strengthening the Vercelli on that side, Toledo designed to place a Garrison; but whilst ratifications were expected from Spain, concerning the recompences with which that Prince was to be contented, Vittorio breaks the Treaty with his Sword. The Princess, who alone with her Sons was within it, from

from fear was easily perswaded to surrender. At Creveceur, a place appertaining to the same, the dispute was something harder, because Luna halted from Milan with succours; but Vittorio going to meet him, beats him, leaving Luna himself with many of his dead upon the place. The place then renders of its own accord; and because it is a Fief of the Church, justly excused to the Pope the force, whilst that Prince so perniciously conspired against Piedmont. Caluso, Governour of Vercelli, drives the Enemy out of Desana; but factions and further progress ended with the year, the Prince also falling into a dangerous sickness. The Venetians were not well pleased to hear, that Carlo sparing the Milanese which did offend him, should trouble the Monferrat, which was innocent; and therefore attempted to set on foot a Composure betwixt the two Dukes, and that in order to some kind of reconciliation of their minds, they should speak together; but 'twas in vain, because Ferdinand required, that as a Preludium to the future friendship, the Savoyards should have regard to his State; and Carlo, who found not the French willing to enter into the Milanese, by reason of the interests of that Crown, alledged for excuse, that with invading it, he should have re-inforced Toledo with those assistances, which some of the Princes of Italy are in that case obliged to give. He continues therefore in his insults and damages done to the Monferrat, and so much the more by how much the Duke of Mantua, having a little before married Katherine Princess of Medici, and thereby the former project of Marriages being fallen to the ground, he had now no other remedy for his pretensions, but to do himself reason with his Sword; whereupon in the places taken, and particularly in the Canavese, he exacted an oath from the people as their lawful Prince.

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THE THIRD BOOK.

MANY believed, that King *Philip* being of an upright mind, and a most impartial understanding, and the Duke of *Lerma*, both by Genius and Interest inclined to Peace, that which followed in *Italy* was approved, rather than contrived in the Court of *Spain*, and that it had its rise from that *Triumvirat*, which *Pietro Girone*, Duke d'*Osuna* Viceroy of *Naples*, *Toledo* Governour of *Milan*, and *la Nueva* Ambassadour in *Venice* formed; who in their vast thoughts endeavouring to banish Peace and oppress *Italy*, had their aim not so much to make themselves famous, as the employment necessary to the King, and of advantage to themselves. It was therefore judged, that the Councils of *Madrid*, engaged upon their relations in a point of honour and reputation, in which the Nation is beyond measure tenacious, did prefer this sole consideration before so many others, which rendered the present actings prejudicial to the Monarchy; because in some Princes hatred springing up, in others jealousies being awakened, it seemed that all were afraid, and nothing was thought secure from the Power of *Spain*, or sufficient for their avarice.

To inform themselves then of the mind of the King and of the Favourite, the *Venetians* give command to *Pietro Gritti* their Ambassadour, a Minister of a so well tempered prudence, that slegm was not predominant, nor did it yield to the sagacity of that Court,

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no less considerate than circumspect, to represent the present state of affairs; Putting them in mind of the ancient correspondencies sincerely practised with that Crown for the restraint of the *Turks*, the Peace of *Italy*, and the good of *Christendom*, assuring them also, that the Republick retained the same lively motives of esteem and affection towards that Crown, united to the design and intentions of a free and honourable Peace. They declare withal, that having taken arms to defend themselves against the intolerable outrages of the *Uscocchi*, they pretended nothing of the Archduke but the execution of things promised. That *Carlo* had nothing to require of the Governour of *Milan* but the observance of things already agreed. To what purpose then should *Italy* be scourged with Armies, and tortured with Jealousies, if under the shadow of mutual faith, which is the most precious Crown of Princes, all things might be quieted? The Ambassadour added other conceptions which might manifest, the Republick inclined to Peace, but resolved not to abandon their own decorum or their friends. In *Spain* the Ministers had various reflections thereupon. It seemed to some, that the arbitrement, which they affected in the affairs of *Italy*, being rather called into doubt than maintained, it was fit to re-establish it with some advantage before to admit of a Treaty. Others apprehending, through the universal disgust of the Princes, greater commotions and accidents, which time did afterwards produce greater indeed than could have been believed, were of opinion to embrace conditions of compofure.

Lerma, to make himself Arbitrer of the War and of the Peace, inclines, that a Treaty should be set on foot, but that it was to be transacted in *Spain*, doubting lest the Emperour, resolved that the affairs of the *Uscocchi* should be composed, if the management of the Peace should be in his Court, he should constrain the Archduke to accept it; in which case the *Venetians*, free from a diversion on that side, might be able to revenge themselves upon the *Milanese*, for those jealousies which the Governour had endeavoured to bring upon them. It was therefore answered to the Ambassadour in the most lively expressions, that the mind of the King, always conformable to piety and justice, was possessed with equal motives of inclination to Peace with the Republick and with the Duke; whereupon it was resolved in *Venice* and in *Turin* to dispatch to *Gritti* powers to treat and conclude a Peace.

The Ministers of *France* and *England* did highly resent it, by reason of that competition of Authority, which, in affairs of weight, Princes, though friends, ascribe to themselves; prejudging unhappy success to the business, if, placed in the self-will of the *Spaniards*, their authority were not qualified by the power of some other Crown, which might be able to facilitate the Negotiation, and warily inspect the conclusion. But although the designs and ends of the Duke of *Lerma* were not unknown, *Carlo* nevertheless thought to have much advantaged himself, by having brought the *Spaniard* to treat with him as an equal; and the Republick hoped that the King thus interested in the mediation of Peace, the minds of the

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Ministers of Italy would prove less hostile and troublesome. That Court being more given to delay than conclude, all things began and proceeded very slowly; but the War was speeded in Friuli with so much the more diligence, though in Piedmont with greater success. In Istria the Venetians happened to take Zemino, a place strong and of importance. The Town was easily taken, being abandoned by the Garrison; but the Castle was forced by three Batteries, there marching out 300 Germans and some of the Country Militia. In Friuli, *Antonio Lando* Procurator, succeeding in the Generalat to Priuli, there being arrived at the Camp a Reinfort of good Troops, all diligence was used to straighten *Gradisca* in earnest.

It happened, that as the Count d'Ognate, Ambassadour of Spain to Ferdinand, passed through those parts, to receive him with the accustomed honour of the Militia there was a suspension from action for a little while; and the Venetians in that interim to honour him by meeting him with their Army, covering with some Squadrons of Cavalry a certain house, which stood betwixt *Meriano* and *Fara*, very near to *Gradisca*, cast up earth about it, and, before the Enemy were aware of it, raised a Fort in defence, which was afterwards called the Fort of the Compagnia, and was the beginning of the circumvallation of the place.

But *Medici* desiring to stop up all the ways of succours, orders the taking in of *St. Martino di Cusca*, and sends thither by night from *Vipulzano* and other Posts Souldiers with necessary provisions. The Garrison had been surpris'd in their negligence and sleep, if an accident had not procur'd their escape; for in a very narrow Lane the Horse, which carried the Pettard, taking fright from a certain rustling noise, set a running, with the shock of some, by whose Arms in the wonted resonancy of the mountains the noise being augmented, those that were behind, frightned with the confusion of them that were before, not knowing what the danger was, and therefore thinking it greater, betook themselves also to flight. The command of the Officers increased the disorder, who calling to the Fugitives to make a stand, it was believed of those afar off, that they meant they should rather double their steps in their flight. But being come to a Village, and some gathering together there, the light clearing up by the breaking of the day, they saw nought but the image of their own shame. Nevertheless in consequence of the noise the Enemy being alarmed, hastened from several Posts to relief, and *d'Ampierre* causing four Companies to advance, orders them to assault the Village; but the Venetians being found covered with some earth hastily flung up, one Company was defeated, and another left its Cornet there. Whereupon the rest of the Archducarians having made a halt, the Venetians had opportunity to retire to their Quarter, quitting the thoughts of attacking the Castle, into which succours were now entred. But to exclude the Germans from all access of coming on this side the *Lisonzo*, there was another Fort laid betwixt that of *Lucinis* and *Priuli* with two Cannons on it, which beat upon the shores of the River.

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Nevertheless there wanted not passages elsewhere, and *D'Ampierre* falling in at *Cravaglio*, a Village not far from *Palma*, upon the Company of Cuirassiers of *Girolamo Tadini*, broke it, carrying away thirty Prisoners with forty Horse. *Marradas* with 500 Mulquetiers and 300 Horse sets upon *Chiopris*, where one other Company only had their Quarter, but without other success but taking Prisoner the Lieutenant and some others, the rest defending themselves with so much valour, that *Marradas*, before help could come from the neighbouring Quarters, thought good to retire into *Gradisca*, leaving 40 of his Party dead upon the place. He was afterwards sent into *Istria*, where after the Surrender of *Zemino*, the people were wavering, and the more, because the Town of *Gallignano* was ready to be lost, invested by *Antonio Barbaro*, returned General into that Province. *Marradas* brought succours into it, plundered here and there the Country, and coming to *Fionova* burnt certain Vessels in the Port. Besides these, the actions on that side were of no great moment.

But in *Friuli*, *Lando* was resolved to climb the *Carso*, it having seemed fatal, because there was the open Sea, if till now any one had attempted the passage betwixt the Mountains. The Enemy themselves discovered this deceit, because some had made a doubt, that for want of earth, there was no lodging with necessary defence upon those Rocks; but now it was seen, that they apprehending that which was the Venetians very thought, raised a Fort upon those very Hills, which was called *Diana*, taking its name from some Ladies, who to hasten the work did labour about it. This did not only not divert, but promoted the intention of *Lando*, who planting a Fort with his own name at *Bruma*, which with two others reached to the *Lisonzo*, closed on the under-side the circumvallation to *Gradisca*, whilst on the upper side the Fort of the Compagnia, joyned with good intrenchment to *Fara* and *Meriano*, fully stopped every passage. *Trantmanstorff* made a great Sally, chiefly to view these new works: but being beaten back by the *Corse*, who had the guard of the Fort *Lando*, and the Commander *Colredo*, who was there with him, receiving a Mullet-shot, he retired, ordering a half-moon to cover the place on that side.

The Venetians nevertheless deferred for some days to pass the *Lisonzo* thereabouts, because the *Hollanders* under *Nassaw*, who disembarking at *Monfalcon* were to take those Posts, were not yet arrived, and therefore they had thoughts to attempt it on the upper side in the Chancel of *Ronzina*. *Medici*, to distract the Enemies Forces, orders the attacke of several Posts: Sends *Contino Mamoli*, Colonel of *Greeks*, to take in a house near to *Gradisca*, where placing some Cannon, it occasioned some fright within the Town. Count *Nicholo Gualdo* took *St. Floriano* in the Mountains, abandoned after a short defence by the Garrison. But *Cosmo de Monti*, who with a Pettard was to attempt the Fort *Diana*, and the *Corse*, who had the charge committed to them to take in that of *Bosco* by *Scalade*, were both repulsed. *Medici* was in the Plain of *Majazzza*,

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So many designs not succeeding, provoked *Medici* to new attempts; whereupon he causes the Fort *Bosco* to be invested, where the excessive rains retarded the Besiegers in such sort, that *Trautmanstorff* had opportunity, notwithstanding the battery of two small Pieces, to pass the River with 600 Horse, and fall into the Quarter of *Piuma*, which being ill defended by the *Venetians* in a great rain, which beat into their faces, was abandoned. The Troops, now being assailed also by the Fort, retired, and *Trautmanstorff* having gotten his design, leaves *Piuma*, into which the *Venetians* re-enter. Reinforcements now arrive in both the Armies; in the *Austrians* 500 from the Archduke *Maximilian*, and 900 under the *Spanish* Pay, besides those which *Ferdinand* himself in good number had raised; and in the *Venetian* 1000 *Hollanders* under Colonel *Vassenhoven*, and 3000 under *Nassau*. Better men and better chosen than these, *Italy* had not in a long time seen, nor which carried with them more reputation and greater reflections; for the *spaniards* extremely vexed, that two so great Common-wealths, well understanding one another, and which had fixed the center of their liberty in common interests, had found the way to unite the *Adriatick* with the Ocean, raged with great aggravations, holding forth the zeal of Religion, according to that custom, that the most powerful do also love to appear the most pious, and therewith beat the ears of the Pope, incestantly inciting him to oppose himself against the entry into *Italy* of that sort of people, who being of a differing Religion, might easily infect it.

But *Simeon Contarini* Ambassador for the Republick, in his grave and graceful way of speaking, remonstrated to *Paul*; That the piety of the Senate, mindful of the signal actions of their Ancestors, was an evident assurance of the constancy of their Religion, which having always been promoted, should also at present by good orders and most vigilant endeavours be protected. That this *Holland-Militia* was for no other

service but to find the liberty, betrayed by those who were to regard it, and not to relieve it by such as ought to assist it. Many Princes denied them service, stopped the passages, made difficulty to give help to the Republick: though in the disadvantages done to them they acknowledged their own proper safety was disputed. Were they therefore to perish at another's will? And to abandon that defence, which being commanded by God, justifieth a lawful use even of things more sacred? Must then those friendships only be approved, which please the Spaniards? In their Armies all Nations and Sects by Troops were promiscuously confounded; their Interest justifies all Religions, because in alliance with them. That they now went about to impose upon the Republick a Law cruel and severe, whilst lawful in the necessity and intention to uphold their friends and themselves, and that expressly, to preserve Religion no less than liberty undefiled.

Paul, who discerned that the apprehensions of Religion served for the use, opinions, and designs of all, was easily appeased. This reinforcement came very seasonably to the *Venetians*, and would have been much more considerable, if so soon as *Nassau* came into the Camp, there had not risen an implacable dispute with *Medici*; because he pretending to command him, and he not to submit but to the Captain General of the Republick, although at last it was agreed, that *Medici* receiving orders from *di Lando* should communicate them to *Nassau*; yet their minds remaining discomposed, there happened in the executions thereof many delays and difficulties, which greatly served to confirm the conceit, that *Medici* had a mind rather to protract the War without loss, than to end it with advantage. And so he truly appeared fixed in the preservation of those Posts wherein he had once set his foot; but in prosecuting he was always carried away by violence, and with delays and errors corrupted the resolutions of others, and his own counsels.

Proceeding on this and that side of the *Lisonza* in concert, whilst *Nassau* disembarked his men at *Monfalcone*, *Lando* passed upon a Bridge land at *Vilckss*, secured by two Forts, and *Giust' Antonio Belegno* with six Gallies battered *Duino*, and pillaged the Coast of *Trieſte*. Leaving the Posts about *Gradiſca* well provided, and a strong Body to keep the Campagna, they had 6000 men upon the *Carſo*, who through several passages made their way to several Posts. In the march there arose among the *Switzers*, who though not obliged but to serve in Garrisons, were notwithstanding by large promises persuaded to take the field, a little tumult, but was presently quieted, their Officers coming in, and reproaching them with perfidy if they would not, and Cowardise if they durst not meet the Enemy in the face, and joyn battel with them.

At the same time, on that side which lies above *Gradiſca*, *Francisco strafoldo* with about 800 Horse wades through the *Lisonza*, followed by *Nicholo Contarini*, who to *Foscarini* was substituted Provveditor in the Camp, and *Giovanni Bafidonna*, Lieutenant General of *Udine*, at the head of the *Feudatarians*. In the Town of *St. Michael* was made the place of Arms, all other open places giving them

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themselves up. *Nassau* besieges the Fort *Diana*, and ruining a part thereof with the Cannon, obliged 100 Souldiers, which were within, to render themselves Prisoners. The *Imperial*, which was a Fort a little more towards the River, but of a greater circuit, and guarded by 200 Foot, capitulated also, inrolling themselves under the *Venetian* Colours. *Baglione*, being come to the utmost hanging over of the *Carso*, fortifies himself there, and seeing the confusion of the Enemy, much frighted with this Invasion, advertises *Medici* that *il Boj o* and *il Parco di Rubia* were abandoned; the banks of the River *Vipao* not defended; all the Campagna of *Gorizia* incumbered with flight and disorder, the Souldiers as well as the Peasants seeking to save themselves; whereupon his advice was, that since fortune and opportunity fought for a Victory, he should take possession of *Fiume* and *il Parco*. But the other with a superfluity of caution fearing treachery, where the Enemy was running away, ordered to halt there, that the Troops should be intrenched, and *St. Michael* fortified.

There arose afterwards new disputes with *Nassau*, and all things passing with delays, the Enemy at first overcome with fear, took courage again, and bringing Colonel *Stauder* into *Rubia* with 1000 Foot guarded that place, and defended the *Vipao*. It seemed then, that that little River, which, where the Mountain terminates, discharges it self into the *Lisongo*, was become an Ocean, and the Fort *Bosco* a Wall of Brass; great was the resistance, so impossible the fording! From two places with Batteries upon the Mountains was this Fort beaten, and with another from the other side of the River towards *Mainizza*. But *Gradisca* was in this interim more strongly begirt; for another Bridge being laid by the *Venetians* at *Fara*, it closed all passage on the upper side also. Nevertheless contrary to the course of the season, which was in the month of *June*, there falling incessant rains for forty days together, not only the Souldiers suffered very much in their Posts, but the *Vipao* overflowing, and the *Lisongo* much more, both the Bridges were broken, so that down the stream upon floats some provisions entred into the Town. And now it seemed to be in earnest, that time would render more inexcusable *Medici* his delayings, discovering how much it imports not to make use of fair weather, or lose one sole moment of occasion when it is offered. The Bridges however were repaired, but always with great longsomness, which gave *Trantmanstorff* time to assemble his Army in *Rubia*, and better to fortify the *Vipao*. This was his last action; for, assisting at the raising of a Ravellin by a Cannon-bullet sent from the Trenches of the *Venetians*, he unfortunately left his life upon the place. He had without doubt maintained the War, and defended the Archdukes Country with great resolution, and that with weak Forces.

The *Venetians* now made themselves believe, that, as it happens in the sudden accidents of War, the minds of the Militia would be wavering, and the Chiefs be divided in their opinions. But *Marradas* presently taking upon himself the absolute Command, suffered

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ed not the Army to be sensible of the loss of *Trantmanstorff*; undergoing the direction of the War with equal courage, and perhaps a better and more vigorous conduct. The *Hollanders* had indeed the good luck to take *Parco*, and to lodge themselves there; but in the attempt of it. *Bosco* environed with a Wall in form of a Square, and about a mile in circuit, but crooked and of unequal situation, they were repulsed. *Gradisca* notwithstanding the succours began to suffer indeed; whereupon *strafoldo* attempts to send out those that were not useful for the defence; but the modern Armies understanding no other commendation but that of overcoming, they were forced by the *Venetians* to return into the Town. Some by stealth, under favour of the *starfort* drave down the stream by night, notwithstanding that the Guards now and then took them Prisoners, bringing to the besieged some slender relief. That Fort indeed served as a Citadel to the Town, and *Nassau* had offered himself to take it when the others rendered themselves to him; but some urged to the contrary, that that Garrison would serve to furnish the Town the sooner, beside the doubt, that having better defence it would not be taken with Batteries, and the Besiegers then wanting earth be obliged to expose themselves to hazard uncovered, if they would offend them.

But the issue proved, that the number of votes rather than the weight of reasons prevailed. For these factions in *Friuli* passed seven months, during which, first with Jealousies, afterward with Hostility, the Republick was again greatly troubled in the *Adriatick*. *Offina*, Vice-King of *Naples*, did not so much levy men for the succours of the *Milanese*, as he had proposed with a Naval Force to molest the *Venetians*, knowing that he could no where touch it more to the quick, than by insulting the Dominion of the Sea, and disturbing Commerce, though with great damage to the Kings own Subjects, who drove a rich Trade with the City of *Venice*. Nevertheless, against the gainsaying of all, and preferring before all other respects, that which might bring apprehensions or disturbance to the Republick, breaking the security of Ports, he had made booty of the Ship, the *Pilgrim* of *Rossi*; and although upon the instance of the Ambassadour *Gritti* in the Court of *Spain*, command was given to release it, nevertheless in the execution he always directly opposed the Orders of the King, either because in the height of the pride of his mind he truly despised him, or because that Crown was glad to cover their most secret designs with the disobedience of a capricious Minister. The *Venetians* were not ignorant of it; and therefore fully resolving to defend themselves, made it their business to increase their strength at Sea with two Gallies and some Ships, and made choice of thirty Commanders of Gallies, to the end that according as there was need they might on all sides be arming.

Offina seeing that the *Uscocchi* had lost many of their roving Nests, invites them with the promise of a free Port and other recompences to retire into that Kingdom, caressing them more and more, as they became more offensive to the *Venetians*. Whereupon under

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under the countenance of such a protection, these Pirates seized the Ship *Doria*, which with some other small ones was passing from *Corfu* to *Venice* with Merchants goods, selling publicly under the Standard of the Viceroy the spoil they had taken; and although the Receivers of the Customs in the most principal Ports of the Kingdom exclaimed, that with Trade would also cease the Tolls and Royal Entries, they were threatened by *Offuna* with the Gallows, if they should dare any more to complain. He naturally abounding in the vanity of his tongue and thoughts, did not only apply to trouble the Sea, but discoursed continually of surprising Ports in *Istria*, ransacking Islands, and making his way into the most impenetrable corners of the Capital City. Sometimes upon paper, sometimes in discourse he traced and drew out his designs, ordered Barks with flat bottoms fit for shallow waters, modelled this and that Engine, and hearkened so willingly to none as those that entertained him with flatteries to his person, or facility in his undertaking.

Nevertheless, to say truth, that which he believed he should be able to effect, was not so much, as that which he desired should be believed, designing to keep the Republick involved in great expenses, and distracted to such a degree, that it might be less able to offend the Archduke, or assist *Carlo*. He then sends forth under *Francisco Riviera* into the *Adriatick* twelve well armed Ships; and although, when they were ready to set sail, orders came from the Court of *Spain* to suspend their going forth, it seeming strange, that at the time of the beginning of a Treaty of Peace in *Madrid*, unsufferable injuries should be done by the Viceroy of *Naples*, he nevertheless taking pretext, that by some armed Vessels of the Republick had been taken a great Ship, which would have gone into *Trieste*, maintains his resolution with a Writing extorted from the collateral Ministers, who remonstrated, that it was for the honour and service of the King, that *Riviera* should go out, and that the *Venetians* should be kept under. These Ships bore only the Dukes Colours, to the end the design might more secretly be carried on, not to let the War break out, nor leave the *Venetians* in peace. This Invasion with armed Ships being against that Dominion, which the Republick for so many Ages had possessed in the *Adriatick*, obliged *Giusf' Antonio Belegno*, that commanded the Fleet, to assemble in *Lesina* that part of it which he could soonest get ready, and from thence pass to *Curzola*, to cover the Islands and the State, and in particular to break the principal design of *Offuna* to appear in the sight of *Istria*, to give countenance to *Ferdinand's* Army, and divert that of the Republick. It was no hard matter to compass his design, because the twelve Ships set their course to *Calamota*, a Port belonging to those of *Ragusa*, where they were received with great applause of that Government, which to the prejudice of their Trade receiving very unwillingly Law from the *Venetians* upon the Sea, gladly heard this novelty of *Offuna's*, and encouraging it with publick services, permitted that upon these Ships many of their Sub-

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jects should take employment. But *Belegno* following with seven Ships, four great Gallies, thirteen Lighters, and fifteen armed Vessels, *Riviera* doubting to be assaulted with disadvantage in that place, setting sail with a fair wind crossed the Sea, and came to *Brindisi*. The *Venetians* followed him, and not being able to fight them in that Port, which was well defended with several Forts, the Admiral, which was *Lorenzo Veniero*, letting fall his Sails, defied him four hours long with Cannonades; but the other not willing to come out to an engagement, he ransacks all the Coast of *Puglia*. This motion of the *Spaniards* had not only disturbed the *Venetians*, but greatly alarmed the *Turks*, who taking jealousy, came down in great numbers to the guard and preservation of their marine Coast; and because *Offuna*, to the end he might engage with him the Gallies of the Pope, of *Malta*, and of *Florence*, published that he would attempt upon the *Ottoman* State: The Ministers of the *Venetians* caused the contrary to sound aloud in all the Courts, it appearing that he had sent to the Grand *Visier*, Slaves and Peasants to gain him, and with all sorts of offices incite him to make War against the Republick. For this cause the said Princes did not only abstain from giving their Gallies to *Offuna*, but used all effectual means to divert him from sending abroad such rumours, knowing that they tended to nought else but to provoke the *Turk*, and draw him into the *Adriatick*, to the disturbance of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Ecclesiastical State also.

But *Offuna* stopping at nothing, so that he might gain at present, from the boldness of the attempt, fruit equal to the rashness of the counsel, despising the conscience of the fact, had brought into *Naples* as in triumph certain Merchandize, as if it had been taken at Sea by his Ships, though in truth it was the lading of the sequestered Ship of *Rossi*, and meaning by this applause to spread his designs, he sends *Pietro Leiva* with nineteen Gallies to joyn with *Riviera*. They passed altogether to *Santa Croce*, which belongs likewise to those of *Ragusa*, and found at *Lesina* the *Venetians* inferiour in strength, the Gallies of *Candia* being not yet joyned, nor those ten others with some Ships, which with all speed were making ready at *Venice*. The Commanders then themselves, not only crossed by the wind, but counselled chiefly by the disparity of force, applied to nothing but their defence, placing on the Land certain pieces of Artillery in convenient places. So the Fleets cannoned a whole day at random with more shots than blows, and night coming on, the *Spaniards* stood away before the wind, taking a Ship of *Sali*. There fell into their power also a Vessel of *Holland*, which sailing with some Souldiers of those Levies, was like to be taken by the Ships of *Offuna*, and thought to find in the Port of *Ragusa* a safe retreat; but that Government permitting the Souldiery to pass by Land to *Catara*, put the Vessel into the *Spaniards* hands, who causing the Captain to be hanged, turned their course towards *Brindisi*. From such passages as these the *Venetians* more and more understood, what weight lay upon them of Arms, Jealousies, and Negotiations; re-

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solving therefore to maintain themselves in liberty and safety, they deliberate greatly to re-inforce their Fleet, without weakening or distracting their Forces by Land. Conferring the Title with the Authority of Captain General upon *Giovanni Giacomo Zane*, they caused besides other provisions ten Gallies to be armed in *Candia*, which with a 1000 Souldiers raised in that Island arrive at last in the Gulph to joyn with the Fleet, after some retardment, caused partly for fear of falling amongst the *Spanish* Ships, which they knew were laid for them, and partly for some regard had of the *Turks* Fleet, which with two great Hulks and seven and thirty Gallies plyed to and again in the white Sea, not so much to be taken notice of for their force, or the courage of the *Turkish* Officers, as for the Negotiations of *Ossuna*, who commanding a nimble Frigate to the Captain *Bassa*, had sent him for a Present a Kinsman of his, till then kept Prisoner with the *spaniards*, and giving liberty to a hundred other Slaves, invited him with such flatteries and with express Offices to infect the State of the *Venetians*, and particularly to command their Fleet to fall upon *Candia*. But the *Turks* themselves abhorring such wicked counsels, set themselves rather to make a course longt the Coast of *Calabria*, but without doing hurt that was of the least importance. The Port being indeed thoroughly moved, threatened the *Ragusians* for the reception given to *Ossuna's* Ships, and invited the Republick to joyn Forces with them to suppress (as they called those Magistrates) the common Enemies.

But the Senate, though provoked by the example of the Vice-King, and invited by so grievous injuries, not willing to confound the interest of State with Religion, placed their defence in the justice of their cause and their own Arms, not omitting every where and in all Courts the diligence, offices, and forces to resist so great a power. The *Spanish* Ministers, to terrifie with the fame of vast preparations, gave out that the Fleet of Gallions, accustomed only to the employments of the Ocean, coming within the straights of *Gibraltar*, should advance into the *Adriatick*, and that there was a new Armature of many Ships in *Sicily*; rumours in a good measure believed from the proceedings of the Viceroy of *Naples*, who strengthened the Squadron of *Lieva* with certain Gallies commanded by *Ossavio d'Arragona*, and gave liberty to the *Uscocchi* to rove every where, and rejoiced already in the conceit, that with their Barks they would brave it within the sight of the Ports of the Capital City, taking Prises, and doing mischief. This obliged the Senate to dispose of certain Gallies for the guard of the *Chioggia*, and to pick out in *Venice* a number of people fit to bear Arms, who being new, and therefore more apt to be discouraged of, than they that were wont to be seen in War, kept the people in no small unquiet. During these apprehensions, a false and short joy was the fore-runner of greater trouble. The Mariners of a Packet-boat bringing Letters with information of what had happened about *Lefina*, scattered a report every where as they passed, either from their own invention, or a willing credulity of others,

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others, that the *Venetians* had obtained a great Victory; of which some bringing the first notice, the people greedy of the news; and desirous of good success, without giving time for greater certainty, overflowed with such an excess of satisfaction, that running up and down with crys of applause, and making Bonfires in all the streets, they were very near, if Guards had not been timely appointed, laying hands on the person and house of the Ambassadour *la Queva*, believed the principal mover of the attempts of *Ossuna*. But the vanity of the report quickly appearing, one more troublesome arrives upon it. The *Spanish* Fleet, increased to the number of eighteen Ships and three and thirty Gallies, shewing themselves before *Lefina*, had provoked the *Venetians* to battel; and that coming out of the Port, shewed themselves ready for the Encounter: But the *spaniards* discharging their Cannon afar off, gave them the slip in the night. Shewing themselves again afterwards with the advantage of a fair wind, obliged the *Venetians*, that had it contrary, to stand upon the defence of the Harbour; whereupon the *spaniards*, with the same propitious wind went and anchored at *Trau vecchio*, pillaging certain Barks, and burning some Cabanes there. *Zane* afflicted that the Enemy was so far advanced, and to see himself left behind, having no mind to abandon the great Ships, and separate himself from them, hales them out of the Port with such length of time as is usual in disorders of that nature, and makes to *Spalato*, to suppress any Incurfions and Hostility the *spaniards* might attempt upon that Coast. But *Lieva* in the mean time passing speedily with the Gallies towards *Zara* for a booty offering it self casually to him, was diverted from a greater Victory; because the orders, he had, imposed precisely upon him to attempt the surprize and taking of *Pola*, or some other Port in *Istria*; but coming in sight near *Morter*, a shelf of *Dalmatia*, of two Merchant Gallies (Vessels of great bulk for carriage, but not fit for fight, built especially for the transport of Merchandize, which in great abundance pass by long voyages reciprocally from *Persia*, *Turkie*, and *Venice*.) whilst, although newly come under the Convoy of seven Gallies of the Fleet, they failed with great negligence, ignorant of what had happened at *Lefina*, possessed himself of them.

Upon the discovery of the *spanish* Ships, the Merchant Gallies run ashore, the men saving themselves, and the other provided for their safety with their Oars; but one not so nimble remained, though void of men, in the power of the Enemy, with some small Vessels which were Victuallers to the Fleet. By an action which made so great a noise, the Alarm was given every where, which made the *spanish* Officers believe they should find no place unprovided, and having now the *Venetian* Fleet coasting upon them, and being besides embarrassed with the Prizes and the rich Booty, crossing the Sea towards *Mont Angelo*, keeping close to the shore, they got back to *Brindisi*, and then the Gallies went out of the Gulph. *Ossuna* not at all satisfied that for a piece of thievery there was lost an opportunity of a more important conquest, sharply reproved *Lieva*

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for it; nevertheless boasting of the prey, caused the Wares and Ships to be brought into *Naples* with solemnity, much rejoicing at the displeasure which appeared in *Venice*, and in the hopes to bring the Republick into War with the *Turk*; because many of those Ministers being interested in the Commodities taken, and others feigning themselves to be so, as that Court made profit by the complaints, so they pretended to be repaired in the loss by the *Venetians*. Nevertheless *Almorò Nani Bailo* had the good luck without much ado to stifle that noise, partly with reason which distinguished the accident from the blame, and partly by change of the King, which disordered for a time the Empire; whilst to *Achmet* that was dead, passing by his two little Sons, *Mustapha* his Brother succeeded. But at *Venice* they were not a little disturbed at the news of this success, and the blame being laid upon the delay of moving the Fleet from *Lesina*, and no less upon the negligent Convoy of the light Gallies, *Pietro Foscarini* was sent Inquisitor to clear it, whether the Chiefs were to blame or not. To *Zane* was substituted *Peniero* in the Generalship, and thereupon the Command of the Ships being vacant, it was committed to *Francesco Morosini*. Some other Ships and Gallies besides were ordered to be made ready together with the Gallion called *il Ballo*, of a vast bigness. All Courts did now ring in favour of the Republick, that under the pretext of Treaties and of Peace, the *Spanish* Ministers had designed to give her a more cruel blow; and because it was certain, that neither their Fortune nor Arts were pleasing to the Princes of *Italy*, the Senate ordered *Simeon Contarini*, returning from his Ambassie of *Rome*, to visit *Cosmo* the Grand Duke, who had denied his Gallies to *Ossuna*, and withheld a certain sum of money, sent at first to *Milan* in assistance of *Ferdinand* his Kinsman.

Thence he passed to the Dukes of *Urbino*, *Modena*, *Mantua*, and *Parma*, giving them all to understand; That the most potent Engine of Foreign power in *Italy* was the patience of the Princes, for whom it was now time that they should understand, how much the liberty of that Country was hated by Strangers, whilst they accounted all that for the greatest injury which was justly made use of to oppose their avarice and ambition. But being held, even all of them, in the bonds of a greater dependency, they knew not what to do but with better times for the common safety, every one having a sense of the Commonwealths sufferings; but no man moving in favour of it: Their greatest hopes then were reduced to a diversion in *Piedmont*; for which the *Venetians*, besides the monthly disbursements, furnishing 80000 Crowns as an extraordinary aid to the Duke, had given him the means to draw *Dedignieres* once more into *Italy*, and to maintain his Army in such vigour, that, whilst *Toledo* had his men yet in their Quarters, *St. Damiano* was besieged, a Town environed with a thick Wall, and a good Rampart of earth within it, and kept by *Andrea Prando* with 600 Souldiers; but he, miserably burned under the ruins of some houses, the Garrison, without a Commander, after five days battery was forced in a most furious assault.

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Dedignieres had honoured the Enterprize with his presence, and the Duke during the contest running to and fro amongst the foremost, had his Horse killed under him, with the loss of some few Souldiers, who being of no note remained, as usual, buried in oblivion. The place given to pillage, was presently demolished, and the Duke laying waste the Country, constrained *Montara* and *Davalos* for want of victuals to quit *Alba*, who were entred into it with 4000 men. And now finding in it 1000 Souldiers only (*Monferrines*, mingled with some *Germani*) the Duke causes the Count *St. Giorgio* to invest it, and after draws near with the Army. The Governour, who was *Alleramo*, and one of the Counts of *St. Giorgio* also, but a deadly Enemy to *Guido*, made as if he would hold it out to the last, though it was in a manner open, yet environed on three sides with the *Tanaro*, and other little Rivers. The *Germani* lodged in the Outworks, and the Inhabitants had the defence of a Half-moon. The rains, which making the high-ways deep in mire, retarded for some days the Besiegers in bringing their Cannon, and the attack hindred also succours to the Besieged; so that for want of Ammunition they were forced to render. The City agreed for a sum of money not to be plundered, and that the Garrison should not be *French*, the *Germani* marched out with Arms and Baggage. The Town of *St. Germano*, where an intelligence failed the Duke, was presently invested at large, and at the same time that of *Montiglio* was assaulted by *St. Giorgio*. The Town taken, kept but by 400 *Monferrines*, the Castle after a breach made is also rendred; for the custody of which there arose a dispute betwixt the *French* and *Savoyards* with the death of more than an hundred of each side. In this disagreement the Capitulation was also broken; for entering in confusion into the Castle, they cut in pieces the Garrison. *Dedignieres* after such successes, in which he assisted with his help and counsel, returned to his own Government, whilst in *France* the Court, to disapprove his partiality to the *Savoyards*, had suspended several of his entertainments and profits. *Toledo* not regarding the slaughter and losses of *Monferrat*, and resolving not to repair anothers damage by an unseasonable consuming his own Forces, and prejudice his own advantages, stays to re-inforce and rest his Army till the end of *May*, and then coming into the field, closely besieges *Vercelli*. So soon as he moved that way, *St. Giorgio* had happily put into it 1000 Mulqueters, and 200 Horse; so that the Garrison consisted of 4000 men, and the Duke, incamped in the Town of *Gabiano*, had his aim to take in *Pontestura*, so to cut off the *Spaniards* from that important pass; but finding a defence in better order than was supposed, he forbore to engage in it, to be in greater readines to succour the place already battered; and so much the rather, because having discovered several treacheries, it was necessary both with his mind and person to be active in several places. In *St. Ja* particularly some *French* Officers had concerted to put fire to the powder, make the Prince *Vittorio*, who was there, their Prisoner, and give him up to the *Spaniards*, who were to come in upon it to se-

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cond the design. But they that were found guilty by a Council of War of the Nation, to whose sentence the Duke submitted them, suffered punishment by the hand of the Hangman. A certain Provençal also was put in Prison for having attempted to corrupt another to poison *Carlo*. He notwithstanding amidst all these accidents shewed great constancy, and professed to revenge himself for these treacheries upon the Governour of *Milan* with Arms beseeching a Prince. *Toledo*, having inclosed *Vercelli* with a large circumvallation, disposes Batteries in four places, to which the besieged with much boldness oppose theirs; *Garzia Gomez* General of the *Spaniards* Artillery being killed, and *Alphonso Davalos* so hurt by them, that he dyed soon after. They attempted afterwards with Sallies to drive the *Germans* from a Post upon the brink of the *Sesia*; but all they did was to demolish there a Fort, which was quickly repaired again. A great circuit of Out-works was the defence of the place, and some Trenches also kept the attack far off, as much as was possible. But the besiegers directed particularly their offence towards the *Bastion* of *St. Andrea*, and under which the defendants, in the doubt they had to lose it, had made a Mine, that it might rather serve the Enemy for a sepulchre, than a place to lodge upon. It having not been possible to bring all things in abundance into the place after sixteen days siege only, Ammunition was wanting, inso-much that they were forced to charge their Cannon and Muskets with Tin and stones in the place of Iron and Lead. *Carlo* to supply it in the best manner he could, at least with powder, sends the Signor *Fleuri* with 200 Horse, and as many Sacks. But being met by a Party of the *Spaniards*, the powder which they carried behind them taking fire from the discharge of Harquebuses, thirty only got in, and the rest for the most part, being a miserable spectacle, were burnt. And now forty great Pieces battered the Walls with great violence, but two Half-moons were bravely defended, they within cutting to pieces in one Sally three hundred *Germans*, and a hundred and fifty Horse. That which covered the *Bastion* of *St. Andrea* was possessed by the besiegers, and regained by the besieged. At last upon springing a Mine, the *Spaniards* made an effort to carry the place by a general assault. As they had equal motives, so the valour was not unequal, both in them that gave it, and them that received it; for if the one were driven on with the rewards of glory and the pillage, the other were exhorted by the safety of themselves, their Country, and their families. Fire and Sword with the shedding of blood had pertinaciously their effect for a long time; but the *Spaniards* were forced to retire, and in that instant 100 Cuirassiers falling into the ditch with their Swords in their hands made a great slaughter. Fifteen hundred men, and amongst them some of note, perished on the *Spanish* side; of the besieged the dead exceeded not a hundred. The Duke was in *Livorno* with 12000 Foot, and 1500 Horse; to whom joyned 3000 *Bearnese*, and he expected a Renfort from *France*; for by the death of *d'Ancres* the enchantment upon the Government being discharged, the Maxims and Councils were also changed. It

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It hath been already hinted, what power that Stranger had in the Kingdom. The Armies depended upon his will, he issued forth the money, and disposed of all Charges; so that he had the chief Ministers depending upon him, and the Queen her self had placed the stress of her Authority in the maintaining of him. He notwithstanding pretended to subsist of himself, holding places and governments upon the Frontiers, and a Militia of Strangers, which acknowledged nothing but his name and authority. But the people in general hated him, the great ones abhorred him, and those that were friends to the Crown detested his maxims. Howsoever having the Councils of *Spain* interested in his safety, he thought in the favour of that Monarchy to enjoy a strong support. Some there were that doubted not but that his thoughts were to make himself be feared, and that he might, when he believed himself no longer secure in *France*, sell to the *Spaniards* himself, the places and the Kingdom, at a high rate.

That at least was instilled into King *Lewis*, who in the flourishing age of eighteen years was amused by his Mother and the Favourite in childish toys, far from the knowledge of any business whatsoever. He therefore, melancholy by nature and loving solitude, looked with delight upon that Authority which he had not yet enjoyed, and feeding himself with suspicions, nourished a bitter hatred against *d'Ancres*. Divers persons of great birth, of his own age, and that had been bred up with him, began to find it strange to serve a Prince, and that grace and favour should depend upon the Minister. They ceased not therefore either with secret signs, imperfect sayings, or covered discourses, such notwithstanding as *Lewis* understood, to go on censuring the present Government, the condition of the King himself under the direction and tutelage of another.

Amongst all, *Monsieur de Luines* got the ascendant, a Gentleman of *Avignon*, of no great birth, expressly put about the King, that he might take up his time in hunting and hawking and other lesser pleasures. But he with these insnares him in such sort, that he quickly made the whole Kingdom his Quarry. Corrupting some of *d'Ancres* Domesticks, he brings them to represent to the King his actions, designs, and the means to preserve himself in his greatness, with so much horror and detestation of *Lewis*, as yet without experience, that not thinking himself secure, either as to his life or Kingdom, he resolves without delay to rid himself of so formidable a Minister. His death was betwixt a few resolved on; the King is persuaded to it out of a desire to exercise his Office, and make trial of his Authority. *Luines* hopes to inherit the favour and the spoil; and *Monsieur de Vitri*, a Captain of the Guards, who undertook to kill him, thought to oblige the young Prince to him by the first fruits of his command. The Marshal then incertain of his destiny, proudly entering into the Royal Palace of the *Louvre* the four and twentieth day of *April*, sees the door clapt to behind him, and in the same instant *Vitri* making a shew to arrest him, *d'Ancres* falls dead

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dead with the shots of three Pistols. The business was no sooner divulged, but the Queen-mother, doubtful what should become of her self, breaks forth into a flood of complaints. Those that had been of the Confidence, fearing the same chastisement, dispersed in disorder. But the people, who are moved with every blast, running amongst them upon a report that the King was betrayed and wounded, took Arms; but assured of the contrary by the chief Ministers, who rode through the streets quieting the tumult, turned their fear into gladness, and detesting the life and name of the dead, let the World see, That the lustre of favour is glorious, but a thing so tender and weakly, that going out with every puff it stinks at last, and is infectious. The Corps ignobly buried was taken up again, and mangled into little pieces was burnt, the ashes carried through the streets to sell, and bought by many at a great rate, to vent the publick hatred and private revenge. The King greatly rejoycing, that the judgment of the people did justifie the violence of the fact, sends away the Confidants of the dead, amongst whom was the Bishop of *Lusson*, who retired to *Avignon*. The Marquess his Wife was publicly beheaded, and the Queen-mother confined to *Blois*. And now those great ones, who, upon *Conde's* imprisonment, had been kept from Court, returned. The Prince nevertheless was not set at liberty, because the King, contented by his own occasion to know his Authority, left the height of favour to *Luines*, and he with wonted craft considering how to establish himself in that condition, resolved, with the price of the liberty of two such Prisoners, to play the Merchant with both for his own conveniences.

France with this sudden change might be said to be restored to it self, and gained to *Italy*, because the King stood in much jealousy of the *Spaniards*, by reason of their confidences which he had discovered with the Queen-mother and with *d'Ancre*. The reconciled Princes were addicted enough to *Savoy*, and the progress of the War in the *Milanese* gave that Crown justly to understand, how much of its honour and interest, till now neglected, was treated there. And therefore understanding the danger *Vercelli* was in, *Lewis* expressed himself to the Ambassadors of *Spain*, That if some sudden compofure were not found out, he should be constrained to make good his obligation, and maintain *Carlo* in the Treaty of *Asti*. In this interim he gives the Duke leave to raise what *French* he desired, and sends to the Borders of *Savoy* 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse to go forward into *Italy* where there should be need. The Archbishop of *Lyons* going in great diligence to *Rome*, communicates to the Pope the intentions of the King in favour of the Duke; and seeing a young Prince that inclined to War, and gave from his Race future prefaces of his Government; every one believed a flood of Armies in *Italy* was to follow, and an open Rupture betwixt the Crowns. And therefore the Pope did not only double his endeavours for Peace, but an Union was spoken of by some of those Princes (and particularly the Grand Duke) who knew they had offended *France* by having superciliously adhered to the other Party. The *Spaniards*

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niards apprehending at first *Lewis's* threatnings, and, to pacifie him, readily shewing a desire to Peace, afterwards being assured that that Kingdom would not remain so quiet, but was within a while to expect a new *Crisis*, which promoting with Arts, Friends and Money, and with the help of some of the chief Ministers, who disinclined from having any thing to do with the affairs of *Italy*, they proceeded in the siege and in their designs. The truth was, that the first heat of the *French* cooling again, the most secret intention appeared to be as not to let *Piedmont* be lost, yet so as not to break with *Spain*. Thus with appearances, proposals and endeavours to hinder it, *Vercelli* was near being lost; for all the Half-moons were now taken. The *Neapolitans* with their approaches having cut their passage into the Ditch, had a breach open in the Bulwark of *St. Andrea*; and towards the River on the other side the *Walloons* had made another. The Garrison from duty and sickness appeared to be greatly diminished, and for want of powder had at last resolved to take that out of the Mine under the *Bastion* forementioned. No experiment to get some in by stealth had succeeded: The Duke thereupon applying himself to force, draws near to the Enemies Camp by night, placing longest the *sessa* 9000 Foot with 1400 Horse, and 10 small Pieces. Three thousand Foot and 400 Horse were appointed for the relief, and there stood in the Rear the *French* under the Marquess *d'Ursè*, Signor *di Cbigliè*, and the Baron *di Rairan*, and the *Italians* commanded by the Serjeant Major of the Marquess of *Caluso*, and the Signor of *Parella*.

When the Duke caused the Alarm to be given, the *Arrierguard* aforesaid divided into several Parties, and *d'Ursè* having passed the *sessa*, met by a Body of Horse, and forced to fight, was defeated with the loss of 600 men: But whilst the *Spaniards* halted to that side, 1000 men entred into *Vercelli* on the other, with some powder, though not so much as was proportionable to the want. For all this, *Toledo* slackens not his batterie of the Fort *St. Andrea*, caused another assault to be given so vigorous, that the effect was to see himself lodged upon the breach. The place then capitulates, agreeing under honourable conditions to deliver the Town and Cittadel. The Siege lasted two months, during which were discharged 67000 shot of Artillery. The Enemy lost 6000 Souldiers, and 67 Captains, besides some persons of Quality. *Giovanni Bravo* with a strong Garrison enters into it as Governour. The Marquess of *Caluso*, who came out of it, notwithstanding the Fathers favour, was forced for a while to forbear the Dukes angry presence; but being guilty of nothing but ill fortune, was quickly restored to his former favour. The Duke with this loss felt himself touched to the quick, and apprehended consequences yet worse, fearing lest *Toledo* should besiege *Asti*; whereupon to divert that thought, and to shew courage in his ill fortune, sending his Army strong 18000 Foot and 3000 Horse, and not a little heartned with *Dediguieres's* presence, who, by the Kings consent being newly come again into *Italy*, had brought with him

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him some men under the Dukes pay, and some Troops that carried the Colours, he resolves to enter into the *Milanese*. Leaving *Annona*, *la Rocca*, and *Rocchetta* behind him, he invests *Felizzano*, where the French forcing the Barricades, and entering the Trenches, fifteen hundred *Germans* together with the Inhabitants were cut to pieces, the Officers made Prisoners, and nine Colours taken. Going thence to *Quattordici*, an open place, where were lodged 300 men, leaving their Arms they were obliged to ingage, not to serve any more against *Carlo*. Out of *Renfracore*, which rendred it self, 200 *Switzers* were permitted to march out with their Arms and Colours, in respect to the Nation, with whom the Duke was in alliance. *Toledo*, who in the Siege of *Vercelli* had harrassed and diminished his Forces, had now separated them into several Quarters to refresh; but moved with the Dukes bold attempt, assembles his Army at *Soleri*. Nevertheless suffers *Annona* to be taken in his sight, a weak place, but garrisoned with 2000 men, who after a short battery of six Pieces marched out, life and Arms saved. *La Rocca d'Arasfo* also, and *la Rocchetta*, with the spoil of 500 Souldiers, yielded.

These successes contributed to the heightning of *Carlo's* reputation, who always appeared above all misfortunes; but in effect the advantage was much less than the noise, because they did not recompense the loss of *Vercelli*, whereof not only the Duke, but the *Venetians* were very sensible. Nevertheless, to uphold a gravity in the Negotiation equal to the constancy of their minds, the Senate with the consent of the Duke, after the Invasions of *Ossuna*, the taking of the Gallies, and the rendring of *Vercelli*, recalls the powers given their Ambassadour *Gritti* to treat a Peace in *Spain*. For the dispatch to *Madrid* of necessary powers concerning this Negotiation, the Archduke was carried to the Court of the Emperour *Matthias*, and there had pretended, that the Ambassadour of the Republick should not appear in the Churches, or on any other occasion when he was present. But the Emperour, not willing to pass beyond the Mediation to a partiality, remained resolute to oppose it.

The Archduke had other greater concerns pressing upon his mind; for all the Line of *Maximilian* the Second, though numerous, coming to fail without posterity, the Fortune of the Empire was to devolve into his House. And for that cause he was tyed to the *Spaniards* in the bonds of greater confidence, and they expressly promoted it with certain hopes to cast the Empire according to their arbitrement, when it should fall upon *Ferdinand*. The Archdukes *Albert* and *Maximilian*, Brothers to the Emperour, wanting issue, easily yielded their pretensions and hopes; but it was a hard matter to bring *Matthias* to it, who heard not willingly the discourse of celebrating in his life time the Funerals of his Authority and Government. He nevertheless insinuates to him the cession of the Title only of King of *Bohemia*, for prevention of those accidents, which to Religion and the Family, in case of his death, might in the *Interregnum* be feared; because it being not certain, whether it be Elective or Hereditary, the minds of the people sufficiently

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prepared for it, might be moved; and if it should fall into other hands, or to a Protestant Prince, the Election it self of the Emperour would run a great hazard, in the parity of six other Electors equally divided into Catholics and Hereticks themselves. Upon such effectual motives, the Emperour at last lets himself be perswaded; but the *Spaniards*, although with all earnest they inclined to the advancement of *Ferdinand*, yet would not quit their advantages in view; and therefore the consent of King *Philip*, the Son of *Anna* Daughter of *Maximilian* the Second, seeming necessary, they required a vast compensation for it. Upon this score it was divulged, that the Towns of *Istria* should be yielded to them, with the County of *Goritia*, and with all that more which the Archduke possessed in *Italy*; but that tended only to give jealousy to the *Venetians*, although in truth all the Country was moved at the report, doubting to be bound up, both by Sea and by Land, with such Fetters as were not to be shaken off.

An agreement was afterwards privately stipulated betwixt the Archduke and the Count *d'Ognate*, which contained *Philip's* cession of his Rights to the hereditary Provinces in *Germany*, in favour of *Ferdinand*, and his Brothers, and of their descendants masculine; but that failing, they to return to the House of *Spain*, of which the Females were to be preferred before those born in *Germany*. In recompence it was promised to give up *Alsatia* to the *Spaniards*, and to maintain them in the possession: they bound themselves to grant reciprocal Levies, and that the one should not confer benefits or favours on the Vassals of the other but by the approbation of his own Prince or his Ministers. That part nevertheless which concerned *Alsatia* was never executed, for fear of making too great a commotion amongst the Princes of the Empire, and indeed of all *Europe*. The design notwithstanding of uniting the two Houses, and extending their limits, coming to be known, such was the jealousy of many Princes, that that Treaty may justly be called the foundation-stone of the calamities of *Germany*, and the Original of the great accidents that ensued.

But for the Treaty with the Republick, the Count *d'Ognate* having protested to *Ferdinand*, that the management thereof would not be suffered to pass through other hands than those of *Philip* himself, the Count *Francisco Chesneller* was dispatched into *Spain* as Ambassadour Extraordinary from *Matthias*, and the Archduke (who shall henceforth be called King of *Bohemia*) and he carried the resolute intentions of *Matthias* and *Giesio*, his chief Minister, that by all means a Peace was to be made. But at *Madrid* blocks in the way were not wanting; for the *Spanish* Ministers pretended, that the *Venetians* should first restore what they had taken, and then *Ferdinand* should fulfil the agreement, but without burning the Barks, or banishing but some few of the *Vicocchi*; and for the affairs of *Piedmont*, they insisted upon the Dukes disarming: after which things they offered a restitution of all, yet without any prescription of time, or obligation on their side to lay down Arms. But *Gritti*

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foreseeing that they jointly aimed at the predominancy in Italy, and to weary out the Princes in jealousies, sustained, that for common quiet and security the disarming of the *Milanese* ought also to be concerted, and as to the interests of the *Vicocchi*, insists, that those three sorts should be banished, which the Republick had already declared; and for the rest, that the agreement in *Vienna* should be precisely executed. For some kind of temperament it was proposed by *Lerma*, that the *Venetians* should first render the places in *Istria*; *Ferdinand* then, to perform the promises on his side, and after that the Republick should withdraw their Arms out of *Friuli*, the word of his King remaining security for the due execution of the Treaty. But in this present state of affairs the news arriving, that the *Hollanders* were safely landed in Italy, *Lerma* in anger protests to *Gritti*, that if the Treaty were not concluded within one day, he would hold it for broken. The Ambassadors complaining, that the means of necessary defence should be converted into the pretexts of a most unjust War, shewed himself very indifferent, whether the Negotiation were continued or broken. *Chefniller* gave out, that the Negotiation coming to dissolve in Spain, the Emperor should re-assume it elsewhere, and the Ambassadors of France and England seeming to wonder, that *Lerma* should proceed with such passion, the Secretary *Arosighi* comes to *Gritti* to excuse the Duke's heat, and to signify to him in the Name of the King, that he held not the Treaty otherwise broken, than that he reserved wholly to himself the power to approve the Articles treated on, when he should know they were accepted by the Senate. The Ambassador thereupon equally disapproves the things proposed and the form. *Lerma* then at last calls together the Nuntio, the Ambassador of France, and him of Venice, offering to the two first, that as to Savoy, the Capitulation of *Asti* should not be altered, and as to the *Venetians*, they restoring the half of the places possessed, and afterwards the rest at twice, *Ferdinand* should also go on alternatively in the execution of that which some years past had already been agreed upon at *Vienna*.

Gritti, not at all satisfied with this, requires, that *Ferdinand* should first settle in *Segna* the Garrison agreed upon, that then the Republick should quit one place in *Istria*, and that, all the rest afterwards being executed, Arms should be every where withdrawn. Hereupon *Lerma* not dissenting, certain Articles were drawn; but in the affair of *Carlo* the Ambassador sustaining, that by reason of new accidents it was necessary there should be some explication and addition to the Treaty of *Asti*, the whole business thereupon was at a stand. Things standing in this posture at *Madrid*, *Gritti* receives the revocation of his powers; for the *Venetians* and the Duke being exasperated to extremity against the Spanish Ministers, thought it better to have the Treaty transported to the Court of France, where the change of Government opened a way to hopes of a better minding of the affairs of Italy. *Gritti* then had no other Commission but to ratify

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ratify and see that worded which should be concluded at Paris by the Ambassadors *Bon* and *Gassoni*; and King *Lewis* was assured, that *Carlo* being satisfied in the point of disarming, the Senate dissented not from the substance of that which had been in Proposition at *Madrid* about the *Vicocchi*; adding only in consideration of late emergencies the restitution of Ships and the Merchandize stayed and made prize of by *Ossuna*: and the rather because the reprisals could not be called just, whilst Spain declared not to be in enmity or rupture with the Republick. *Gradiſca* in the mean time being brought to the last gasp, the Austrian Commanders employed all their power to make it subsist. Several reliefs having not succeeded to get in by stealth, they resolved passing on this side the *Lisanzo* with 600 Horse and 400 experienced Foot to attempt the Line to make way for the succours; but being repulsed by the Guards of Horse upon them, the action proved very bloody. Of the *Venetians* were killed *Marc Antonio Manzano*, *Pietro Avogadro*, and *Leonoro Gualdo*, persons of Noble birth, and all their Captains of Horse. The loss in other respects appeared not unequal. The night following, the Austrians having a mind to make another attempt, the breaking of some of the floats, upon which they were to pass over, suspended the effect. But on the other side, a while after they assaulted those Batteries which incommoded *Rubia*, and driving out of the Redoubt, which was most advanced, four Companies of *Switzers* surprised in their negligence, and killing some Cannoniers, who would have made resistance, they entered into the Quarter even to the lodging of *del Lando*, where they were opposed by some *Corſi*, till *Don Giovanni* coming with some succours forced them to retire. The Battery was presently recovered, and some Cannon being unnailed, and turned upon the Enemy, made a great slaughter amongst them. *Marradas* and *D'Amptierre* still applying their minds to new attempts, laying a Bridge over the Plain of *Mainizza* passed the River, and conveying some provisions with a great body of men, finding the Line ill guarded, and having had the encounter only of a few Horse, brings them happily into *Gradiſca*. *Nassau* was commanded by the Bridge of *Fara* with 600 Musquetiers to charge them in the flank; but doing it out of time, and the *Germans* under the favour of the Town fording the *Lisanzo*, by the Hills of the *Carſo* got safe into their Quarter. *Marradas* encouraged by this, with 800 Horse and 500 Musquetiers assaults some Quarters upon the same Hills, forcing certain Trenches, and although at that time repulsed, yet upon a second attempt he was able to bring powder and meat by the way of *Dobredo* into the Fort *Stella*, from whence it was afterwards carried into *Gradiſca*.

The Camp of the *Venetians* was found weakened by its suffering, and the *Hollanders* in particular, not accustomed to the Climate, were afflicted with several diseases, of which *Nassau* himself dies in *Monſalcone*, and *Lando* falls desperately sick. It was therefore resolved to reduce the Quarters into a lesser compass, and to abandon *St. Michael*, whence *Marradas* arguing a greater weakness,

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took heart to assault them, but was vigorously repulsed with the death of 300 of his own. Discovering afterwards preparations to hazard anew succours, the *Venetians* resolv'd to encounter it near to *St. Martino* with 300 Foot under *Oratio Baglione*. The Enemy being discovered to be more than had been supposed, which through by-ways conveyed a certain quantity of meal; the Prince of *Este*, returned to the Camp in the place of *Medici* who was indisposed, gave *Baglione* advertisement, that without engagement he should preserve himself till He might arrive with a Renfort proportionable. But the Enemies eagerness gave not time for the advertisement; whereupon the fight beginning, the *Venetians*, who to cross upon several passages were oblig'd to an order too distant from one another, were defeated. A Company of *German* Cuirassiers lighting on foot, with their Swords in their hands, did the greatest execution, few saved themselves; 80 were made Prisoners, the rest with *Baglione* himself, *Verginio Orsino*, *Lamentana*, and *Giamaco Alberti* a *French* Captain, were left dead upon the place. The Senate, to recompense with immortal memory to posterity a life lost in the flower of his age, erected in the Church of *St. John and Paul* a goodly Monument for *Oratio*, who with equal testimony of his fidelity and courage had in this War made his Name famous above any other. These reliefs to *Gradisca*, though frequent, yet scanty, sufficed not to secure it from being taken at last; the *Germans* therefore putting themselves upon new attempts by artificial Fire-works, took upon them to burn the Bridge at *Fara*; but the Engine being in disorder, it came to nothing. The *Venetians* on the other side, to cut off communication with the Fort *stella*, by means whereof succours entred into *Gradisca* and some unprofitable mouths were got out, made a quarter at *Drausina*, straightning the besieged in such sort, that the Fort wanted water, and the Town was brought to extremity. The Inhabitants had sent to *Ferdinand* the Baron of *Eck*, to inform him, that now at last their fidelity was invaded by the utmost necessity; and to *Milan*, the Bishop of *Trieſte*, to sollicite *Torredo* to some vigorous diversion. He in the hottest of his actings in *Piedmont* had always kept a good number of men on the Borders of the *Venetians*, and they having kept them well provided, left no place but for reciprocal Jealousies and good heed, till *Vercelli* coming to be taken, and the *Spaniards* increasing the number of their Militia, suspicions were also increased on this other side; for Ladders being making at *Lodi*, and other Preparatives given order for, it seem'd that the Governour of *Milan* had his eye upon some surprisal and attaqucs, and particularly of *Crema*.

But in this very Juncture a Courier from *Spain* brings the approbation of the Capitulation of Peace as it had been first concluded at *Paris*, where the King and his Ministers, desirous above measure that the affairs of *Italy* should be compos'd without being oblig'd to employ their Arms in that War, had perswaded *Carlo* to consent to disarm under the word and faith of that Crown, and the Duke

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had not made difficulty to approve it, because despairing to recover *Vercelli* by force, he desired by all means to have it by some Treaty. Then concerning the affairs of the *Venetians*, the Duke de *Monteleone* Ambassadour of *Spain*, not having the powers necessary, had given assurance under his hand-writing, that at *Madrid* they should not recede a tittle from what had formerly been concert'd betwixt *Lerma* and *Gritti*.

The Ambassadors of the *Venetians* hereupon making no difficulty, persisted only in the pretence that the restitution of the Merchandize and Ships might be comprehended in the agreement. But resolutions and power concerning that point being not yet come from *Spain*, the *French* Ministers glad to have happily gotten the preheinance, which the *Spaniards* had endeavoured with so much noise to arrogate to themselves alone, for prevention of any evil accident, oblig'd the foresaid Ambassadors to be contented, that King *Lewis* should promise in writing to interpose with his Father-in-law his most effectual offices for the restitution. The *Venetians*, to say truth, had instructions to the contrary; but having a jealousy, that the affairs of *Piedmont* being compos'd, in which the Duke, inamoured with a secret Proposition of Marriage of a Sister of that King with the Prince *Vittorio*, as a caution of the Treaty, shew'd himself contented, the Republick should be left alone and expos'd to an inundation of the *Austrians*, after some hesitation gave their consent. Upon the sixth of September then was a writing under-written, in which, referring themselves, as to the *Vscocchi*, to the Articles already adjust'd in *Spain*, there was added over and above for the observance of them the word of *France*, and for the restitution of the things made prize of, Mediations and Offices were promised; to *Carlo* were confirm'd the Articles of *Asti*, with the promise of *France*, that *Vercelli* should be restor'd to him.

It did not, to say truth, appear, that the Capitulation did unite in the expressions of it, as was desired, the interests of the Republick with those of the Duke; but by *Gritti*, to whom the Ambassadors in *France*, as they had it in commission, refer'd the extension of the whole Treaty, it was fully supplied. So that in *Madrid* the 26. of September the agreement was sign'd, in which the reciprocal consideration of the quiet of Christendom and of *Italy* being premis'd, it was through the mediation of the Pope and *France* agreed, that *Ferdinand* placing a Garrison of *Germans* in *Segna*, the Republick should render one place in *Istria* at the choice of the Emperour and of *Ferdinand*; after that, by the meeting of two Commissioners on each side it should within twenty days be declared, that the *Vscocchi*, which were to be far removed from *Segna* and the maritime places, were to be accounted Adventurers and Banditi, which employ themselves in Piracies; except those that dwelt quietly in their houses, or which had only been guilty of some Hostility in this present War. The Barks employ'd in this Piracy were to be burnt. All this being performed, the *Venetians* promised to withdraw their Garrisons from all places taken. Nevertheless,

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theſe, from the beginning of the execution of the Treaty two months were to be allowed, Fortifications and Hoſtility by Land and by Sea were preſently to ceaſe on both ſides, all things being to be executed within the ſaid time, and then Commerce to begin, which alſo was to take place, though the execution ſhould require more than two months. The Treaty of *Vienna* was word for word inſerted, and the point of free Navigation referred to another time; Priſoners according to cuſtom were releaſed, and were comprehended under a general oblivion thoſe Subjects which had ſerved on the other ſide. The Catholick King for performance received the word of the *Venetians*, and he gave it reciprocally that *Ferdinand* ſhould not reſtore the *Uſcorchi*, nor any one damage be felt from them, ſuſpending equally his Arms, and Hoſtility every where ceaſing. Then, as to what concerns *Savoy*, *Gritti* capitulates with *Lerma*, that the Treaty of *Aſti* ſhould be executed, places and Priſoners reſtored, all offences betwixt *Carlo* and the Duke of *Mantua* laid aſide; all which was to be ratified within forty days, if in that interim no other accord were made in *Italy* with *Toledo*, which in that caſe was to take place.

Concerning the reſtitution of things pretended by the *Venetians* by the depredations of *Oſſuna*, the Duke of *Lerma* conſents not that they ſhould be mentioned in the Treaty, but orders *la Quevea*, that in the Name of the King he ſhould give his word for it to the Senate. In this Treaty, which is called the Treaty of *Madrid*, the will of *Matthias* that the affairs of the *Uſcorchi* ſhould be compoſed had great influence; and alſo the deſire of *Lerma* that the *French* ſhould not be engaged further in the affairs of *Italy*; as to other things aiming rather to make an end of the War, than to confirm the Peace. When the firſt adviſe from *Paris* arrived at *Venice*, the news was generally received with great joy, and by the Senate ſo conſidered, that having obtained the expulſion of the *Uſcorchi*, and the obſervance always pretended of the agreement in *Vienna*, their Rights were not only with great grace maintained, but their intentions juſtified; and although they had not made by the War any particular progrefſes of advantage, nevertheless the Common-wealth with great conſtancy had without all accidents, never receded from the point, reduced *Gradiſca* to extremity, taken many places, loſt nothing of their own, and at the ſame time, reſiſting the jealousies of *Toledo*, defended the Sea from *Oſſuna*, together with the dignity of *Carlo* preſerved the glory and common liberty of *Italy*, and diſputing Authority with the *Spaniards*, called in *France* to take part in the Treaty and in the Warranty of the Conditions. Some nevertheless, more tenacious in the cuſtoms of the Country, did not in the formality of the Treaty acknowledge the wonted punctuality and obedience of the Miniſters, becauſe the Ambaſſadours had tranſgreſſed their Commiſſions; neither did it appear, that *Manteleone* had a ſufficient authority; but that it was believed, that they were ſtill to depend upon the abſtruſe ſenſe and myſterious counſels of *Spain*, whiſt poſſibly in *Italy* the Forces and the Courage

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ſlackning, and what concerns *Piedmont* being executed, the Common-wealth would remain looſened from the union with the Duke, and ſeparated from the common intereſts. Amidſt theſe opinions the reſpect to *France* prevailing, to whom the mediation was voluntarily offered, it was reſolved to approve the Treaty, but at the ſame time to recal the Ambaſſadours to imprifonment to expiate their diſobedience.

Simeon Contarini Cavalier, was ſent as an Extraordinary into *France*, to inform the King of the juſt motives the Senate had for it; but *Lewis* being ſomething troubled that the Ambaſſadours ſhould be puniſhed for that, which in contemplation of himſelf they ſeemed to have incurred, paſſed ſuch effectual Offices in their favour, that at laſt being once called home, the puniſhment was pardoned. All being approved at *Madrid*, which had been agreed at *Paris*, the adviſe of the concluſion was by an Expreſs diſpatched from the Court to the Governour of *Milan*, cauſing him to be held up by the way, whom the Ambaſſadour *Gritti* ſent to *Venice*, to the end that the knowledge of it arriving, before others, to the Miniſters of the Crown, they might, in the execution of the things agreed, the better reſolve that, which the conjunction and ſtate of things ſhould counſel them; and to ſay truth, *Toledo* upon it was wavering amidſt various thoughts; for ſome perſwaded him to ceaſe from all action, not to diſcompoſe the Peace, and others ſtirred him up to go on with his Arms. The Biſhop of *Trieſte* above all ſhewed what a great hazard *Gradiſca* ran, remouſtrating that it could not hold out ſo long as the time prefixed for the ratifications of the Treaty; in which caſe, in the very cloſe of the War, the *Venetians* would become triumphant, not without a blot upon the reputation of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and ignominy upon their Arms. *Toledo* at laſt reſolves either to preſerve it by a diverſion, or to bring the Common-wealth to ſome agreement whereby to ſave the place, or, if it ſhould be taken, to oblige them to reſtore it. And this he might put in practice with ſo much the more freedom as he was more at liberty on the ſide of *Piedmont*, there being a ceaſation of Arms, and *Dediguieres* repaſſed the *Alps*, in regard *Beſthune* had the 9. of *October* made an agreement in *Pavia* with *Toledo* himſelf, that the Duke ſome time that month ſhould reſtore what he had taken, and diſband his Army, himſelf in *November* to render all, and diſpoſe of his Army conformable to the Treaty of *Aſti*. Going then in perſon to *Lodi*, and ſending the Prince of *Avellino* to *Caravaggio*, he environs on all ſides the Territory of *Crema*, harraſſing the Country to the great prejudice of the Towns *Camifano* and *Volpino*. To reſiſt them there went out of *Crema* 300 Horſe under *Lodovico Vimercati* with 200 Foot, which obliged the *Spaniards* to leave their Booty; but they came near to *Fara* with a greater ſtrength in the *Bergamaſco*, where by a narrow Lane that Territory joyns to that of *Crema*. Two hundred men having the Guard in that place, of a weak incloſure, with a low Intrenchment, rendered themſelves to go out with their Swords after five hours fight. *Romano*, a great Town and of importance,

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portance, put it self presently into defence, *Cirolamo Cornaro* Proveditor General coming thither with *Francesco Martinengo*, under whom they joynd some Souldiers in pay, and some of the Country. *Francesco Erizzo* came thither with title of Proveditor and Com-missario. But *Toledo*, to straighten the Common-wealth the more, demanded passage of the Duke of *Mantua* to make a further inrode on that side, and published it was to bring a Garrison into *Cassigione*.

The *Venetians* complained highly that *Toledo* executed in such manner the Capitulations of *Asti*, which obliged him to free *Italy* from offences, jealousies, and molestations; and that he should no otherwise respect the Peace of *Madrid*, which suspended warlike proceedings, and terminated Hostility, but with doing new mischiefs, and contriving greater vexations. They therefore endeavoured to stir up *France* with the contempt *Toledo* shewed of their mediation, and with the obligation which engaged them to maintain to them the Treaty. The Duke of *Savoy* after some perplexity, because the desire to recover *Vercelli* sufficiently restrained him on the one side, and common faith and his own interest advertised him on the other of the dangers the Republick was in, offers to move immediately in person; and recalls the Troops, which having caused for the most part to pass out of *Italy*, in order to the execution of the Peace, loitered under the Republicks pay in the Country de *Vaux* in *Helvetia*, to attend the issue of things. They stipulated besides at common charge a great Levy of *French*, and another with *Mansfield* to be raised in the Provinces of the Empire. Nevertheless these great preparations came presently to nothing, because *la Quezra* at *Venice* complying with the conclusion of the Peace, and giving word for the restitution of the Ships, Gallies, and Merchants goods, insinuates in order to preserve *Gradisca* a general suspension of Arms; and the Popes Nuntio, with the Ambassadour of *France*, pressing it also by their offices and intreaties, the Senate was persuaded to order their General, that for *Friuli*, *Istria*, and *Dalmatia* he should concert it with the *Austrians*; whereupon at a meeting upon the 7. of *November* of *Pietro Barbarigo* Procurator, and who was succeeded to *Lando*, who lay dangerously sick, and *Murradas*, they adjusted every thing, proportioning how much victuals should every day enter into *Gradisca*. *Toledo* now having obtained his design, published on his side the Peace, and some Troops being licentiously run abroad towards *Romano*, though repulsed by the *Venetians* with the death of twenty five of them, he punisheth the Officers, and leaving *Fara* withdraws his Army into the *Milanese*. *Offuna* on the contrary was mad at the name of Peace, and giving out that he would invade the Gulph anew, invented two pretexts; the one unjust, from the coming over of the *Holland* Troops; the other false, that there was a Fort building at *St. Croce*. It was true, that *Veniero* was in that Port with twenty three small Gallies, five great ones, nineteen Ships, and some armed Barks, with other lesser Vessels, but without other design than to hinder the *Spanish* Fleets entry,

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try, if they should attempt it, and divert the thoughts of *Offuna*, who divulged that he would fortifie thereabouts some of the Rocks belonging to those of *Ragusa*. The Souldiers, in truth, had done some hurt, not without the consent of the Chiefs, to chastise the boasting of that people, and the assistance given to the *Spanish* Ships. But those of *Ragusa*, by reason of the smallness of their Country, thinking themselves lost, when they were scarce touched, made grievous complaints against the *Venetians* to the *Turks*.

The Pope and the *French* interposed with *Offuna*, and it was published, that *Philip* himself by Letters under his own hand had seriously commanded him to be quiet, and to restore to the Republick the Ships and Goods. But he feigning in greater scorn obedience, and to be willing to deliver to *Gaspardo Spinelli* their Resident the Ships, speaking nothing of the Goods, but dissipating them publicly, that Minister would not receive them to the prejudice of the rest. The Duke not stopping his turbulent thoughts here, sends anew *Francesco Rivera* with nineteen Men of War into the *Adriatick*.

The *Venetians* discovering him towards *St. Croce*, ranging their Fleet in order, came near to them cannoning one another. But night now coming on, the *Spanish* Ships set their course towards the Coast of *Naples*, and *Veniero* follows them so close, so that in the morning some of the Ships were very near to those of *Spain*. He with the incitements of honour animates all to the fight, and laboured to put the Fleet in order, something confused by the failing in the night; but besides shooting from far with the Cannon nothing was done, because the *Venetian* Ships got into order with difficulty, and some of them not without blemish abandoning that Post which the General had assigned them, they came not to grapple; but a great storm following thereupon, they were forced to leave the Enemy to contend against the Sea, the lighter Gallies ran towards *Dalmatia*, and amongst the Rocks of *Meleda* there perished five. The great ones with the Ships, the General himself being gone into the Gallion, *Balbi* followed the *Spaniards* as far as *Mansfredonia*; but by the same occasion of the wind, which drove them upon the Land, they were obliged to return to *St. Croce*. And *Rivera* stays some time in *Brindisi* with his Ships ill enough handled.

But if there were a storm at Sea, the waves went not less high at Land about the execution of the Peace of *Piedmont*; for that *Be-thune* making a journey to *Mantua* to induce that Prince to the pardon and restitution of Goods to *St. Giorgio*, and the others comprehended in the Treaty, found him totally averse to it. The mystery was quickly discovered; for the *Venetians* having also interposed with the project of a Marriage betwixt *Leonora* and *Vittorio*, to which, lest he should ally himself with the Sister of *Lewis*, it was believed the *Spaniards* would not gainsay; yet it appeared that the Governor of *Milan* kept *Ferdinand* to hard meat, strictly imposing upon him not to consent at present with so much facility to *France* that which he had constantly heretofore denied to *Spain*. Whereupon *Berkane* parts

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parts with this impression, that *Toledo* did not like that there should be an entire composition betwixt the two Dukes, to the end that by their divisions he at his pleasure might have a stone at his foot to stumble the Peace. And he was therein the more confirmed, when coming to *Milan*, the Governour would not rest satisfied in the truth of *Carlo's* disarming, pretending, that though his Troops were discharged, yet they were entertained out of *Italy* to be at the Dukes disposing.

Bethune extremely troubled at this proceeding, sends him a protest in writing, charging him to be author of all the evils, which might arrive upon his so much niceness. But *Toledo* not considering offices or protests, strengthened himself continually with new Troops, and therefore it was but fit for *Carlo* to employ himself in making greater provisions. *St. Ja* and *Crescentino* were put in defence, and *Piscina* being dispatched again to *Venice*, there was proposed an adjustment of a new confort and defence. With such ambiguity of mind and thoughts ends the year 1617. memorable for the War, for the suspensions, for the Treaties which disturbed rather than quieted *Italy*, and which out of it scattered also mischievous seeds of new and greater calamities; for no sooner had *Padavino*, a Minister for the Republick, appeared among the *Grisons*, but the Governour of *Milan* sends *Mora* with orders, not only to hinder the League with the *Venetians*, but with Propositions to conclude one with the *Milanese*. *Chaffier* the French Minister opposes himself to these dealings of *Spain*: but although the Orders of the Court divulged the contrary, not as much opposed that of the *Venetians*; from which *Cassini* the Spanish Ambassador, taking encouragement, proposes in the *Pitt* a League hereditary for a perpetual defence with exclusion of passage to every body else, and a prohibition to *Padavino* not to proceed in his Negotiation, promising that done (to gain their consent) the demolishing of the Fort *Fuentes*.

But so far was this Proposition from being approved, that a Union with the Republick was rather universally desired, and that to such a degree, that for fear it should be effected, the Ministers of those Crowns conspired anew to divert it, by dividing the affections of those people, rendring jealous the Commons, turning some about, and bringing them all into confusion. It was no hard matter to compass their end, considering the affections of that wavering people; whereupon some made an Insurrection in the *Agnedina*, and joining with sixty Musqueteers of *Coira*, attempted to drive away *Padavino* by force. Those of *Tosana* whither he retired took him into their protection, breaking a Bridge by which these armed men pursued him with great violence. But taking counsel from the most experienced, they let that sudden motion, as they had seen it at other times, vanish of it self; whereupon he retires into the *Valtellina* to *Morbegno*; where neither being secure, by reason of Orders from those of *Coira* not to let him remain there, he was obliged to return into the *Bergamasco*. And so the Souldiers which had been levied, disbanded without much difficulty, and over and above every Pass

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was stopped to some Souldiers of the Republick, which by convenience filed towards their own State; and it was proposed, that a Tribunal should be erected to punish those of the Commonalty, who had hearkened to the Proposition of Union with the Republick. The League of the *Grisons*, to give them their due, opposed that; but some of the chief prevailed, and turning Justice into a Revenue, hoped to make their profit by it. This was the foundation of that open discord, which did in a manner totally subvert the liberty of *Rhetia*, which being equally in confusion and poverty, easily prostituted it self to be the laughing-stock of strangers, and to be changed according to the private interest of the Inhabitants.

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The year terminating so tempestuous, 1618. in consequence begins with little appearance of quiet. In *Germany*, the truth was, that the inclinations of *Matthias* without question tended to Peace, whence although the *Austrians*, to give all the honour to *Spain*, desired only that the Treaty of *Madrid* should be approved, with the exclusion of that Writing stipulated in *Paris*; nevertheless the *Venetians* dissenting from it both from decency, and the Warranty of the Treaty, the ratifications were solemnly exchanged in *Vienna*. *Giorgio Justiniano*, Ambassadour for the Republick with *Matthias*, was admitted to Audience with *Ferdinand*, to whom in an honourable discharge of his function, omitting past dissidences, he represented the intentions of the Republick towards his Royal person and Family, inferring from the present accord and the mutual readiness to execute it, presaging of a lasting peace and felicity of their Subjects, who from the affections of their Princes receive the most benign or the most severe influences.

The Emperour, together with the King, had both a mind to nominate Commissioners, for executing the accord, *Pope Paul* and *Cosmo* the Grand Duke (but that served chiefly for State, and rather, to have Mediators) Confidants to both Parties, if any difficulty should come to arise. Whereupon, it being necessary that the Deputies should meet upon the place, from the *Austrians* were sent the Barons, *Carlo d'Harach* and *Giacomo Elding*, and from the Republick *Girolamo Justiniano* and *Antonio Priuli* Cavalier, both Procurators of *St. Marco*. The Island of *Veglia* was chosen for the place of meeting, both for the conveniency of the place, and because the *Venetians* even in that loved to keep up a seemliness, bringing them home into their own Country. In the mean time the *Austrians* being sensible of an Incurfion upon the Frontiers of *Croatia*, sent thither a part of the Militia which was in *Friuli*, abandoning the Post of *Rubia*, and the Republick re-inforced with some of their Souldiers their Army by Sea, appointing *Barbarigo* Captain General over it, in whose place passed, out of *Istria* into *Friuli*, *Barbaro* in quality of Vice-Proveditor General of the Armies. Into *Segna* being brought the Company of *Germans* of Captain *Suech* for a Garri-

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But the *Venetians* took a great Ship of *Ragusa*, which laden with Salt, was going from *Barietta* to *Trieste*, and burnt another of the same Nation, which run her self aground under the Town of *St. Cataldo*. Out of *Fortore* they took another lading Corn for *Naples*. All this being followed with the interruption of Trade, and the grievous complaints of the *Neapolitans*, who represented in *Spain*, that from that populous City was taken even their very nourishment, it induced the Ministers at *Madrid* to recal the business of the restitutions out of the hands of *Ossuna*, and refer it to the Cardinal *Borgia*, that with *Girolamo Soranzo*, Ambassadour for the Republick at *Rome*, it might more easily be made an end of. But they having not been able to do the least thing but the Duke got some kind of notice of it, he interrupts the proceeding anew, giving to the Cardinals Auditor, who was come to *Naples* for that purpose, such an imperfect Inventory of the Goods found in the Ships, that the Ambassadour

fadour would not receive it. But *Santa Croce* being arrived with the Gallies, the Viceroy put into consultation what enterprise they should undertake, and proposed to enter again into the *Adriatick*, to deliver, as he said, the Ports of that Kingdom from a Siege. But *Santa Croce* dissenting, who inclined rather to some enterprise in *Africa*, *Ossuna* designs to do it himself by sending by Sea to *Trieste* a great succour of men to King *Ferdinand*, who by reason of the occurrences of *Bohemia*, had great need of them. This coming to the knowledge of the Republick, they command *Justiniano* their Ambassadour in *Germany*, that he should roundly declare to that King himself, that they would not suffer the Jurisdiction of the Gulph to be violated, nor let Ships and armed men pass under the eye of the Capital City; whereupon the King, who had need of the assistance, yet desired not that the Peace with the *Venetians* should be interrupted, represented seriously to *Ossuna* the sending of it some other way more safe, though more long. Nevertheless, the Republick with a great Fleet, resolved to guard themselves even from the same, and thoughts of the Duke, and observing in the Governour of *Milan* a mind equally averse to Peace, upon the arrival of *Piscina* at *Venice*, they command *Renieri Zeno*, who after *Antonio Donato* resided Ambassadour at *Turin*, to stipulate new adjustments with *Carlo*.

The *Venetians* had heretofore in former occasions contributed to the Duke more than two Millions in ready money; now they promised him ninety thousand Ducats a month, when the *Spaniards* failing in the things agreed, it should be needful to take Arms. The Duke on the other side engages himself to make a diversion with between fifteen and twenty thousand Foot, and two or three thousand Horie, if any molestation was offered to the Republick. This being put into writing with mutual promise not to make Peace or Treaty apart, was not at that time signed; but being concluded upon the word and faith of the Princes Contractors, the Publication was deferred as long as any shadow of hopes of Peace remained. Upon this opportunity the Republick and the Duke pointing out to the other Princes of that Country the horrid image of slavery which threatened them all, insinuated the means to free themselves from it by a general Union, a thing very easie, if toward common safety there was stirring in them a love equal to that excess of respect they shewed to the more powerful. The said Princes were intruth little contented with the present state of things, expecting from what part the hope of security and quiet would discover it self; not any nevertheless had the courage to shew themselves, and France it self preferring Negotiation before a rupture sent to *Turin* a new Ambassadour *Monsieur de Modene*, not without the envy of *Bethune*, that he might perswade the Duke to disband those Troops kept on foot out of *Italy*; but he had no power to dispose of them, because being maintained by the pay of the Republick, it was fit to have their consent for it. The endeavours then of the Crown were addressed to the Senate, with a promise, to take away jealousies of power.

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This difficulty then removed (for the *Venetians* consented to it) the *French* Ambassadors went to *Milan* to assure *Toledo* of the disarming, and he not being able to shew distrust, because they gave it him in writing, privily undermines the Treaty by secret Propositions to the Duke of great advantages, if he would separate himself from *France* and the *Venetians*, and offered him over and above, except *Casale*, which he desired might be left to *Spain*, the rest of *Monferrat*, provided he would not insist to have *Vercelli* restored. All aimed at delays, and being not able to gain *Savoy*, he turns to *Mantua*, doing his utmost to persuade that Duke not to be satisfied with the restitution of places, but to pretend recompence of damages, and deny pardon to the Rebels. And this serving no less for his purpose, to the end to persuade *Carlo* not to be too hasty in rendering, he lets it be divulged that *Ferdinand* being restored to the possession of *Monferrat*, the *Gonzaghi* would give it to the *Spaniards* in exchange for other Possessions. There was indeed such a project talked of, but never concluded, because it neither pleased the Duke of *Mantua* to deprive himself of so noble a Patrimony, nor would *Italy* have suffered it, having at last learnt it was better to resist the *Spaniards* by Arms than by Treaty.

All therefore served for the Governours purpose, who not being able to overcome *Carlo* with his flatteries, endeavoured to provoke him with disgusts, and for that end his Secretary *Carone* being then with the *French* Ministers, he caused him to be enjoined immediately to depart. The Duke in effect was angry at it, and suspending the withdrawing of his Garrisons out of the places possessed, which was at the instant ready to have been done, he calls presently to him the *French* Ambassadors, as if the Treaty had been broken. But they pacifying him, and dissuading him not to make sport for *Toledo*, who sought nought but pretexts and difficulties, upon the 6. of *April* he restores seventy four Towns of *Monferrat*, and retires out of *Annone*, *Massarano*, and every other place feudal, delivering the Prisoners to the *French* Ministers. Of all which assurance, contrary to what he could have believed, being given to *Toledo*, the report was, that in a rage he brake out, saying, It appears the Peace must at last be executed, since Heaven and Earth have fatally conspired to have it so. He then releases his Prisoners, and restores *St. Germano*; but for *Vercelli*, it seemed that the difficulty was a Labyrinth, notwithstanding that from *Spain*, at the solicitation of the *French* Ministers, were arrived Orders and frequent Courriers to restore it, and that to disapprove his proceedings, his remove from his Charge before his time was published, the Duke of *Feria* being designed to succeed him: But nothing availed; for first alledging, that it was not agreeable to the honour of the Monarchy to render the place, while the Ambassadors of *France* were in *Milan*, as if it were to extort it with the force of threatenings and protests, afterwards pretending that the Town of *Garesio* be-

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longing to *St. Giorgio* should be restored by *Carlo*, taking away both the pretexts by the departure of the one, and the restitution of the other, *Vercelli* was notwithstanding not rendered. At last the King of *France* giving it out, that if the *Spanish* Colours did not budge, he should be constrained to go in person into *Italy*, they began slowly to carry away the Ammunition and the Arms; afterwards, to keep footing yet a while, he requires a new promise from *Carlo* not to offend the Duke of *Mantua*. But the Ministers of *Ferdinand* declared, they desired no greater security, and against the liking and expectation of the Governour amply expressed it in writing. Amidst the amazement, the World was in, to observe the proceedings of *Toledo*, and the actions of *Offuna*, it quickly appeared that the Designs of great men are like the springs of water, whose source is more hidden than their streams.

All had its rise from the issue that was expected of a treacherous Plot, which *la Queva*, with participation of the fore-mentioned, managed in *Venice*, where having his Residence, he had served not only as a Director to their Arms, but an Architect of Treacheries. There was neither deceit nor hostility, which either in private or publick he practised not, prying into every thing, he insinuated himself into all; whosoever resisted his corruptions, he laid execrable impositions to his charge; to him that yielded to them, he proposed most damnable designs. He fomented among some Souldiers of *Holland* kept in the *Lazaretti*, a certain specious Tumult, raised up against their Officers; he attempted to debauch many from the Colours and Service of the Republick, and to bring in others to practise Treasons.

Amongst the chief of these, *Offuna* sends a certain *Jacques Piere*, a *French* man, of *Normandy*, and Pirate by profession, a man of great courage, but bred up in evil, and capable of all sorts of wickedness. This Fellow feigning to be unsatisfied with *Offuna*, declares he would be revenged of him, passing to the Service of the Republick, and was without difficulty received there with his Camarade called *Langlad*, that had skill in Fire-works; although *Simcon Contarini* Ambassador then at *Rome*, a man of profound wisdom, advertised, that there might possibly some treachery of the Viceroy be discovered. But *Offuna*, to take away all doubt, shewing to be angry, caused the Wife of *Piere* to be detained, and with feigned Letters propounding to him great rewards, recalls him to his service. He on the other side, to make himself acceptable at *Venice*, shews the Letters themselves, proposes many specious things, feigns to discover the Viceroy's designs, and suggests the means to oppose them. Having by this means gotten himself into great trust, he was admitted with *Langlad* into the Arsenal to exercise his Art. He had afterwards secret meetings with *la Queva*, and there continually passed secretly Courriers and Spies to *Naples*. They had drawn into their wicked intentions *Niccolo Rinaldi*, *Carlo*, and *Giovanni Bolco*, *Lorenzo Nola*, *Roberto Revelido*, *Vincenzo Roberti*, Captain *Tornon*, who had then a Company in service of the *Venetians*, and some others partly *Burguignons*, and the rest *French*.

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The contrivance was, that under an *English* man, called *Haillot*, *Ossuna* should send certain Brigantines and Barks capable to enter into the Ports and Channels, of which they had every where taken the soundings; greater Vessels were afterwards to follow, and cast Anchor on the shore of *Friuli*, under the countenance of which, and in the confusion, which the first were to make among the people, the Conspirators had their parts divided; *Langlad* to give fire to the Arsenal, others in several parts of the City, some to Pettard the Mint, to possess the principal Posts, kill the most considerable persons, whose houses were now marked with private tokens, hoping all to enrich themselves with rich and unwonted pillage. Some things indeed were not easie to be put in execution; but wickedness and avarice blinded them, with the imagination, that every strange fancy was not difficult. At the same time *Toledo* having corrupted in *Crema* *Giovanni Berardo*, Lieutenant of a *French* Company, and some of his gang, held a correspondence with him, receiving Letters and directions to surprise the place, for which end he had sent Souldiers to *Lodi*: But God with a Mist frustrates such wicked designs. Whilst the Brigantines were in a readiness to joyn together, expected by the Conspirators with such impatience, that every day they went up to the top of the highst Steeples to discover them, some were taken by piratical Pinnaces, others dispersed with a great storm; so that being not able to get together again within the time appointed, they agreed to defer the execution till Autumn. *Piere* and *Langlad* commanded to go out with the Fleet, could not avoid going with *Barbarigo* the Captain General. The rest remaining in *Venice*, ceased not to ruminate on the means of execution, impatiently expecting the time. But discoursing frequently of it amongst themselves, and to increase the number of their Complices, the confidence and secret coming to the knowledge of some others of their Nations (treachery being seldom so blind or so deaf that it hath not some light, and rumours;) *Gabriel Montecassino* and *Baldasar juven* Gentlemen, the one of *Normandy*, and the other of *Dauphiné*, and nearly allied to *Dedignieres*, abhorring such wicked counsels, discovered them to the Counsel of Ten. Being afterwards made more evident by the means of others secretly placed to hear, undiscovered, their confidences and discourses; some of the Conspirators being imprisoned, the Treason was confirmed both by Letters found about them, and the confession of the guilty, who satisfied the penalty both with publick and secret punishment. Some nevertheless, frighted with the arrest of their Companions, saved themselves by flight, betaking themselves to their Sanctuary, which was no other but *Ossuna*. But *Piere* and *Langlad*, by an Order sent with diligence to the Captain General, were drowned in the Sea, and in *Crema*, *Berardo* with his other Complices ended their lives ignominiously under the Hangman. The City dreadfully frighted at the discovery of such a Conspiracy, and at the danger they had run to have seen the Churches and houses burning, and the seat of the liberty and beauty of *Italy* inwrought in a moment with sword, fire, and a miserable destruction; by order

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der of the Senate prayers and devout thanks were given to God. But *Is. Queva*, who was accounted the Director and Minister of such wicked designs, was in great danger to have been from the fury of the people sacrificed to the publick rage, resolved to retire secretly to *Milan*, and the Senate already by an express Courier, had resolutely required of the King to remove him. Princes being accustomed in such occasions to be pleased with the effects rather than the means, in *Madrid* the actions of this Minister were disapproved, and to make it certainly appear, answer was given to the *Venetian* Ambassadour, that *Luigi Bravo* was already designed to succeed him, and he to pass into *Flanders* to be assistant to the Archduke *Albert*. *Ossuna* denies to have had any hand in it; for when the event of such execrable practices is not such, that for advantage, or for the ingenuity, is wont to make it commendable, there remains nothing but the abominable image of ignominy, rejected and detested of the Authors themselves. The World nevertheless condemned him for guilty, whilst the Fugitives, it was evident, had their refuge with him; and the Widow of *Piere* set at liberty, was sent to *Milan* with an honourable Convoy. All this falling out at the time that the Peace was ready to be executed, the Senate was willing deeply to dissemble it, having respect to the honour of the two Nations desiled, the one with Treachery, and the other with Venality, by the occasion of a few wicked Villains, which being execrated of good men, would be rejected even by Nature her self, if she could as well revenge her self of a wicked man, as it is necessary to uphold him no less than the good.

Unto this discovery, and the stir in *Bohemia*, *Italy* was believed obliged for their Peace; for now were the Ships of *Ossuna* withdrawn from the *Adriatick*, and *Vercelli* was restored to *Savoy*. A little while after *Feria*, being arrived at *Milan*, set his hand to a reformation, and to disband the Troops, deferred by *Toledo* upon pretext, that the Republick was armed, and the Duke of *Savoy* fortified with an extraordinary Militia. It only remained that the Duke of *Mantua* should pardon his Rebels, and nothing else hindred his assent, but the delay of the approbation from *Madrid*; whereupon the Ministers of *France*, who desired to reap the glory alone, prefixed him a certain time, not without protests, within which *Ferdinand*, with the good liking of *Spain*, should grant the pardon. And thus one part of the unhappy Tragedy of *Italy* was at an end, there remaining amongst the Princes, as after a great tempest at Sea, agitations of jealousies and distrusts, which quickly returned to new Wars and discords.

Carlo could not quiet himself from the jealousies he had conceived against the *Spaniards*, nor cease from those thoughts, which kept him always intent upon novelty and his own advancement. On the other side, the Council of *France* tended to keep him within bounds, not only to keep alive, through a confidence with him, the Party in *Italy*; but also to oblige him in such sort, that he should not give countenance to the *Hugonots*, in the thoughts which

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Luines had to take out of their hands the places, wherein having been established in the time of the Minority, rendered that Sect equal to the Royal Authority, if not superiour. The Marriage therefore, upon the going of the Prince Cardinal *Maurice* to *Paris*, was concluded of *Christine*, Sister to the King, with *Vittorio Amadeo*, Prince of *Piedmont*, notwithstanding that the *Spaniards* with much money, scattered amongst their Partisans in the Court, had endeavoured to hinder it. The design notwithstanding against the *Hugonots* was for a while deferred, because some disturbance rising in the Kingdom, *Luines* having not so suddenly been able to resolve, whether to deliver the Queen-mother from her Confinement, or *Conde* from his Prison, was most for his interest. Whereupon the Duke of *Espernon*, a man of an inflexible spirit, habituated formerly in favour, an object rather than a party in the flatteries of Court, receiving discontent, because in the Council the precedence of the Keeper of the Seal had been decided against him, and in the nomination to a Cardinals Cap, *Gondi* the Bishop of *Paris* had been preferred before his own Son, retires to his Government of *Metz*; where communicating counsels with the Marechal of *Fouillon*, he enters into the Party to take away the Queen from *Blois*, which he secretly effected, bringing her first to *Lochies*, and afterwards to *Angoulesme*. The King came to *Tours*, and the Kingdom was every where in Arms; when the Bishop of *Lussan*, whom *Luines* secretly gave leave to quit *Avignon*, having a more than ordinary ascendant upon the mind of the Queen, concluded an agreement, in which, with the pardon of *Espernon* and his Followers, was promised to the Queen her self the Government of *Anjou*, with that of *Angiers*, *Chinon*, and *Pont de Cé*. But *de Luines*, not wholly relying upon this new-made friendship, takes *Conde* out of Prison, and enters into familiarity with him; which causing suspicion in the other Party, he both pursues new Intelligences and Levies of Arms.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE calm and quiet of the rest of *Europe* had till now rendered more considerable the successes of the Wars in *Italy*, and the Treaties worthy of greater observation; but mens minds began also elsewhere to be distracted, for War creeping like a Cancer, corrupted all the parts of Christendom with mutations of States, alterations of things, memorable Sieges, great Battels, Actions famous, though very often unjust, with so much slaughter of People, and calamity of Countries, that the present time might justly be called the Age of Iron and Blood. The beginning of such grievous mischiefs brake forth in *Bohemia* with the commotion of the Kingdom, which was believed the cause, and no less warranty of the Peace of *Italy*. It will not therefore be besides the purpose to deduce the motives and successes of it, because no otherwise than in the Conjunction of the greater Planets, upon whom the most notable Effects depend, the influences of the one alter the dispositions of the other; so in the affairs and linked interests of Princes, the accidents, whether good or bad, of the one part, are felt to be weighty in the other. King *Ferdinand* did now appear adopted by Fortune to the hope and succession of the Empire, because the Line of *Maximilian* the Second, though numerous, having no Heirs, the Masculine Issue failing, the Dominions devolved to the other Line of *Carlo*, that was his Brother; upon which Right *Ferdinand* having already received the Crown of

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Bohemia, that of *Hungary* was now to be joyned to it to make way for him to the Imperial also, and in his person to unite the Sovereignty and States of the whole House in *Germany*. But there wanted not oppositions and difficulties; jealousies awakening in the stranger Neighbours through the apprehension of so great a Potency, and doubt creeping into the hearts of the *Germans* themselves to fall at length under the yoke of a base slavery, if the Empire should be perpetuated in the *Austrians*, and in particular if they should confer it on *Ferdinand*, in whom the power of all the hereditary Provinces, coming to be united, they did believe, they should strengthen for ever after that Chain, with which for a good while already they had found themselves begirt.

To the Policy of Princes, and to the Zeal of the People Religion equally served for a pretext and motive; because *Ferdinand*, brought up in the Catholick Faith, detested all sorts of error, and therefore by how much, not succeeding to his Father, he found the Patrimonial Countries incumbered with false opinions, so much the more with signal piety had he applied himself to promote the true Worship, with such success, that at last those Provinces rejoiced to be restored to the bosom of the ancient Religion. But this was not effected without some sort of severity; so that many, not to leave their errors, constrained to abandon their Country and sell their Estates, lived elsewhere in poverty and discontent; and others driven away by force, and their Estates confiscated, saw them, not without rancour, possessed by new Masters. In the Empire therefore, in which the Religion no less than the Genius loves liberty, there appeared great apprehensions, that where *Ferdinand* should get the power, he would exercise the same reformation, and impose a yoke so much the more heavy, by how much standing in need of money, and the Councils of *Spain*, he should be governed by the Rules and Maxims of that Nation, so hateful to the *Germans*.

Frederick Elector *Palatine* young in years, but of a high mind, troubled more than any other with those thoughts, visiting for that purpose the Electors, had diverted them from the Election of a King of the *Romans*, remonstrating, that if the succession of the *Austrians* were not interrupted now that the right Line failed, there would be no reason to hope for it when it should fall to *Ferdinand*, who being upheld by foreign Force, and having Issue, would for ever establish the Imperial Throne in himself and his posterity. Nevertheless, not thinking it an easy matter to gain the Empire for himself, or any of the Protestant Electors, he offered it to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, for whom concurring the Votes of the three Protestants, and a fourth of the Archbishop of *Cologne* his Brother, the Election would be secure. But the Ministers of the Pope and those of *Spain* opposed that Proposition; and therefore, besides private interests, stirred up those of that Religion, which, the Empire going out of the House of *Austria* could not, wanting so strong a support, but extremely suffer. Great advantages being offered to *Bavaria* not to accept the invitation, the proceeding vanished, which notwithstanding

notwithstanding the Election of a King of the *Romans* was deferred.

The Empire tossed to and fro amidst these Negotiations, *Bohemia* falls into commotion. In that Kingdom, as it is the highest part of *Germany*, so it hath always been the most eminent Theatre of Rebellion and of Heresie, and their minds almost in all times have been divided into various Sects. That of the *Communion under both species* exceeded any other, having risen to that growth amidst the past dissensions of the Emperours *Rudolphus* and *Matthias*; who, to gain that sort of people, had to strive enlarged the liberty of Conscience, and consented to such Privileges, that the Protestants, making use of the facility of the Concessions, were by degrees, through urgent importunities, arrived to a parity with the Catholicks, saving in the Crown and the Majesty of the Government. These Indulgences were commonly called Letters of the Royal Authority, so much the more tenaciously kept by the people, by how much less pleasing to the Princes, who by an ambitious necessity had granted them. For this cause, if any doubt arose, they procured a restraint of them by judgments in favour of the Catholicks; and *Matthias* being no sooner gone to hold a Diet in *Hungary*, but there came forth a certain Decree in favour of the Archbishop of *Prague* and the Abbot of *Bruno*, who had opposed the building of two Temples for the Hereticks upon ground belonging to them.

The *Bohemians*, free from the bridle, which the presence of Princes carries with it, assembled about this in *Prague*, and requiring a general Diet of the Kingdom, to bring their grievances thither, and to promote their advantages, whilst *Matthias*, so counselled by his chief Ministers, denied and deferred it; they parted in a Rout from the Colledge *Carolino* the 23. of *May* in the morning, and coming to the Castle, and going into the quarter of the Chancery, and asking for the Authors of such a refusal, finding the Counts *Martinitz* and *Slavata* with *Philip Fabricius* the Secretary, esteemed the most zealous for the Catholick Religion, they flung them out of the Windows. The miracle of the success is convinced from the situation, the view whereof gives the lye to the imprudence of those, who with false inventions have gone about to blemish it; because to the place, from whence they fell, there joyning a Precipice of a dreadful height before you come to the earth, and being continued with a steep declining to the foot of the Wall, forming a most craggy Ditch for the Castle; all three of them falling right down, and certain shots of Muskets made after them, were taken up without hurt; only *Slavata* lightly scratched by the resistance he made; nevertheless he was able to save himself in a house adjoining. *Martinitz* disguised, went out of the City that very day, and the Secretary halted immediately to *Vienna* to be the first should bring the News. The Mutineers bethought themselves, that, together with the chief Ministers, they had precipitated peace, hopes, and pardon. And therefore easily possessing and fortifying the Castle, the ordinary Residence of the King, they set themselves to maintain by a proportionable force what they had begun with so great violence.

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The head of this commotion appeared to be Henry Count de la Tour, who to his private emulation to Martinitz (to whom had been granted the Government of Carlestein, the place where the Crown of the Kingdom is kept, taken away by Matthias from la Tour, expressly from the suspicion of his haughty mind) conjoined the publick concerns of his Religion rather than his own interests; for he, by occasion of the same, having been driven by Ferdinand out of his Countries, with the loss of his Goods, expected, when he should come to the Crown of Bohemia, to be used in the same kind. The people therefore being moved with crys of liberty, a name dear above all others, when it is not, as it often happens, from ambition and interest abused; and calling together the chief of them to a particular Conference, he thus spake: *I call you not hither to yield me your obedience or your oaths, neither do I aspire to the Crown or scepter of this unhappy Kingdom; but ready to run equal hazards with you, I invite you to be Companions in your own liberty. I see, by your silence, amazement united to the assent; and not without reason, because this unexpected light, which Heaven here opens amidst the calamities, to which we are accustomed, comforts together and dazles. Let us now begin to enjoy life and liberty, the soul it self. Where are the most worthy Priviledges of the Kingdom of Bohemia? Where is the reverent Authority of this unconquered People? Where is the exercise of Religion so many times sworn to God? forbid that Conscience, that rare gift from Heaven, should depend upon the will and promises of Princes! This usurped Crown passes from head to head, as the Revenue and Inheritance of one House; and to establish an everlasting Tyranny, being ravished before its time from Successors, in spite of death, is never suffered to be vacant. Is not Dominion without peradventure the peoples Patrimony, and the Dowry of the Common wealth; and yet the Austrians without our consent have arrogated it to themselves? What have we not hitherto suffered? The use of life comes now to be denied us, and the usufruct of the soul contested; but all our past miseries will not be able to call to your remembrance but some imperfect representative of the Calamities to come. In sum, Rudolphus lived amongst us; Matthias hath reaped us as the first fruit of his ambitious desires; but what may we expect from Ferdinand, unknown to us, and in himself rigorous, directed by the Counsels of Spain, and governed by that sort of Religious Priests and people, who detest with an equal aversion our Liberty and our Belief? He hath been born and bred up in the abhorrency of us Protestants, and why should we be forward to make trial of it, if the persons banished, the Families displanted, the Goods violently taken away, demonstrate too cruelly to us, that he would abolish our very being, if he could as easily command Nature as he uses force? Wo to you, Bohemians, to your Children, to your Estates, to your Consciences, if you suffer Ferdinand to keep his footing in the Throne. And when will you attempt to shake off the yoke, if you have not courage to do it at a time, when without power, without guard, the Kingdom is in your own power, and that you have two Kings to oppose you, one whereof is fallen, and the other totters? Assuredly you shall not be alone, but as many Com-*

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nions as you have in your Religion, so many friends shall you have in Arms. All Europe will be moved, and you shall see in your favour in some rise up the provocations of piety, and in others undistinguished considerations of Religion and State. Such commotions are like the great Rivers, which rising from very small Springs increased by many, as they run, carry into the Sea the name of one, and the waters of many. Look upon those happy people of Holland, who with more zeal than fear undertaking their deliverance from Captivity, enjoy at present the famous Station of Liberty and Greatness. I dare assure you, that in all Ages the Generosity of the Bohemians shall be memorable, that having flung tyrannical Government out of the windows, hath caused the glory to spring out, which from this Kingdom will easily diffuse it self to the Empire; and though some appearance of violence hath been in it, necessity and piety will excuse the fact. There is no more place for repentance or pardon, counsel or discourse avails no more, but only concord and constancy. The Lot is drawn, Liberty or the Hangman; if Conquerours, we shall be just, free, and Princes; if overcome, perfidious, perjured, and Rebels.

A little served to stir mens minds, incensed of themselves to thoughts of Novelty; for if that flourishing Kingdom in its soil rise as it were into War with fertile and almost continued Hills, the people are no less accustomed to float amidst perpetual provocations of Religion and Liberty. It was then decreed to shake off the yoke by the consent of all; and if there were any, that in their minds were against it, yet knowing they were not able to resist that universal violence, not to make themselves suspect, they made a shew to adhere to it with greater vehemence. To carry on the Government, a Magistracy of Thirty with title of Directors was chosen. But what had happened at Prague, was no sooner divulged through the Kingdom, but all was in revolt, drawing also the importance of Lusatia and Silesia, Provinces annexed. The advice being brought at the Emperours Court, there was a great division of opinions and counsels.

Matthias by plausible means, letters, and perswasions, together with something besides of concession, desired to reduce the Bohemians to their obedience, and Gleselius strengthened him in that thought, out of the consideration, that coming to Arms, the War was to be directed by Ferdinand, in which, if the authority of the one might be rendered suspicious to the Emperour, the practices of the other would be no less troublesome; against which, from the time when in his younger years he was carried to the Government of the rebel Provinces of Flanders, he had retained a certain aversion in his mind. Nor was the Cardinal in his judgment a jot deceived; for Ferdinand, that inclined more, than to pleasures, to the management of Arms, abetted by the counsels and favours of the Archduke Maximilian, and of the Ambassadour of Spain, no sooner saw the Emperour levy some few Souldiers for necessity, but he asked the Command of them. Matthias, troubled to deny him, resolves to grant it, but with such restriction, that forming a Council

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of War of his Confidants, of which notwithstanding the King should be chief, and limiting the Authority, he left him no more than the shadow. All this was attributed to *Gleßius*, to whom was imputed, besides venality in affairs, little propension to the concord of the family and greatness of the *Austrians*, a connivence and superabundant facility towards the Hereticks; accusations which proceeded principally from the hatred conceived against him by the Ministers of *Spain*; because to his utmost keeping the King and Archduke, from the knowledge of the foreign affairs, he excluded them also from those of the Empire; and in the affairs of *Italy* his inclination to Peace had carried him to oppose their designs. Amongst the means studiously thought on to take him out of the way, that appeared too sacrilegious to stain the Purple of a Cardinal with blood, and in the City of *Vienna* to kill, as it were upon the Altar, Bishop thereof.

It was then resolved to arrest him Prisoner, not regarding the affection and authority of *Matthias*, which were his only refuge, not without hope and design after the thing done, either to pacifie the Emperour by flatteries, or curb him with apprehensions. So being one day called to a Council in the Archdukes Quarter, where the King was with *Ognate*, he was seized as he came in by *D'Ampiere* and *Frainer*, and put into a close Coach with a hundred Horse for a Guard, hurried apace toward *Innsbruck*. Although the Princes themselves went to communicate it to *Matthias* with many pretexts of Religion, of connivence, advantage to the house, and of his own service, it is not to be said, how much he was moved at it; because touched in the apple of the eye of his authority and affection, it drove him to the extremity of passion; nor could he withhold himself, both when awake, and in his dreams from crying out with a loud voice, that *Gleßius* should be brought back to him again. There was an opinion, that he had some thoughts to cast himself into the arms of the mutined *Bohemians* for revenge. But the Cardinal *Dietrichstein*, a person of very great credit, did in some manner pacifie him, bringing into his Chamber the King and the Archduke to ask pardon for the transport, with protestations not to intrude themselves into his Authority or Government.

The Emperour required that promise in writing; but it was agreed, that he should be contented with the word only; and the little while he lived, he passed in continual apprehensions and melancholy, not without calling to mind Divine Judgments, which to him from his Cousin retributed the spoil of that Authority, which he but a few years before had with great violence extorted from his Brother *Rudolphus*. And it in truth seems that the imprisonment of *Gleßius* had set wide open the Sepulchres of the *Austrians*; for *Anna* the Empress and *Maximilian* dyed presently after, and were soon followed by others. The Prisoner was found to have neither money nor goods, and that absolved him from the common report of corruption and avarice, he being discovered to be poor, who under the benign influence of the favour of the Prince it was believed

lieved had enjoyed Mines and Treasures. He was at last put into the Popes hands, who exclaimed that the Dignity and Privilege of the Church was violated, to the end that he might judge him for the faults committed, being mixt of Religion and State. But after a year or two being restored to his liberty, he lived quietly as he had been known to be innocent. During these present domestick contentions of the *Austrians*, the *Bohemians* had made great advantage of that time in furnishing themselves with arms, money, and friends. Amongst the first that engaged in this troubled affair was *Ernest*, Count of *Mansfelt*, natural Son of *Peter Ernest*, as famous for the mischiefs done with small Forces, and the height of courage for the space of many years to the *Austrians*, as the Father had been remarkable in the Government of the Low-Countries, and several other employments for his fidelity to *Spain*. He being of an ambitious spirit, desiring by notable actions to make good to the World his spurious birth, after having passed through many Charges amongst the *Austrians*, renouncing the *Romish* Religion, made it his ambition to close with Fortune in the greatest dangers. He was at that time in *Piedmont* in service of the Duke, who, placing the principal security of his own quiet in the disturbances risen in *Bohemia*, gave him leave to raise 2000 Souldiers, and paid them for him for certain months, that he might carry them to the *Bohemians*. *Carlo* over and above exhorts the *Venetians* to contribute to that cause some secret assistance; but the Republick did not believe that it was fit for them to engage themselves further than in their own defence, and in the common Liberty of *Italy*.

Mansfelt was gladly entertained by the *Bohemians*, and honoured with the Charge of General of the Artillery, he with *la Tour* became the chief Parties in the Revolt, which, to say truth, could not be more furiously conducted than by those two Chiefs, one of which passed for desperate, and the other for one of a most turbulent spirit. *Mansfelt* presently possesses himself of the Town of *Pilsen*, and there remained now no other of consideration for the Emperour but *Buduais*, where *Carlo* Count of *Buquoy* raised some Troops.

Such was the *Preludium* of so many other calamities, which have since involved *Germany* in many miseries, which were too much threatened her by a fierce Comet, which about the end of the year appeared towards the North. And if it be true, that at some great Crisis Nature it self is moved, the fall of a Mountain, which burning a whole People alive overwhelmed *Plurs*, the greatest City of those parts, might be reckoned as a prodigious Prognostick of the unhappiness of *Rhetia*. And, to say truth, both for the business and the Arms the affairs of *Bohemia* and the *Grisons* had a sufficient resemblance; because that in this very year the minds of that people continued stirred and implacably disordered. It happened, that the *Venetians* having published, and by the means of *Antonio Antelmi* solemnly sworn the Alliance formerly concluded with the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Bern*, the agreement in consequence was, that in order to the Union of the three Leagues with the *Helvetians*, the passages should

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be open for them; but the *Spaniards* opposed it with so much violence, that some certain Horse, raised under pay of the Republick by Colonel *Sciavaleschi*, were obliged to make a stand, finding that the Ministers of *Spain* themselves kept their own Guards upon the passes, doubting lest connivence or the venality of those of that Country should let them through. To this business being afterwards added fear and force, *Feria* the new Governour of *Milan*, to incommode *Rhetia*, and stir their minds, stopped the passage of Merchandize; and *Gheffier* observing, though there was no Minister of the *Venetians* in those parts, that in the *Agnedina* the Election of a *Ministrat* (who is a temporary Head of their Government) after some contentels with the shedding of blood, was fallen upon a person of that Faction, presented a certain Writing, in which feigning to controul the Treaties of *Spain*, struck more to the quick upon those of the Republick, proposing that all other Alliances might be cast off, except that with *France*.

The Proposition pleased not the Commons, and so much the less, by how much the Creditors of many Pensions from the Crown requiring payment of them, he offered to satisfy only one of them, which was refused by the people with insufferable scorn. Nevertheless their minds were generally wavering, because the chief among them making Merchandize to their own profit of the publick evils, made themselves powerful with adhering to Strangers; and the poorer sort vexed with this corruption and the severity of their judgments, did not willingly bear the yoke. For which cause, taking Arms on a sudden in several places, they furiously ransacked the Country, not knowing who was to be their enemy and uncertain of their own designs. At *Zernez* they obliged *Rudolpho Pianta* to run away, who with his Brother *Pompeo*, declared Partisans of the *Austrians*, rendered themselves under that protection even as odious to all as feared by many; and to him it was principally imputed to have been one of the sowers of discord: so that they would have put him to a cruel death, if he had not made his escape by flight. They run then to *Coira*, whence *Gheffier*, who by his proceedings was not distinguished from a Minister of *Spain*, resolved to retire in haste to *Milan*; and as if the fury of the people had been capable of any order or discipline, they deliberated to establish a Tribunal in *Tosana*, composed of Judges Catholick and Protestants, who should proceed against those who should have sold to Strangers the weak of the Country.

Under this censure many principal men perished; *Giovanni Baptista Zambra* by the hand of the Hangman; *Niccolo Rusca* the Chief Priest of *Sondrio* dyed under Tortures; the *Pianta's* were banished upon grievous punishments, and *Giovanni* Bishop of *Coira*; the City it self being fined in the sum of 15000 Crowns. *Molina*, Interpreter of *France*, Native of *Rhetia*, was in like sort banished, and to *Gheffier* was intimated the leaving his employment; but he hoping that good order would be so much the less durable amongst that people by how much they wearied themselves to introduce it, took time to

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to give advice of it to the Court, whither the *Grifons* also dispatched Letters and Deputies to inveigh bitterly against him. There being also for the same cause of the *Grifons* some dissention risen in some Cantons of the *Switzers*; to quiet it, as is the custom, rather with conference than force, a Diet was called in *Baden*; where *Gheffier* appearing, taxed the *Venetians* to have fomented this last revolution, in which there appeared many of their party. But the Ambassadors of the *Grifons*, who were at this meeting, maintaining the liberty of their actions and judgments against those who had betrayed the Country, imputed to himself to have with all Art given encouragement to the present turbulencies. But for a proof of their indifferency, they had recalled those few Troops of their Nation who served the *Venetians*, and had condemned in a mulct of money some Captains, who were not so ready to obey them. But the *Pianta's*, to nourish the divisions, scattered Letters and Libels; and having recourse to the Governour of *Milan*, to obtain only 30000 Crowns therewith to arm their friends and adherents, they promised to rise, and subject the *Valtolina* to him, which being subject to the *Grifons*, but inhabited by people more civil, not willingly suffered the heavy yoke of Democracy so corrupted. This, passing not without the *Grifons* knowledge, caused, that to keep the principal Post they sent some Souldiers, which were very useful to suppress also the disturbances, made by those of *Como* in the dispute about Jurisdiction over certain places.

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Many solicited the *Venetians* to send a Minister, to conclude a League quickly during the predominancy of those most inclined to their Party; but they willing to observe the issue of so strange accidents, not to confound things rather than contribute to their remedy, forbore it. It quickly was made manifest, that the people in their affection had but a short space betwixt their flood and ebb; for they presently fell back into the contrary party. *Gheffier* and the *Spanish* Minister, conspiring by concert to stir up a new Revolt, with money and other endeavours raised some of the Commons under the pretext to abolish the new erected Courts of Justice, and to restore the Bishop. About *Coira* there happened betwixt the Parties a bloody Encounter, and according to the reciprocation of force, sometimes making faulty, and sometimes giving authority; another Tribunal was erected in that Town, which abolished the acts of that of *Tosana*, called back the banished, and punished the Judges themselves.

The oppressed had recourse to the *Venetians*; but instead of assistance they received Councils for a sincere reconciliation; for in effect, in that confusion of affairs, they knew not how to design any advantage, and foresaw, that the most powerful at last would reap the benefit. Nevertheless in the *Agnedina* the tumult began of its own accord, and taking Arms, spread it self through all the

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The *Bohemians* rejecting the Letters, by which *Ferdinand* offered clemency, pardon, confirmation of Privileges, with Liberty of Conscience, and all that which they could pretend, stir up those that were far and near. Upper *Austria* unites with the Rebels, a few Catholics in vain contradicting, and declare to govern themselves by themselves, till it should be decided, who ought lawfully to succeed, pretending it did belong to *Albert*, Brother of the Emperor deceased, notwithstanding his renouncing to it in favour of *Ferdinand*. And the Lower would not have acted otherwise, and in particular *Vienna*, which was pestered with Heresie, if *Ferdinand*, being then there, had not with his authority and presence withheld it. In then there, the States being assembled in *Bruna*, and having founded *Moravia*, the States being assembled their Forces, follow the same resolution in favour of the *Bohemians*; notwithstanding that a little before that Province had sent to *Ferdinand* a succour of 3000 Foot and 2000 Horse, who, having understood in their march the resolution of their Province, facing about in a general tumult, returned. The General only (who was that *Albert of Wallenstein*, who by that act of fidelity gave beginning to that great Fortune, which in a few

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years carried him to an Ascendant, and afterwards to a Precipice, went on to *Ferdinand*, delivering a certain sum of money he had in his possession for the payment of his Souldiers; but the *Moravians* had a mind to fetch it again by force, detaining, till it was restored, in arrest the Cardinal *Dietrichstein*, a faithful Servant to the King, who believing himself more in want of faithful Counsellors than money, although he was in great necessity, for his liberty readily restores it. *Ferdinand* by all this was at the very brink of passing to the succession, and the Empire in a calamitous condition, and exposed even to the extremity of dangers; for *La Tour*, solicited by some Barons of *Austria*, came near to the *Danube*, and being furnished with Boats by those of his Party, passed it to the terror of the Country, and of the City of *Vienna*, having as it were no Garrison but the presence and constancy of *Ferdinand*, whilst the Souldiers within it exceeded not 1500 Foot, and 200 Horse, who were to guard it from the Inhabitants, no less than from Enemies, because they held Correspondence with *La Tour*, and had treated to deliver him a Port. But he having lain still two days at *Fischchen*, lost the Victory; because, believing to conquer a City, by the same manner he had made whole Provinces revolt with Letters and invitations, he wrote to *Vienna*, and while he expected an answer, the University armed five hundred Scholars; Victuals were brought in, and some Souldiers arrived. Most opportunely of all came the succours of certain Companies of Cuirassiers, sent by the great Duke of *Tuscany* to his Kinsman, which by the address of one *Santlier*, a French Gentleman, falsifying their Colours, entered, passing through the midst of the *Bohemian* Squadrons into *Vienna*, in that very instant that the King was hard put to it by some, who insolently plucking him by the Doublet, required the Concession of Privileges and Liberty of Conscience. But hearing the trampling of the Horses, and unexpectedly seeing the Souldiers run up and down the streets with their Swords in their hands, the fright was so great amongst them, that they dispersed, and together with them the Conventicles were dissolved, which they held in private houses, wherein also store of Arms were gathered together.

La Tour, to give courage to his, drew near to the City, and lodging in the Suburbs, besieges it, but for a few days only; for *D'Ampierre* with 4000 men raised in *Hungary*, designing to joyn with *Buquoy*, who was strong 1000 Cuirassiers, *Mansfelt* attempted to hinder him in his way; but *Buquoy* fell upon him so opportunely out of an Ambuscade, that he defeated him with a great number of slain, and more of Prisoners. Upon this advice *La Tour* draws off from *Vienna*, fearing lest upon this disgrace the *Bohemians* might be wavering. But Fortune carried *Ferdinand* from a Siege to the Empire; for, fetching a long compass, and arriving at last at *Francfort*, he was received there with infinite applause, and the instances of the *Bohemians* being rejected, who endeavoured to exclude him, the oppositions of *Saxony* being overcome with recompences, and the *Palatine* at last forced to consent, he was the 28. of *August* adorned

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ed with the Imperial Dignity, while at the same time the *Bohemians* resolve upon a new Election of a King. Whether this Kingdom be Hereditary or Successive, is a dispute which hath long wearied Armies and Pens with various Judgments; some approving reason, though over-mattered, others applauding the direction of Fortune, and the Conquerours. As to that which concerned this business in question, the resolution sprung both from the necessity of having a Director of that confused Government, and from the want of a support by foreign Force. In consideration of his nearness, his Religion, and his Power, they offered the Crown to *John George*, Duke of *Saxony*; but he, hoping for more certain advantages from the *Austrians*, refuses it.

The fame of worth and courage begot a great esteem of *Carlo Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*; so that he was invited by the *Bohemians*, and in regard of their Religion and Liberty would have preferred him before all others; but it appearing environed with thorns that were too sharp, neither *Carlo* nor any body else was yet found, that was willing to accept it. It was then adjudged to *Frederick*, Prince *Palatine*, a young man, and in whom concurred his own high designs, and the hopes to be assisted by others, being Son-in-law to the King of *England*. It seemed to some of the more wary of that Party, that affairs were too far advanced; the *Austrians* being put to a necessity of putting forth their utmost strength, and the Catholics into the obligation of uniting themselves with them. Therefore some of the Electors were not wanting, who dissuaded the *Palatine*; *Bavaria* counselled from it, and the King of *England* himself endeavoured to divert him. He at first shewing himself backward, was at last seduced by hopes and ambition to despise their counsels. He had his chief encouragement from the then present state of things; for although *Ferdinand* were advanced to so remarkable dignity, his ruine was thought near hand; whilst, being got free from many trains, which in his return from *Francfort* were laid in the way, he no sooner arrives at *Vienna* but he sees all *Hungary* risen in Arms.

The *Bohemians* having applied themselves to the *Ottoman* Port, to get a consent that *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Transylvania*, might raise Souldiers in those parts, where many Hereticks of the Country moved him to it, had no great difficulty to obtain it, the *Turks* being always greedy to see the Christians weaken themselves by themselves, and having now made a Peace with the *Persian*, were so much the more vigilant, if amidst these discords a way might not be opened to advantages of their own. This nevertheless, as it ordinarily happens that the most wicked counsels are the least successful, instead of bringing a prejudice to *Ferdinand*, served greatly to advance his Cause; for the Protestants themselves, and the Catholics, which took Arms in his favour, upon a specious pretext acknowledged, that it was fit they should all joyn for common defence against the Infidels, to maintain that Frontier which defended *Germany* and *Europe* from ruine. Nevertheless the motion of *Gabor* was

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was at first with great force; for with little opposition he makes himself Master of *Cassovia* with upper *Hungary*. Afterwards of *Altemberg*, and of *Presburg*, or *Possania*, where he found the Crown, worshipped by that people, as a testimony from Heaven of lawful Empire. The Confederate *Bohemians*, to joyn with him, enter into *Austria*, and failed but a little that they had not possessed the Bridges of *Vienna*, if *D'Ampiere* and *Marradas* with a stout defence had not maintained them. They then advanced towards *Hungary*, when *Buquoy* with 5000 men only meeting *Gabor*, who not far from *Possania* marched with 15000, knowing the *Hungarians* more fierce to charge, than stout to maintain a fight, gave them battel, and defeats them. But the Victory was not of that importance, as in the disproportion of their Forces to hinder *la Tour* from joyning with *Gabor*, and entering into *Austria* threaten *Vienna* with a Siege; but the season being advanced into *November*, and Victuals in the open Country through the licentiousness of the Souldiers being quickly consumed, they were constrained to retire; and the rather because the Archduke *Carlo*, Brother to *Ferdinand*, driven in the Revolt of *Silesia* from his Church of *Cratislavia*, and having fled for refuge to *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, had obtained of him a Levy of 10000 men, though without the consent of the States of the Kingdom, and they under *Homonay*, a *Hungarian* Baron, being entered into the upper *Hungary*, had defeated *Stefano Ragotzi*, *Gabor's* General. The Confederates for this cause resolved not only to leave *Austria*; but a Diet in *Hungary*, in which was treated the conferring of that Crown upon *Gabor*, was dissolved for fear; and *Gabor* himself, retaining his Conquests, yields to a Truce, which though it ended not with the Peace, nevertheless for ten months it took away that troublesome distraction, giving opportunity to *Homonay* to pass into *Silesia* and *Moravia*; to *Buquoy* to go into the upper *Austria*; and to *D'Ampiere* to follow *la Tour* into *Bohemia*. And now the applications and thoughts of the Princes were turned towards this Kingdom, and it might be said, that it resembled a great Lake, in which many were fishing with various designs. *Ferdinand* looked at it as his Patrimony; *Frederick* reckoned it as a gift bestowed upon him; *Saxony* and *Bavaria* gaped after spoils; and there wanted not those, who waiting upon accidents, hoped, when others were wearied out, to reap for themselves the recompence of the War. The House of *Austria* at that time was truly the die of the Fortune of *Europe*; some desired to raise her up, others laboured to bring her down; the most were to keep her in a moderate condition. All parties therefore made use of the same pretexes of Piety and of State, albeit that Princes of several belief joyned themselves together, and Religion made War to it self.

The eyes of the whole Empire were now turned towards the King of *England*, because being so nearly allied to the *Palatine*, and in all affairs endeavouring to thwart the advantages of the *Austrians*, it seemed that it would be difficult for him not to ingage in Arms. But in that Prince decorum and want of power were commonly opposites.

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He being *Scotch* by birth, and come to the Crown by inheritance, was the first that governed the two Nations, by natural Antipathy and ancient emulation Enemies, and designing to reclaim the fierceness of those people with ease and idleness, had set up his rest in Peace, and avoided as much as possible the calling of Parliaments, without which having not the power to impose Contributions, nor levy Money, he contented himself rather to struggle with many straights and difficulties, than see them meet with a jealousy of them, or being met, be obliged to separate them with the disgust of the people, or with a satisfaction of prejudice to the Supreme Power. These Novelties of *Germany* coming to his knowledge, he first disapproves the resolution of his Son-in-law to accept the Crown; afterwards publishes at last that he would assist him, and dispatching an Ambassadour to *Vienna*, demands impossible Conditions of Peace, proposing that *Bohemia* should remain to the *Palatine*; whereupon from measures so fickle and ambiguous, the opinion was universally confirmed, that he inclined more to foment the flames of the Empire, than to extinguish them. Neither did the Kings of *France* and *Denmark* aim at other ends, both offering to interpose, but neither caring to bring things to a conclusion. Three Diets were held at the same time in the Empire, and there were digested the common miseries under the form of several interests. In *Erbipolis* or *Wurtzburg* the Electors Ecclesiastical, the Bishop of that City, he of *Bamberg*, and others, together with *Bavaria*, and all those Princes which formed the Catholic League, unto which the Duke of *Lorraine* also was now joyned, entering into an association, resolved to raise an Army, making General of it *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, a Prince of most excellent understanding, and who above all others, hath had the wisdom out of the common interests to draw private advantages, by merchandizing time, and managing of Fortune. The Pope also entred himself into this Union with a monthly contribution, rather for decency than strength. All this without doubt was to serve for succours and advantage to *Ferdinand*; as also in another Diet, which the Elector of *Saxony*, with the Ambassadors of *Denmark* and the Princes of the *Lower Circle* held, where he, prepossessed with promises of great advantages, declares himself for the *Austrians*, magnifying the Rights of *Ferdinand*, which would render the zeal to Religion unjust, if, in a cause so unrighteous, assistance should be given to the *Bohemians*.

The Imperial Forces being in this manner remarkably increased, *Ferdinand*, what with his own, and those of *Spain*, found himself sufficiently strengthened; for the Archduke *Albert* from the Low Countries had sent him between seven and eight thousand Souldiers, and as many being dispatched by *Ossuna* for the *Milanese*, arrived about the end of the year by that way in *Austria*. On the other side, the Fortune of *Frederick* declined in the very beginning; for in the third Diet of the fore-mentioned, of the Princes of the Union assembled in his presence at *Nuremberg*, the City complaining, that the Contributions were distributed to the benefit

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of a few, who assuming specious titles, and the Primacy of the Union, enjoyed vast entertainments, decreed to arm themselves for their alone defence, and not to furnish any money to the Army of *Bohemia*. *Frederick* was then obliged to levy in his own Country about 10000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, with which entering the Kingdom, he was in *November* solemnly Crowned at *Fragne*. But he no sooner put his foot into the Throne, but having conferred on the Prince of *Anhalt* the Charge of Generalissimo of his own, and also of the *Bohemian Army*; *la Tour* and *Mansfeld*, who first commanded them, were greatly disgusted. And so the year as to the affairs of *Bohemia* ended. *Frederick* signifies to the *Venetians* his taking of the Crown, and they with Letters congratulated, at the same time making choice to send to *Ferdinand*, according to custom, two extraordinary Embassadours, which were *Augustin Nani* and *Simeon Contarini*, both Knights, though by reason of the turbulency of *Germany* their Mission was retarded for some time, and in place of *Nani*, who fell indisposed, was substituted *Francesco Erizzo* Knight and Procurator. The Republick, though strongly pressed, would not interest it self in the affairs of the Empire; but for those of *Italy* continued in a greater vigilance, because the designs of the *Spanish* Ministers not only appeared discovered, but by the Treason disclosed in *Venice*, although dissembled, mens minds there remained greatly moved.

Besides these, that which had happened in the *Grisons* came also to be considered, by which the Republick did believe to understand, that that Monarchy did aim to shut up on all sides the avenues and passes, so to besiege her, and when an opportunity should require it, to give her some notable blow. Neither did the *Spaniards* themselves dissemble the distast, conceived in the past occurrences, ascribing to her the resistance made to their designs, and imputing to her, that what with succours to *Mantua* and assistance to *Savoy*, she had equally aimed to blemish and overthrow their reputation and predominancy in *Italy*. The *Venetians* therefore seek every where for assistance and friendships far and near. It appeared not safe to rely upon *France*, now involved in domestick broils; whereupon it was resolved to sign and publish the League of defence with the Duke of *Savoy*, sending *Girolamo Cavazza* to the Dukes of *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Orbino*, to communicate it, and to invite them to enter into it, to recover once by a firm Union unto *Italy* its beauty and esteem, and also, if occasion should be offered, the Privileges of Nature; which having separated her by the *Alps* and Sea (as it were with strong Walls, and an impassable Ditch) from Strangers and their Manners, hath intended, that she should not only enjoy the wealth, pleasures and benefits, which with a large hand the benignity of the Air, and the pleasantness of the Country impart to her, but should also breathe the two most precious Elements of sociable living, Liberty and Command.

Not one of them had the courage to owne his consent, though they all applauding it, esteemed it the only defence of the common

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safety. Of the greater Princes, to whom communication was given by the ordinary Ambassadors, the Pope shewed himself firm in indifference, in regard of his Office of common Father, and France promised to have an eye upon the affairs of Italy, though judged, that to render its services more effectual in case of a new Rupture, it was best not to declare it self further. The Spaniards shewed themselves greatly moved, judging this Alliance as a Seminary of Jealousies and biterness. In those Negotiations with Carlo, there was intermixed an example of the domestick Discipline of the Commonwealth, in which Rebellion and Peculat are held to be offences equally to be execrated; for in the adjusting of the account of Subsidies furnished to the Duke, it was found that one month was wanting, and the money being issued out of the Treasury, it was easily discovered, that it had been converted to the proper use of Antonio Donato the Ambassador in England. Opinion did not concur with the fact, because, in a person adorned with excellent parts, particularly of wisdom and eloquence, the fault was rendered so much the less credible, by how much the more he had domestick representations of the highest integrity of his Ancestors, amongst which his Uncle Leonardo, Prince of the Republick, and his Father Niccolo, an honourable Senator, had given proof in home and foreign employments, of inflexible minds to whatsoever fault or interest. Antonio was at that time Ambassador in the Court of England, and to clear this account, he had leave to come to Venice; where haranguing in the Senate with great power and no less hope to pacify mens minds by the merits of his Ancestors and his own Services, he found, that in cases the most important, Justice did not hold the ballance to equalize merits with faults. Being summoned to Prison to render account as a Delinquent, and yielding to it, he was banished with a Sentence of Death, and Confiscation of Goods, his Name and Posterity cancelled out of the Order of the Patricians. He retired himself into England; where Girolamo Lando succeeding him in the Ambassage, moves the King to discharge him thence. But the Senate by the League with the Duke Carlo, believing by his strong diversion the State at Land only secured from the attempts of the Milanese, and by that of the Switzers judging to have provided themselves with little more than with the appearance, and some numbers of Souldiers, applied themselves to an equal strength of shipping and men also on the Sea-coast, lest the Viceroy of Naples should continue his thoughts to disturb the Islands and the Gulph. For this cause they listened to a Proposition of Alliance, insinuated from the United Provinces of Holland, in which, besides the common interest of Liberty and Commerce, they had a great desire to strengthen themselves with some strong support before-hand, if within a while the Truce coming to expire, they should be exposed to a new engagement with the powerful Forces of Spain.

Christoforo Suriano was at this time Resident for the Venetians at the Hague, who with much ripeness of judgment, and dexterity in the managing of persons, had introduced himself into a confidence with

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with the Prince of Orange and the Chief of the States, and from thence collecting easily their sense, he proceeded from discourses to a Treaty, for which some Deputies of the States of the Provinces being appointed to treat with him, they set down in writing the Conditions of a League of common defence. But being propounded in Venice for the approbation of the Senate, opinions differed; for amongst those of the Colledge Giovanni Nani judged, that the Conclusion should be deferred, believing that the Republick, though involved in great and grievous suspicions, ought not at this time to intangle it self in that interest, which presupposing a perpetual War putter into such and so great expences and dangers, that the remedy would be found worse than the present evils. And so he spake to this purpose; *If it be true, that the faith of Princes is a bond not to be untied, and that Treaties of Leagues, as Marriages, make a Community of Fortune and Interest, it is never too late to resolve upon a Decree which cannot be retracted nor amended. A Decree which concerns an Alliance, not of those States which govern their Councils by the alteration of things, by the vicissitude of affections, by the corruptions of Ministers, and the change of Governours, but of two Republicks in their Constitution immortal, in their Maxims immovable, and in their Word constant. An Union comprehending a short period, and a limited number of years, yet extends it self to the most weighty affairs, and, putting the Republick into a long and inextricable Labyrinth, draws along with it consequences of great moment; because it hath for its object a perpetual War, in which with unwearied exercise of mind the United Provinces defend their Religion and Liberty against a most powerful King, implacable in the offence, and indelible in the resentment. That the Treasure of the Republick should be poured forth to the assistance of the weak, that our aids should be the certain Capital of the oppressed, that the Arsenals and Treasuries should be common to Italy, there are so strong motives that it cannot be denied; but they have not the same force for the affairs of Holland, and if they have force, by ballancing the reasons, it is fit that we measure their strength. Our succours perhaps will be large, yet insufficient to be able to maintain a War, which subsists upon terms of Liberty and Rebellion, irreconcilable with subjection and Kingly Authority. A War extended to the four parts of the World, which hath no limits, nor can be bounded, which hath emptied Spain of People, exhausted the Indies of Gold, and swallowed the Blood and Treasures of Europe. The Republick hath always been most just in her undertakings, in her own defence most circumspect, and in the assistance of others constant. What is now pretended? is it to take Arms against Spain? have we Peace with him? is it to preserve our selves? but what more safe remedy than the sparing the vital Spirits for our own occasions? Some desire to persuade those States, at the end of the Truce to make an end of the War; but if in their intestine Divisions having experienced greater mischiefs from Peace than hazards in the War, they are theret perswaded by their own interest; that diversion will surely serve to our advantage, and that War will be carried on without us; under the shadow of which Italy will take breath, and the Republick, protected*

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by Heaven against force and treasons, will happily enjoy a calm and quiet peace. Holland hath the assistance of their Neighbours, and they most potent Princes; some conformable to their own Religion, others by a suitableness to their conveniencies and designs, and these can and will uphold her with puissant Forces. To what purpose then hasten our Grier, if by the steps of others, without wearying our selves, we may arrive at the end of our advantages? The Republick hath to its praise assumed to her self the protection of Italy, hath maintained it, and doth maintain it with glory; but it would be too vast a thought to espouse all the differences of Europe, and have to do in every part of the World. If out of prudence we have abstained from meddling in the affairs of Bohemia, why should we pinch our selves with those of Holland? is it to obtain assistance? But that people will not be wanting to be serviceable to us without a League, who agree with all the World, where there is money and reward. I deny not, but that friends are a great defence, and that in true Magnagery that Treasure is not to be valued, which keeps the Monster of War far off. But do the bonds of friendship consist in Treaties only? The affections of Princes are there joyned, where the Interests are not separate. Who doubts but that the United Provinces will embrace our assistance, as often as being in distress it may be seasonable to give it, and render it to us again, when the Conjunction of affairs shall shew it to be necessary? We have hitherto at least drawn Commanders, souldiers, Ships out of that Country, open to the money of all. That very money, which for the purchase of a friendship not necessary we are here vainly so ready to disburse, shall be that, which in occasions more needful and better shall bring us assistance. But if by unprofitable profusions we shall exhaust our Treasury, we shall have an equal want of defence and friends, and be put to beg of others, rather than receive relief from our selves. As for my self, I look at those friendships most profitable, which upon equal conditions have their rise from common conveniencies; but in the case in question, how unequal does the fortune and state of things appear: with the Catholick King we may have Peace, may we shall have it, whensoever moderation shall come to be in his Councils. But in Holland, where the obstinacy of a false belief, and the desire of true liberty are contended for, there can be no place for quiet. So that we shall be constrained to subscribe to a perpetual grievance. Nor ought we here to believe we shall enjoy aids reciprocal, because there being not place for a Treaty which can preserve from suspicions, or by jealousies oblige to assistance, the Spaniards will be so wise as to make War in Flanders in earnest, and in Italy in shew, revenging himself of us by a double blow, the one by the employment of the money we shall be obliged to give Holland, and the other by the consumption of all our Forces in a long defence of Land and Sea. Who knows not, that in the Maxims of Spain War is covered over with art and time; and on the other side those of the Republick consist in the preserving and defending her self without provoking and offending others; always in their counsels and resolutions uniting prudence, justice, and time?

This opinion meeting not with the Genius and approbation of all,

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all, *sebastian Veniero* one of the Counsellors, moving the Senate to anger no less than jealousy at the proceedings of the Spaniards, discoursed in the contrary sense: Nature hath prescribed to living Creatures one Element; but Heaven and Earth are too little for ambition. It will be a rare felicity to see Princes contented with their own State, in an Age, in which good Conscience is no more the reward, but Interest is the price of Reigning and of Victory. It is not therefore false, that if private men have placed the praise of moderation in being contented with their own, Princes hold the glory of their greatness sealed in the usurping what is anothers. This Age of ours makes it good, in that the Monarchy of Spain standing possessed by Fortune, Counsel, and Arms, of such vast Countries, being notwithstanding hunger-starved, and not to be satiated with almost two worlds, assaults or attempts all that which carries any likeness or splendour of Liberty and Empire. And amongst its Arcana, discord hath not the last place, which darkly insinuated and nourished every where, either by the provocation of Religion, or under the title of Interest, or the visard of Ambition and Prerogative, disuniting the minds of Nations, and the intercourse of Princes, like a hidden Mine razeth the foundations of those Dominions, which it cannot attain to by force. It fears nothing more than the discovery of its machinations, or the concord of its enemies. Hence so many Arts practised on the minds of the Grisons, to divert them from our alliance. Hence so many complaints for our League with the Cantons of Helvetia. Hence so many invectives for our Levy of Hollanders; and hence so much noise for our union with Carlo. But we ought to know, that where our Enemies are most upon their guard, where they contend most fiercely, there is seated the pawn of common safety. That it behoves the weakest to unite themselves against the most powerful, is a rule and direction of Nature, and to have set that at nought, hath desoured the beauty, and almost ravished the liberty of Italy. The occasion now presents to us the ready means to strengthen quiet to our selves, and provide security for our friends, by imbracing the invitation of Holland. Experience puts us so much in mind, how fatal their Truce hath been to Italy, which during the trouble of those Provinces, was happy and quiet. But War serving great Princes but for exercise, the flame, being quenched there, is kindled again on this side the Mountains. Our Envoys now seeking occasion and advantage for themselves more than quiet, greater flames lye hidden under the warm ashes of a treacherous Peace. It belongs therefore to us to carry the tinder some whither else. For if we resist an open Enemy with force, there is no better guard from a secret one, than by the advantage of a distraction. Let us not doubt but that War will suddenly break forth again in the Low Countries; but too unequal, to say truth, are the Forces of the United Provinces to grapple with those of so puissant Kingdoms. It is best then to re-inforce them with a powerful assistance, to the end that with equal prejudice to our affairs, those States yield not to the flattering invitations of the Spanish Ministers by prolonging the Truce, or fall not into great dangers, and at last relapse under the yoke by a weak management of Arms. Nor let faint hopes comfort us, that they are to receive sufficient assistances

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from the neighbouring Potentates; because we are not now to learn, with what winds, and they moved for the most part by the breath of Spain, France is driven; and we see England, that having nothing great but the name, hath a King always in fear to be constrained to a War, and his Ministers to continue Peace in Holland, fixed in the same reasons which induced them to procure it. To him then, that knows and experimenteth that he hath the greater need, it belongs also to set his hand to the remedy; otherwise, whilst one preserving himself by another, and every one sheltering himself under the interests of others, more than his own, we shall play the game of our Adversaries, who, fighting with one at a time, are sure at last to conquer all. How can our Commonwealth pretend to be assisted, if at her ease she will look on upon others wants? Do we possibly trust in the Peace two years since concluded with Spain? but what fruit have we hitherto enjoyed by it but the Invasions practised by Toledo, the Restitutions denied by Ossuna, the Treasons framed by la Queva, Provinces invaded, Towns little less than surprised, the Confines more and more threatened, the Sea roved, Commerce disturbed, and for the highest degree of hatred in others, and dangers to our selves, the Turks solicited to oppress us? We may suppose the intentions of King Philip to be good, but certainly the actions of his Ministers cannot be worse: and nothing else hitherto hath diverted the discomposing of the Treaty, and kindling again the flames of War, but the patience of them that have received and endured injuries. Of a Peace so full of treachery, what more safe caution can we for the future procure for our selves, than to have Companions, whether it be in Peace or in War? Otherwise, without friends, we shall always find our selves, amidst troublesome suspicions, exposed to open injuries and secret treacheries. And if War be calamitous, jealousy is miserable. The friendships hitherto contracted are not sufficient to preserve us. The Alliances with Savoy and the Switzers are an ornament to the Peace, and a defence in War: But they open us not the passes, they furnish us not with Souldiers, they protect not the maritime Provinces for us, but that this very City, the worthy seat of Liberty, and Empire stands no less exposed to dangers, than that she hath almost been a prey to Treachery. Let us then unite our selves with Holland; because if other Leagues defend our Dominion by Land, since it is not the Spaniards interest to provoke anew a generous Government, which hath taught every one the art how to resist the more powerful; they will in future also respect the Gulph, not to draw upon them the Arms of that unconquered people, which disturbs their possession of the new World, and triumphs in the vast Ocean of the Indies. By this means our Peace shall be defended by faith, but much more by fear. If peradventure that rage be objected, which in a great Prince will be conceived implacable: What occasion will be for it? What, because we make Alliance with those Provinces, with which Spain it self hath concluded a Truce, acknowledging them for Sovereign? Shall we then be so unhappy, that friendship may no more be contracted betwixt free Princes? But may not our designs perhaps be to drive the Catholick King out of his vast Territories? Our institution and the moderation of our counsels are not necessary to that. The League will do him no hurt, if

if he promote not injuries; and if he be offended that he finds resistance, what greater argument to us to suspect his designs? But the charge possibly will be increased? But where can it be better employed, than to preserve us from the worst of evils? What serves our Riches too, if they lye idle, but for a provocation to War, and a reward to a Conquerour? If our Ancestors have been provident to heap up Treasures, it belongs to us to be as prudent in the using of it, and for fear of growing poor, we ought not to imagine our selves always poor; for it is not money but Country and People, which are the most opulent Treasures of Princes.

This opinion prevailed. Orders then and powers being dispatched to *suriano*, a defensive League was concluded for fifteen years, in which, in case of Invasion the Republick promised 50000 Florins a month to the States, and they on their part an equivalent succour of Men, Ships, or Money, as the Senate should appoint. For the solemn Ratification of it, the *Heer Aerfen* was deputed from the *Hag* to go to *Venice*, and from the *Venetians* into *Holland* *Girolamo Trevisano*, Ambassadors Extraordinary. This League was no sooner published, but contrary to that of *Italy*, all the considerable Princes of the North desired to be of it. And for that purpose instances and frequent Ministers arrived at *Venice*. In particular *Balthazar Ner*, Secretary to the Marquess of *Ansbach*, and Prince *Magnus of Wirtemberg*, in the name of the Protestants of the Union, and of the *Bohemians*, came to demand assistance, the King of *England* strengthening their demand with effectual offices. But the Republick resolving not to depart from the defensive only, did not admit of their instances.

At the Conclusion of this League the *spaniards* seemed to be greatly stricken, and their Ministers contrived more and more to increase jealousies and troubles, in particular *Ossuna*, who, confounding the promised restitution of the goods made prize, with the shew of new attempts, kept a Squadron of Gallies ready fitted, with all their furniture, to offer at some surprise in the *Adriatick*, with a doubtful report, whether he would fall into *Albania* to the damage of the *Turks*, or of the *Venetians* in *Dalmatia*. In both these Provinces he had Intelligences and Treaties; and keeping Souldiers alongt the Coast of *Puglia*, gave out that he intended to send them to *Trieste* by Sea.

The *Venetians* constant in their resolution not to suffer armed Vessels to come into the Gulph, ordered *Lorenzo Veniero*, surrogated to *Barbarigo*, deceased, into the Procuratorship of *St. Marc* and the Charge of Captain General, to hinder it and to oppose him with all his force. The Fleet was at *Curzola*, very strong in Ships and Souldiers, and *Veniero* making choice of twelve light Gallies, new cleaned, and five great ones, made a course to the Coast of *Puglia*, clearing the Sea of some Pirate Pinnaces, by taking four, and making himself Master besides of a *Flemish* Vessel, which laded Corn for *Naples*. He afterwards went back to *Corfu* to secure ten Gallies, which were coming from *Candia* to joyn the Fleet, for which the Marquess of *Santa Croce* with a Squadron of *Naples* laid wait in their course.

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course. But *Antonio Pisani* avoiding the ambush, keeping the other Coast, brought them safe. *Veniero* then joyning with thirty four Ships, which were in the Roads of *Meleda*, and two, which they had taken, come from *Vallona* with Corn, scoured longt the Coast of *Albania*, where he took three which laded Corn for *Naples*, where there was great scarcity. At last coming to *Pola*, he discharged some Ships, which were over and above what he had need of.

Freletich, that had done some mischief under the countenance of *Ossuna*, seeing the *Venetian* Fleet advanced into *Istria*, had the boldness to enter into the Gulph to make prey of some Ships; but being pursued by some Gallies, he ran on shore on the Coast of the Kingdom, and leaving the Ship with the Arms of the Viceroy in prey to the *Venetians*, with the death of some of his, saved for that time his own life. At *Naples* also the Fleet at last separates; for being informed of the defence the Republick had ordered in the Gulph, the Ships were sent to *Vado* to land the Souldiers appointed for the relief of *Ferdinand*; and the Gallies, under the Command of Prince *Philibert*, joyned to the Squadrons of the Pope, *Malta*, *Genova* and *Tuscany*, passed into *Africk* to attempt upon *Susa*; the Prince having first assured the Republick under-hand (who, jealous of so great preparations, ordered *Veniero* to assemble the Fleet at *Corfu*) that they should fear no disturbance so long as he commanded. But finding the Pirates in *Susa* upon their guard, and all Posts already in defence, all they were able to do was but to throw down the first Port with a Pettard, and the second being mured up, they were obliged to return with some loss: It being commonly believed, as was divulged by the suspicious Genius of *Spain*, that *Ossuna*, desirous for his own ends to consume those Forces of the King, had given the Pirates notice of the design. Certain it is, that the right, those Pirates did themselves, was greater than the loss; for a while after they ransacked the maritime Coast of *Spain*, burning *Orpesa*, carrying away Booty and Slaves.

Philibert in his retreat failed within sight of *Cerigo* and of *Zant*, where the same night the *Turkish* Fleet, much greatned, appeared. Nevertheless, although the *Spanish* gave out they sought it, to give them battel, they avoided taking their course towards *Naples*, under pretext that the *Turks* being infected with the plague, it was not fit to engage in a fight with them. But they staying a while at *Navarrino*, returned at last, as usual, to winter at *Constantinople*, without other prejudice but the loss of the Galley *del Bei di Santa Maurya*, which was taken by *Ottavio d'Arragona*.

Ossuna applying himself rather to do mischief to the Republick, than minding the molestations of the *Turks*, sends into the Archipelago under his Commissions fix Ships to rove, which were in particular to prey upon the Vessels of the *Venetians*, and into the *Adriatick* sends the Ship called the *Great Tiger*, upon which was *Freletich* to carry to *Trieste* a quantity of powder to the service of *Ferdinand*. But being discovered by the Gallies, and chased, he was forced to save her self in the Port of *Manfredonia*. These were the last attempts

attempts of the Duke, against whom the patience of the people was now grown to its extremity, as the connivence of the Court had been no less in his favour. The Kingdom of *Naples* had for several years groaned under the Tyranny of this Minister, who, carried away by the two Furies of Luxury and Ambition, exercised a dissolute Government, confounding things sacred and profane, setting Laws at naught, trampling upon the Nobility, and infringing Privileges. The King had commanded, that the Father *Brindisi*, a Capucin of a most holy life, gone secretly out of the City, should come to the Court, although the Duke had procured to have him stopt at *Genova*, and to his relations being joyned the complaints of many of the Nobility, who were secretly gone to *Madrid*; his Favourers, who had been entertained with vast gifts, part of his rapinous pillagings, could no longer support him. He perceiving that his remove was near at hand, accustomed to command, had for a good while been considering the means to exchange his Government into a Sovereignty, and thought that not unfit for his purpose of having trampled *Italy*, and rendred the Name of the *Spanish* Monarchy so hateful to the Princes. He had besides, under pretence of seditions, which himself raised, a Militia of Strangers under his pay, Ships of War depending upon himself, and by flatteries had gained the Common people to him, making use, as the means, of *Giulio Genovino*, they elect of the people a man of sharp understanding, a prompt spirit, Inventor of Novelty, and a greedy Disturber of quiet, proper to animate sedition.

As to the rest, he protected the people without distinction against the Barons, and gave out that he would ease their grievances, and take away Impositions; and passing by one day, where, to adjust the Impost, they were weighing Victuals, he cut the ropes of the Scales with his Sword, giving to understand, that he would have the fruits of the Earth unburdened and free, as being the free gifts of the Air and of Heaven. Hoping that the Princes of *Italy* would second his designs, he uses secret means to sound the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, informing the one, that all he had done had been by precise Orders from the Court, and inviting the other to concur in the design of driving the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*; but the Republick avers from such shifts, and, always wary, would not so much as hear it. *Carlo* imparts the project to the Court of *France*, and a person was sent by *Dediguieres* to *Naples* to observe the state of things.

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The Court of *Spain*, which by the distance of its many Countries hath it for a Maxime to distrust the Ministers which govern them, heedfully minding the proceedings of *Ossuna*, easily discovered his practices, and resolved to remove him; but doubting that by sending a Successor from *Spain*, he might make use of that delay to strengthen his disobedience, orders the Cardinal *Borgia* that with all speed and caution he should transport himself from *Rome* to

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Naples, and introducing himself into the Government, should dispossess *Ossuna*. The Cardinal having gained the good will of the Governor of *Casfel nuovo*, enters into it secretly by night, and betimes in the morning the discharge of the Cannon advertizes the City, that the new Viceroy being arrived, *Ossuna* was laid aside; whereupon the oppressed rising in commotion, and the turbulent being discovered, the Duke nevertheless upon the instant wanted not Arts to flatter the people with fair words, and the Souldiery with gifts. But the former uncertain what resolution to take, and the other, in particular the *Spaviards*, averie from staining themselves with unfaithfulness; the Nobility, the Council, the Ministers approving the change, he was forced to depart, detested by all sorts of persons. By easie Journeys to give time for pacifying the Kings displeasure, and that the favour of his friends might get strength, he takes his way towards *Spain*, where being received into prison, he was a while after brought to the sentence and punishment of death. Before this change was made, *Rivera*, who commanded the Ships of *Ossuna* sent into the Levant, comes with three upon the Coast of *Candia*, where sculking in by-kreeks of the Kingdom, remote and unguarded, by landing he had done some mischief. But having afterwards discovered at the Rock of *Christiana* one Ship riding separated from his consorts (which was the Admiral Ship of *Frederick Nani*, a person of great skill in the Militia by Sea, and of exact and severe discipline) setting up his bloody Flag, came to attacke him. But *Nani*, to whom with eight Ships was committed the Guard of those Seas, though then alone, weighing Anchor, and charging him with so much courage, that two of his Vessels, not able to endure his Cannon, were forced to leave the fight, and amongst them *Rivera's* own, which made all the fail it could towards *Italy*; boarded the other which was the Admiral of *Naples*, and after a hard contest took it. Besides the slain, the *Venetians* had two hundred Prisoners, and found upon the Ship some of those Cannon taken by *Ossuna* out of their Gallies. Retiring with this purchase he meets the other Squadron, who shewing signs of friendship were answered with the like respect. The action was much commended, and by reason of the provocation approved by those themselves who were offended at it.

The Senate well pleased, that their honour was vindicated against *Ossuna*, and *Rivera* chastised, ordered the Prisoners to be released, and the Ship to be restored to *Borgia* the new Viceroy, who in a friendly manner demanded it, and had recalled the Ship *Tiger* from *Manfredonia*, and discharged *Freletich* with the *Uscocchi*. Whereupon *Feria* vainly shewed at *Milan* a particular resentment at this success, in such sort that he threatened the Frontiers with an Inroad. But the Senate ordering *Andrea Faruta*, Proveditor on the other side of the *Mincio*, to repulse all sorts of injuries, provided it so well, that the Governour easily let fall those thoughts. Two other sparks were amicably quenched, the one of small moment concerning certain waters of the *Forno*, disputed betwixt those of *Monte*, a Town

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of the *Cremasca*, and they of *Posfino* in the *Milanese*, which was also easily accommodated on the place by *Antonio da Ponte* Governour and Captain of *Crema*, and by *Coiro* a Senator of *Milan*, under the title of Commissioners. The other carried a greater appearance; because the Prince of *Castiglione* being under Pupillage, the Town of *Meldole*, subject to him, shook off their obedience.

The Tutor who was the Signor *di Solserino*, went about to chastise it; but the Duke of *Mantua* declared it under his protection, and sent a Garrison into it. The other had recourse to the Governour of *Milan*, who, to use authority and force at once, sent thither ten Companies of Foot, five hundred Horse, and four pieces of Cannon. But the Republick, who having those little States within theirs loved not such disorders, and much less that Garrisons of Strangers should be introduced there, sent some Souldiers to the Borders, and with the Duke of *Mantua* and the Guardian passed effectual offices, remonstrating, that as well the assistances as the enmities of the more powerful were equally dangerous; that for a most trivial cause they were kindling a great fire which would first burn their house, and afterwards the rest of *Italy*.

To the Ministers of *Spain* it was also declared, that the novelty would be extremely grievous, because *Italy* being not yet quitted from the late troubles, might upon every emergency be put again into greater agitations. The Governour of *Milan*, to say truth, judged not the matter such, as deserved to disturb the present quiet; and commanding thereupon his Souldiers not to pass beyond the Confines, interposes himself, adjusting the differences by punishing some of the Mutineers, and pardoning all the rest. The minds of the Princes nevertheless were so much disturbed with jealousies, that upon every accident they were stirred up to apprehensions, even upon very rumours. The Town of *Sabioneda*, which is of a situation of importance, not only to the Duke of *Mantua*, but also to the other neighbourhood, was yielded in Dowry to the Prince of *Stigliano*, one of the chief Barons of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He being a man of mean parts, allured by promises of honours, especially of being made a Grandee of *Spain*, shewed himself not unwilling to have a Garrison of that Crown put into it. But his Wife, of a more masculine spirit, opposed both their flatteries and threatenings, encouraged by under-hand persuasions of the Princes, and particularly of the *Venetians*, who would not willingly have suffered it. Inasmuch that the jealousy, which seemed to be raised on that account, presently vanished. The Republick, amidst their vigilancy in so many places, omitting not the care of the domestick policy of their State, sends three Judges throughout the Country to take a view of affairs for the right administration of Justice, and removing of oppressions and grievances from their Subjects. At *Venice*, Cardinal *Francesco Vendramino*, Patriarch, being dead, was substituted by the Senate *Giovanni Thiepolo*, chief of the Church of *S. Marco*, a man of singular charity towards the poor, and of great magnificence in the building of Churches, which being proposed in the Consistory

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Prince *Thomas of Savoy* about this time came to *Venice*, to give thanks for the favours which the Republick had so largely contributed to his Father, and was entertained and lodged according to the Magnificence belonging to so wealthy a City. From the Eastern parts came some little distraction upon mens minds; in that *Ali Pasha*, formerly Admiral, and one that shewed himself very troublesome to the Common wealth, was at *Constantinople* promoted to be *Grand Visier*. By such Ministers is that Empire absolutely governed, whilst the Kings, buried in Luxuries and the wantonness of the Seraglio, shut up from all but vice, give up the supreme Authority in their affairs to the basest of Slaves. This man bearing in his public Office the affections of a private man, and thoughts of revenge for two *Galiots*, Men of War, taken a good while before by the *Venetian* Ships, vents presently his spite against *Buonricci*, Interpreter of the *Venetian* *Bailo*, who had prosecuted against him in the said business, causing him to be most unjustly strangled. Amidst the Fall of that Nation, maintained by the intestine discords of the Christians, neither the Right of Nations, nor the practice or respect of Princes, is of any consideration; insomuch that a little before also, the Ambassador of *France* had been some days in arrest, and his Secretary upon false pretext put to the Torture. Now the complaints of the Republick could not come to the King, but by means of the same *Visier*, and he, to stop every passage, revived the pretensions, that had been silenced, of those of *Bosnia* and others, who in the Prize of the Galley of Merchandize had suffered loss, intending to oblige the *Bailo* to restitution. Moreover, setting on foot most unjust pretensions upon the Confines of *Dalmatia*, he threatened Invasions and Incursions. The Senate, who at the conclusion of *Ossuna's* Government had disbanded *Veniero*, and reduced the Fleet to little more than ordinary Guard, sent *Antonio Barbaro*, Procurator, as Provost General to take care of the Sea, and be assistant to *Dalmatia* against all injuries of the *Turks*. But before he could be in a readiness, sixty *Turkish* Gallies lavishing without *Corfu*, with all signs and tokens of friendship, while one part only of the *Venetian* Fleet was at *Merlere* with a force not able to resist, landed in the Kingdom of *Naples* at *Masfiedonia*, where the Governour of the Castle basely presented the Captain *Bassa* with the Keys. The *Turks* contented themselves to carry away out of the City and thereabouts Prisoners and Booty, retiring before forty eight Gallies of *Spain* could joyn together at *Messina*.

At *Constantinople* the Ministers excusing to *Giorgio Justiniano*, *Bailo* of the Republick, who made a sharp complaint of it, their entering into the Gulph, alledged the provocations and mischiefs done them by the *Spaniards*. But the *Grand Visier* was soon after snatched away by death from the designs which he proposed against the *Venetians*, and *Ossim* succeeding him, one of more moderate thoughts, with a present, according to the custom of the Country,

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lets fall into silence the business of the *Bosnians*, applying his mind and forces to a War against the *Polacks*, to which *Osmán* pretended to go in person. For a pretext of it were alledged certain differences raised by *Gratiano* Prince of *Moldavia*, whom the *Turks* had a mind to dispossess of his Country, and the *Polacks*, to maintain him. Others believed, as the truer motive, the instances of the Protestants of *Germany* to divert King *Sigismund* from assisting *Ferdinand*.

It is surely true, that the Agents of the new King of *Bohemia* and of *Gabor* did entice the *Turks* with a counsel as wicked as it was imprudent, to weaken a private Enemy, for to strengthen the declared one of all Christendom. The *Bailo* of the *Venetians* by express Order of the Senate, abstained from having any thing to do with those Negotiations. But at *Venice* it appeared, as if the Republick had been the Refuge of every one that desired succours. The *Palatine* demanded an hundred thousand Ducats at least; *Gabor*, assistance: And for the Catholick Ligue of *Germany*, *Zaccaria Trattenbach* and *Giulio Cesare Crivelli*, returning from *Rome*, were earnest for aid and free passage for Ammunition and Souldiers, and that the Concessions of the Pope of certain Tenth upon the Clergy of *Italy* might be extended also into their Country. But the Senate not yielding to their importunities, nor diverting their thoughts from the affairs of *Italy*, excused to all, with many reasons, their refusal. Neither could *France* now, taken up in domestick confusions, be assistant to the affairs of the Empire, but with good offices and counsels; and therefore had made choice of the Duke of *Angoulême* with *Monsieur de Bethune* and the Abbot of *Preo* for Ambassadors Extraordinary into *Germany* for various ends, not liking on the one side, that the House of *Palatine* should be advantaged by that protection which they had always given to the *Huguenots*; and desiring on the other, under the title of Mediation, to introduce themselves into the business to foment the disorders, or end them according to their own mind.

That Kingdom was surely in a very tottering condition; for the Queen-mother had made so considerable a Party, that, to resist it, the Kings Authority seemed not sufficient, nor *Luines* his favour. Nevertheless the Council being corrupted, (the Bishop of *Lussan*, who presided, being gained by the Court with great promises) it quickly fell to the ground. The King followed by very few Troops, having quieted *Normandy*, and seized the Castle *Caen*, comes near to the *Pont de Cé*, where the Duke of *Rhetz*, who with a greater strength was there to defend it, abandons it, either terrified by a needless fear, or prepossessed by the Cardinal his Uncle, who followed the Kings interest. From this success was derived the confusion of all the Party, because their Forces were divided in several Provinces, and the Queen in *Angiers* was exposed to dangers; whereupon an agreement was on the sudden concluded, with a general pardon. The Bishop of *Lussan* got for himself of the King the Nomination to a Cardinals Cap, and laid by this Treaty the founda-

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tion of that greatness, which did afterwards render him one of the most notable and most powerful Ministers of Europe.

The King resolving to go on in restoring the Catholick Worship, and the Ecclesiastical goods in *Bern*, a Country in the *Pirenean* Mountains, the chief Shop of Heresie, and where the name without the presence of the King was not known, but in a way of mockery, or for some pretext; goes thither, notwithstanding the cold and inconvenience of the season, and the delays and arts which the people laid in his way; but at last, having suppressed some, settled Religion, and trusted the places of strength to the most faithful, he departs, leaving nevertheless seed sown in the disgusts of many of a War near at hand. But in *Germany* the Ambassadors of *France* were come to *Ulm*, where were assembled the Deputies of the Catholick and of the Protestant Parties, and there, through their mediation, was firmly established; That they should not offend one anothers Countries, *Bohemia* notwithstanding to be excluded, where, without breach of the agreement, Hostility might be used. It seems, that by such a Negotiation the ruine of *Frederick* was concluded; because the *Austrians* being secured from *France*, not regarding the bare Offices of *England*, and little fearing the Princes of the Union, which drove vain and uncertain interests, enjoyed the advantage of the Arms of the Catholick League; *Bavaria* being now gained with the hopes to have the spoils, and the Vote of the House *Palatine*, his Kinsman but Envoyer. In *Milhausen* the Electors held yet another meeting, from which they send exhortations and intreaties to *Frederick*, that he would lay down that Crown, which now shook upon his head; but he knew not how to resolve to withdraw himself from Fortune, though she threatened to forsake him. He was then by the Imperial Ban proscribed by *Ferdinand*, who committed the execution of it to the Archduke *Albert*, to *Bavaria* and *Saxony*: All three near about the same time marched with powerful Armies towards the month of *August*. The most powerful attempt was from that which came from *Flinders*; because the Archduke in his own name, but with the Forces of *Spain*, sent *Ambrogio*, Marquess *Spinola*, with twenty five thousand men towards the *Rhine*; *Louis de Velasco* being left with considerable Forces to defend the Frontiers towards the United Provinces, with which the Truce being expired, they remained without provocations, but also in great distrusts.

Giovacchino Marquess of *Anspach*, General of the Union, lay incamped with his Army at *Oppenheim*, and had laid a Bridge over the *Rhine*, when *Spinola* having obtained passage of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and of some Princes and Cities, for fear of the Army and the Imperial Ban, approaches towards him, and made himself Master of *Creutzenach* without much opposition. He then makes as if he would advance towards *Worms*, and *Anspach* moved for its succours; but the other changing his march falls suddenly upon *Oppenheim*, and with a resolute assault carries it, finding within it all the provisions which were made for the Protestant Army. He therefore plants his place

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place of Arms there, repairing the Bridge which had been taken up, and carrying into the *Lower Palatine*, governed by the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, great fear. The weaker places yielded without dispute, and some of the Princes of the Union separated from it. Many taxed *Anspach* of want of experience; but he excused himself upon the Orders given him by the *English* Ambassadors to stand upon his defensive, without provoking the *Spaniards*. To speak truth, that King made bitter complaints at *Brussels* and at *Madrid* to have been amused and deluded with the hopes of Peace; nevertheless not enlarging his hand in assisting, he continued by the luke-warmness of his mediation to foment the proceedings of *Spain*.

The United Provinces shewed themselves more earnest, who liked not at all, that the Arms of the Catholick King should advance to the *Rhine*; *Maurice* therefore Prince of *Orange*, passing it with 8000 Foot and 3000 Horse, sends *Frederick Henricks* his Brother to joyn *Anspach* with a good Body of men; but he losing the time unprofitably, the *Hollanders* returned, some few *English* only under *Horatio Veer* remaining in the Protestant Army. If the *Palatinate* groaned under oppressions, *Lusatia* experienced a scourge yet more cruel; for the strongest motives of Religion not having been able to over-balance the most powerful ones of interest, and remove the Elector of *Saxe* from adhering to the *Austrians*, he enters into that Province, and taking *Eudissin* the Capital City, laid in ashes for the most part by the *Bombes* flung into it, all the rest submitted to his will. From thence he sends 14000 men into *Silesia*, which, threatening the Metropolis *Cratissavia*, made themselves masters of *Glogaw*. This Province and *Moravia* had a little before been over-run by the *Cossacks* of *Homonay*, and *Frederick*, who held a Diet at *Bruna*, had been forced to save himself from their swift Incurfion with four persons only into *Prague*.

The *Moravians* sent four Ambassadors to meet with these *Barbarians* to offer them money, that forsaking *Ferdinands* Party they adhere to their interest. But the *Cossacks* with a cruel document killing two of them, let the other go free, that they might relate what was the duty of their fidelity, and what punishment they ought to expect from their rebellion. Those Provinces had an effectual tryal, that the yoke of War is more heavy than that of obedience. The upper *Austria* also confessed it with tears and blood; because *Buquoy* having, during the winter-season, gently tempted it with allurements and Treaties rather than with Arms, *Lintz* being re-inforced by *Mansfelt* with 2000 men, the Province was then confirmed in the Rebellion. But the Duke of *Bavaria* being entred into it with 20000 Foot and 4000 Horse, filled it with such a terror, that the people, having neither defence nor excuse, knew not where to resist him, nor how to appease him. The States of the Country assembled in *Lintz*, were willing to propound Conditions of Peace; but the Duke despising them, because they had let him come too near, upon the 4. of *August* caused the Gates to be opened by force. Where some of the guilty being punished, the rest oppressed with

An.Dom. 1620. a great Garrison, and all chastised with the general sack and spoil of the Country, obedience was re-established. It was fit to follow fortune while she smiled with success; and therefore it was resolved to enter into *Bohemia*, to make an end of the War while it was but beginning. The Duke then taking the one way, and *Buquoy* the other, marched in such a distance, that the numbers did not hinder their progress, and Victuals were supplied to all, each taking in such places and Castles as lay in their way. At *Budweis* they met to speak together, thence uniting their Forces, but not their minds, which for sundry emulations were always in this Expedition at discord, they moved towards *Pilsen*, and that taken in they advanced to *Pilsen*.

The Army of the *Bohemians* superiour in number, but an equal in prowess and discipline, coasted upon them, and troubled their march. The Chiefs were persons of no great reputation, and *Frederick*, in a Labyrinth of endless interests, could not govern, nor would be governed. His endeavours to hinder the Catholics from coming near to *Pilsen* succeeded not; but *Mansfelt* supplied it with art; because in that place, as in his own Conquest, he had fixed the seat of his Fortune. By proposing a Treaty he hoped to gain time, till the season should be more advanced to afford him succours. Neither did the Duke and *Buquoy* despair of drawing him to their party; because he feigned discontents, which besides the custom of Mercenaries, wont to abandon their party in the ambiguity of Fortune, they might easily give credit too in him that served a foreign Prince and a distracted people. But he, after some days, feigning also Orders from *Anhalt*, which in regard of his honour obliged him to make resistance, discovers the fraud; whereupon the Catholics not willing to waste their Forces in a long Siege, nor entertain Fortune with lingering hopes, leaving *Pilsen*, went to *Prague*. *Frederick* assaulted from so many parts, and worsted in all, was in disorder; the people stood in a fright, and the Army was wavering. Near to *Raconits* the Armies met, and that of the *Protestants* was driven from most of their Posts, *Buquoy* being hurt, which nevertheless hindered him not to go on in his march. *Anhalt* perceiving whither the Enemy bent, sent *la Tour* before to *Prague* with some Troops, and himself, leaving the Baggage behind, by ways to rights hastens thither, to prevent their possessing of the *Wuisenberg* or *White Hill*, in which might much consist the defence of the City, of a vast circuit, open in several parts, and in many commanded, and that within fort.

A little after arrive there also the Duke and the Count, so that both the Armies were now near to *Prague*. The *Bohemian*, in the superiority of Forces shewing a distrust of courage, intrench upon the highest part of the Hill, placing their Cannon in certain Redoubts, and part of their Souldiers in the Park, called the Star, a place of pleasure for their Kings. There was in the *Austrian* Army the Father *Domenico* of *Giesu Maria*, a bare-footed *Carmelite*, reputed for a man of singular piety, who stirred up the Chiefs to fight, promising a certain Victory. But in the Council there was difference

rence of opinions, some considering the Enemies greater number, An.Dom. 1620. and particularly of Horse, and others the disadvantage of the situation, in that the Souldiers before they could come to handy blows with the Enemy, were to go a good way exposed to the Cannon and Mullet-shot. Some added the unevenness of the Hill, which by several slopings and in windings, gave the *Bohemians* means to fortifie themselves, and at every pass to make good their Retreat. But hope of Victory and the greatness of the recompence over-balling dangers, the Battle was resolved on. *Anhalt* kept the Ports of *Prague* shut to take away from the Souldiers the hope of escaping thither. In the Army he took for himself the right Wing, and assigns to *Hollach* the left. *Frederick*, though so chief a part of the Judgment of Fortune, stood in a place a little remote to observe the event.

Of the Catholics the Imperialists had the right, and the *Bavarians* the left hand. Their Word was the Glorious Name of the Virgin, under the protection of which, represented in the chief Standard, the Wing of the *Bavarians* moved, over which, next the Duke, *Giovanni* Count of *Tilly* commanded. To come to the Hill they were to file over a Bridge, and then to pass a dirty Valley, and in that disadvantage the young *Anhalt* would have charged them, if the Count of *Hollach* had not staid him; whereupon the Catholics disengaged themselves, and being defended from the Cannon with the rising of the Hill, they advanced in better order. *Buquoy* to avoid the Cannon-shot, to which his men, divided into three great Battalions with Horse on the Wings, stood most exposed, hastened his pace and came to the charge at the very same time that *Tilly* made his attack. The shouting of the Souldiers, the noise of the Drums, and the roaring of the Cannon deafened Heaven, making the Hill a deadly Theatre of outrage and slaughter. The two Armies consisted of more than sixty thousand men. At the beginning advantage smiled on the *Bohemians*; for young *Anhalt*, with the assistance of the Count *Slich*, repulsed the first Charge, pursuing the Enemy with the gain of some Colours, the death of *Prainer*, and dead wounds of the Colonel *Mican*. The *Protestants* hereupon cry out Victory. But the Veteran Squadrons of the Catholics, giving themselves not for lost upon the first accident, nor suffering themselves to be overcome by clamours, returned so home a Charge, that *Guilherme Verdugo* that commanded the *Walloon*s, possessed one of the Redoubts with three pieces of Artillery, and took Prisoners *Anhalt* and *Slich* before mentioned. *Fethen* turns the Cannon against the others, doing execution, and bringing terrour. The *Hungarian* Cavalry frightened with the yelling of the *Cossacks*, and beaten with the thick hail of Mullets, begave themselves to a hasty flight, drawing after them a good part of the Infantry of the *Bohemians*, *Hollach* abandoned by all, his Horse being killed under him, had much ado to retire himself. *Anhalt* the General with his voice and with his hand exhorted and laboured to stop the Run-aways, and put them again in order; but fear being deaf, he saves himself at last, after timely notice given to the King *Palatine* to provide for his safety. The Regi-

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ment of *la Tour*, drawn up into a Battailon, was the last that was defeated after a great resistance. All the Hill was seen covered with dead bodies and fugitives. He that had his Arms loose flung them away, and many that were heavy armed perished in the *Molda*, endeavouring an escape by the River, while the Gates of the City remained yet shut. The Battel lasted not above two hours, the Conquerours wearying themselves more in the slaughter than they had done in the fight. The Count of *Merode* makes towards the five thousand *Bohemians*, which had their Poste in the Star-Park, receiving them into submission with their Colours in a bundle, and with their Arms hardly obtaining their lives from the fury of the Souldiers, who with the weariness of the spoil alone remained satisfied. The Cannon was all taken by the Victorious with more than one hundred Colours. The dead on the side of the Conquered were above six thousand, with as many more Prisoners, the rest scattered and diffipated in such sort, that they could no more rally themselves again. At the miracle of so great a Victory both Conquered and Conquerours were overcome with amazement; that of the Catholics there were not reckoned above three hundred slain. This Battel, which happened on the 9. of *November*, confirmed the Kingdom to the *Austrians*, and to all the Catholics the Empire.

Frederick got back into *Prague*, demands twenty four hours of Truce; but *Bavaria* would grant only eight, within which he was to abandon the Title and the Kingdom. He without other Reply, the next morning with his Wife and little Children flies out of the City; leaving a memorable Example, That Ambition, a splendid Guide, but little secure, like nocturnal Lights in the Air, leads him that follows to destruction. By unfrequented ways he arrives at *Dratislavia*, and the Catholics, the way being made for them by the Victory, might have entred that night into *Prague* (for the *Wal-loons* came close to it on the highest side of *San Lorenzo*) if the Chiefs, fearing under the darkness of the night the cruelty, outrage, and villanies of the Souldiers had not forbid it. The following morning those same *Walloons*, assisted by the Catholick Inhabitants, by some open places and by Scalade got within the Wall. The *Protestants* being retired to the other side of the River into the old Town, rendred themselves without more ado. The Duke restrained as much as he could licence and spoil. After thanks rendred to God, and the Oath of Fidelity taken in the Name of *Ferdinand*, he leaves his Troops in the Kingdom, and returns into his own Country. The Prince of *Lichsestein*, left Governour of *Bohemia*, takes the Castle of *Carlestein*, where the Crown of the Kingdom was kept by a Garrison of six hundred, some *English*, some *Scotch*. *Enguoy* on the other side entring into *Moravia*, at his appearance only reduced it to obedience, vipartiting there, for a punishment, his Troops into Winter-quarters.

Frederick now found himself indeed cast out of the Throne, not so much by the Arms of his Enemies, as by intestine disorders. He exercised a precarious Command, every one of those who had lifted him

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him up to the Crown, pretending at his pleasure now to deny him obedience. The Count of *Hollub*, ill looked upon by all, had the favour of his greatest confidence; the principal *Bohemians* had conceived great disgust, and the most part of the Strangers had served at their own charge. The Souldiers not being paid, had with their violences provoked the Peasants. Religion it self, divided into several Sects, divided also mens minds, and *Frederick* with Edicts in favour of his Calvinism had offended many, and raised some tumult amongst the people. In sum, after this all loving liberty, no body would be at the charge, or run the hazards of it; and many being deceived, in the belief of making their private fortunes in the loss of the publick, denied to contribute, others did it scantily, and it was said that some taxed at two thousand Florins, and not willing to give more than five hundred, left after the battel, when they fled from *Prague* three hundred thousand Dollers in prey to the Conquerours. In *Hungary* a Diet held in this interim in the presence of an Ambassadour *Turk*, and those of *France* and *Poland* had not been able to conclude the Peace, and the Truce expired, the War began anew, and *D'Amperie* taking a view of *Possania*, for the applying of a Pettard, lost his life by two Mullet-shot. Nevertheless after the battel of *Prague*, *Gabor* inclined to Peace; but demanding the charge of *Palatine* of the Kingdom, which is the same as Viceroy, he could not effect it. He taking the Kingly Title, and soliciting the *Venetians* anew to assist him, did not obtain it, although to incite them, he offered to cause the Town of *Segna*, formerly so troublesome to them, to fall into their hands. The year 1620. ending with such successes in *Germany*, although the Fortune of the *Austrians* appeared to be bettered, yet men perceived that the War nourishing it self with its own blood, increased rather, than had the least shew of coming to a period. The affairs of *Italy* went on as if measured by equal steps; for according to the accidents of *Germany*, *Feria* did sometimes suspend, and at others promote his designs upon the *Valteline*. In the *Grisons* for some months the peoples minds had been quiet, rather than at concord; the banished under-hand soliciting *Feria* continually for assistance. Some of the Commons foreseeing themselves, that they were not able to subsist of themselves, and believing that no Prince, more disinterestedly than the *Venetians*, were like to uphold their liberty, called from *Zurich*, with an intent to make a League, *Pietro Vico* Resident for the Republick, who had no sooner set his foot in the *Grisons*; but hearing of the Revolt of the *Valteline*, thought best to defer his Negotiation to a more quiet season.

The *Valteline* is a streak of Land, which exceeds not fifty miles in length, and being of a various breadth, surpasses not twenty five, watered by the River *Adda*, situate in the midst of the Mountains in the extremity of *Italy*, and seems cut out by Nature to divide States and separate Confines. It hath *Tirol* towards the East, and the *Milanese* towards the West; on the North *Rhetia* commands it, and on the South it borders with *Erescia* and *Bergamo*, Territories of

An. Dom. 1620. of the *Venetians*. The River discharges it self into the Lake of *Como*, and on the one side and on the other a Plain is extended, peopled therefore with many Towns, and where the Mountains are any thing low, abounds with Corn, Wine, and Catel which feed it, and by imparting thereof to Strangers, enriches it also. At its beginning and ending it hath, as Appendixes, the Counties of *Bormio* and *Chiavenna*; the first joyns to *Tirol*, and pierces with vast high Mountains deep into *Rhetia*, the other on this side of the *Spuga* declining into a little Plain faces to a Lake, which though it be a narrow part of that of *Como*, yet under a divers name is called the Lake of *Chiavenna*. All this Country, subject to the *Grisons*, fought with all impatience, conjunctures, and pretexs to withdraw themselves from their Dominion, and matter of Conscience suggested to the people motives very effectual; because the Leagues sending them Judges and Magistrates, for the most part infected with Heresie, it seemed by their founding of Colledges, and building of Churches, as if their aim were, not only to spread it through the Valley, but also to introduce it into *Italy*, where the true Religion residing as under Wardship, errors cannot be admitted or tolerated. Upon this stock of universal piety, the banished grounded their desire of being restored to their Country, and Princes their interest; the *Austrians* in particular, who considered the *Valtelline*, as in effect it is, as a Gallery, which uniting the Countries of *Germany* with those of *Spain*, separates the *Venetians* and *Italy* from the assistance of Strangers. The Count of *Fuentes*, who more than any former Governour of *Milan* had enlarged his authority in that Province, was wont to counsel his King, that to put Fetters upon *Italy*, *Monaco*, *Finnal*, and the *Valtelline* were to be possessed by him. Of the two first the design proving easie, the last, as the most difficult, was reserved for a better conjuncture, the *Grisons* making themselves considerable by their adherencies, as well as their strength; and it appearing that the *Venetians*, not only for their own, but were easily moved for anothers interest. The Count notwithstanding layes the first stone, planting the Fort, which commands the entrance into the Valley. *Ferdinand* by fast bonds being now indissolvably united to *Spain*, nothing was wanting for the convenience and strengthening of the common Monarchy, but to conjoin their States, and if by possessing the *Lower Palatinate*, a great passage was opened for *Germany* to communicate with *Flanders*, by making themselves Masters of the *Valtelline*, the one and the other were linked unto *Italy*. The principal persons of that Valley, and in particular the *Piantas* and the Cavalier *Robuscelli*, offered to seize it with so much facility, that *Ferdinand* had no other thought but to enjoy the prize. They represented the desires and invitations of the people groaning under the yoke of a base Government, which having avarice for a Law, sold Authority to Magistrates, that they might expose Justice to sale to the people. They considered the Order of Nature it self in that unhappy Country perverted, where the worst possessing more authority than the better, there remained nothing that was not venal;

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Goods, Life, Honour, nay Conscience it self: nor could more wickedness be practised by the Judges, nor more misery be endured by the people. What better opportunity was to be looked for than this, in which *Rhetia*, torn to pieces with Factions, is neither capable to command nor to obey, no not to it self?

France was incumbered with its own discords, and the *Venetians* while the Conjuncture favoured them, did rather divert blows than relent them, if given on a sudden they came to succeed happily. Though Peace in *Italy* was at that time most necessary for *Spain*, *Feria* nevertheless quickly assents to the Proposition; for if it succeeded not, it cost only the banishment or lives of some few; and if it took effect, he thought the advantage such as might deserve at least some little hazard and pains. Besides the desire to signalize his Government, he did believe he should not want excuses and accidents to colour his attempt, nor devices, or a Treaty to divert coming to Arms. These were the causes of the new War in *Italy*; in the banished desire of liberty; in the people zeal to Religion, and in the Princes Interest of State and mutual Jealousies. In the month of *July* began the Revolt of the *Valtelline*, into which there coming down by concert three hundred men out of *Tirol*, the whole Country rising in a tumult of a sudden, it seemed like a flash of Lightning which over-ran it in a moment. The Governours of the Protestants, in particular the Heads of the Families, which were to the number of three hundred, were killed, and under the Cloak of Religion were committed execrable villanies, much innocent blood shed, Estates violently taken away, and private revenges exercised. The Catholics immediately chose new Magistrates to sway this new Government, and fortified certain places of importance with money from *Spain*. From the *Milanese* also Souldiers came filing on, and from the Fort *Fuentes* Cannon descended, otherwise without this strengthening the fire would have been quenched, while it was kindling. The Count *Giovanni Serbellione* raised men for *Feria*; but the name of the Pope was pretended, the better to cover the design. The *Venetians* more than any other seemed stricken with this accident; because besides the increase of power to the *Austrians*, by whom they saw themselves encompassed with a line of little less than five hundred miles, they saw also the way stopped for any succours, but from Levies in their own Countries. And for that cause both to the Pope and to the *Austrians* they made serious remonstrances for Peace, prognosticating the evils to come, and shewed the distractions which would arise upon it. But all offices being vain, they apply to strengthen themselves, stir up their friends, and give vigour to the oppressed. Judging that their advantage consisted in not giving time to the *Spaniards*, and the formerly banished to settle themselves in the possession, they exhorted the *Grisons* to a sudden attempt to recover what they had lost, by alluring the people with a general pardon and security to the Catholick Religion in the Valley. They persuaded also the *Switzers*, upon the ground of their Alliance with the *Grisons*, to take Arms, and promised on their

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side to be assistant, disbursing money to the *Grisons*, and sixteen thousand Ducats to the two Cities of *Bern* and *Zurich* to arm two Regiments. Indignation and common interest not prevailing so much with that people as gold and private profit moves them, in *Rhetia* with that impulse of money they raised twenty four Companies, halting therewith to provide *Chiavenna*, upon which the Mutineers had their eye. Seven entred into the Valley on that side, taking in at the first assault *Traona*, and certain Trenches guarded by the Captain *Carcano Milanese*. But coming with little order near to *Morbegno*, garrisoned by *Spaniards*, they were repulsed. But they had their revenge at *Sondrio*, taking the place. All this could not be acted without much slaughter and disorders, the *Grisons* being blooded and enraged. Fear therefore spreading it self, Fryars, Nuns, and many other retired into the State of the Republick, which gave order that the persons and holy things should be received and kept with great care. Such an Invasion nevertheless was like a Torrent of a Land-flood, which pouring forth all at once from the Mountains, quickly vanishes. Those of the *Valtelline*, re-inforced from the *Milanese* with four thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, attacked them, and drive them from the Bridge of *Ganda*; thence recovering *Traona* and *Sondrio*, they took also in the County of *Chiavenna*, *Riva*, and *Novia*. Animated afterwards with this superfluity of Fortune, having a mind to attack *Foschiavo*, which is a Town of *Rhetia*, where, coming down from the Country of *Bern*, is the straightest passage of the Valley, being beaten, they returned back. The Protestant *Switzers* causing ten Colours to advance, partly to secure *Chiavenna*, partly to give courage to the Commons of the *Agnedina*, came down to *Bormio*, strengthened with some Troops of the *Grisons*, and, forcing the straights of the passages, drive the *Spaniards* thence with the loss of two Captains. This County was of great concernment to both the Parties; because, separating the Valley from *Tirol*, and without joyning to it, communicating from *Rhetia* with the State of *Venice*, it might from *Germany* and from the Republick receive and give mutual succours. *Andrea Paruta*, General of the *Venetians*, sent seasonably Arms, Ammunition, and Souldiers for its better guard, when the *Grisons* and *Switzers*, impatient to expect so opportune a succour, and presuming upon equal success in whatsoever they undertook, would needs advance into the *Valtelline*. But proceeding in their march without order, and disposing of their Quarters without defence; all Discipline and Conduct failing, coming to *Tirano*, and being resolutely received by a Body of the *Spanish* Souldiers, they were defeated with the loss of two Colours, and the Colonel of the Regiment of *Bern*. In place of retiring to *Bormio*, they thought of nothing but returning to their homes, abandoning the Town and the County; whereupon those of the *Valtelline* and the *Spaniards* enter again into it without opposition. *Feria* gave out, that his assistance was only in defence of Religion, for which there appearing no caution offered to him which was sufficient, he denied to withdraw it, as was proposed, to make place

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for some composure betwixt those of the *Valtelline* and the *Grisons*. But he knowing of what advantage discord amongst Enemies was to overcome them, sows it among the *Helvetians*; whereupon the Catholick Cantons rising up against the Protestants, shut the passages of entrance into the *Grisons*, and having raised fifteen hundred men, with two Companies of the Vallies threatened to enter into the Valley of *Musocco*, to assist those of the *Valtelline*, and such of the commons of the *Grisons* as professed the Catholick Faith. The Cities of *Zurich* and *Bern* dejected with the blow received at *Tirano*, diverted by the threatnings of their Confederates, and amongst themselves intangled by many arts and considerations, left *Rhetia* exposed to their Enemies and in prey to their own disorders.

The Arch Duke *Leopold*, Brother of the Emperor, in this while armed in *Tirol*, and publishing his pretensions of Sovereignty over some of the Commons of the Ten Directorships, it appeared that his aim was to reduce all the Country to the ancient subjection of the *Austrians*. The Affairs stood in this manner much straitened, no succours appearing from *France*, but rather the Ministers of that Crown in *Rhetia* made things more intricate; because at the instigation of *Molina*, though against the mind of the Ten Directorships, *Gheffier* being called to *Slants*, where the *Pittach* was held, he persuaded the People to approve certain Articles, which nevertheless were to be confirmed by the Crown, by which the judgment of *Tava* being abolished, that of *Coira* should be revived, with the factions and enmities which in consequence went along with it. This served to play the *Spaniards* game; for the *Lega Grisa*, protesting against these deliberations, the Government thereby growing into greater confusion, neglecting the *Valtelline*, applied not remedies to the present evils.

The best resolution was to send Ambassadors to *Venice*, *Hercules Salica* Cavalier, and *Constantino Pianta*, the first whereof dying before the declaring their Commission, leaves to his Colleague the care of representing the need which *Rhetia* had of the authority of their counsels, no less than of the assistance of their Forces, the Government languishing in discord and confusion, the People incapable to discern their evil, or discerning it to apply the remedies: The Senate knew of what importance it was to take the charge of a body, that not being able to govern, but rather disturb it self, could be of no service but to incumber others also. Yet it being not fit to put him in despair, they send back *Pianta* with hopes of good assistance, when the people reflecting upon their miseries, should be willing to put a hand to their own preservation. But in its more secret reflections, they looked upon *Italy* henceforward in a condition not to be able of it self to bear up against the Arms and Arts of the *Austrians*. They thought it therefore necessary, for the remedy of one power, to raise up another of contrary interests and opinions, since the balance of *Europe* consists in two Kingdoms which would be equally formidable, if in the *Spanish* ambition were not corrected by sparing, and in the *French* force was not weakened by inconsistency. The Senate sends *Girolamo Prinli* Ambassador extraordinary

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But *Carlo* who kept the Gates of the *Alps*, not regarding those other passages aimed to draw the *French* into Italy, to the end that making a general change in the state of things, his own might be advantaged according to success, and he might enjoy the spoils of others losses. Now the only design of *France*, was to interest it self no farther than by Treaty and name, proposing that the Republick should charge upon it self the burden and the War; for which purpose *Desdiguieres*, in quality of a private Captain, offered under their pay to raise in an instant ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and to pass them through *Helvetia* into the *Grisons*; but the *Venetians*, excusing themselves upon the season, so far advanced, which made the passage difficult, did not embrace the proposal, insisting that they would not be alone; but that in the Cause which was common the Crown also should concur, and the *Switzers* assembled then at *Badan* upon these occurrences. Nothing therefore was concluded in *Piedmont*; but in *France* *Priuli*, being arrived at Court, and found the King rid of the disagreements with his Mother and the Voyage of *Bearn*, Declares the intentions of the Republick to be, that Religion should be secured, and the Country restored, to preserve to God and the Princes that which divine and humane right had imparted to them. He offers the consideration, that Italy despoiled in a manner of the ornaments of its liberty, of its strength, and of its beauty, did apprehend destruction, being environed with a formidable power, watching on occasions ready to take advantages, greedy of conquests, and tenacious in keeping them. That in the support of that Crown alone was placed the hopes of the *Grisons*, a people, it may be said, protected from their very beginning, and by the constancy in their friendship ready to fall under the Yoke. True it was that the Republick was concerned in the nearness, but nevertheless glory ought to stir up the King, who was bound to render an account to publick fame of the distress of his most faithful friends. That Europe had hopes now in his youth of fruits equal to justice and power, the one being due to the oppressed, and the other required by his own and common interest. That in his Kingdom he had by both triumphed over two of the fiercest Monsters, Heresie and discord. That now Heaven reserved for him the honour of conquering the ambition of Strangers, and overthrowing the slavery of Italy. That nothing was so much expected in that afflicted Country, as the happiness of his conduct and authority, to add new examples to the old, that in its

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France truly acknowledged the great mischiefs received in the fears of the minority, and the civil discords, for having neglected foreign occurrences, and *Monsieur de Villeroy* being dead, an old man and trusty Minister, but most averse to the affairs of the *Grisons* and of Italy, a great obstacle was removed. *Monsieur de Pisieux*, then Secretary of State, in the name of the King answers to *Priuli*, with full encomiums of the vigilance and prudence of the Republick; that by sudden and seasonable assistance to the *Switzers* and *Grisons*, had endeavoured to remedy the present evils, and prevent the future. That the King would not suffer the wrongs of *Rhetia*, nor the oppressions of his other Friends: That he was sending to the Court of his Brother-in-Law the *Marquis* of *Bassompierre* Ambassador extraordinary, that he might endeavour the quieting of the present divisions, by removing violence and restoring all things to their first estate. In case that should not avail, that he declared himself fully resolved to take Arms in conjunction with the Republick and *Carlo*, both keepers of the liberty and security of Italy. All this was communicated to the Pope, who being far advanced in years, and desirous to repose his ashes, and adorn his Sepulchre with the memorials of Peace, was greatly disturbed hearing it in danger and tossed up and down among the greater Powers. Of such resolutions, which howsoever came to nothing in regard Treaty, separated from Force, served not but to confirm the *Spaniards* in the possession of the Valley, and of their minds the *Austrians* believed the *Venetians* to be Authors. A War therefore of hatred rather than Arms breaking forth, the *Spaniards* recal upon the score of their private interests their Ambassador from *Venice*, and attempted in other Courts to introduce disparity betwixt their Ministers and those of the Republick, contrary to the practice and use of the other Crowns, which treated them as belonging to a Prince that for Sovereignty, Power, and Titles was numbred amongst the Kings; so that all correspondence by Treaty and Offices was wholly interrupted; whilst in such formalities the present Age believes that if not the Essence the Covering and Vail of Principality consists.

A N N O M. DC. XXI.

The *Spaniards* judging it their great advantage, that the business of the *Valteline* should pass for a matter of Religion, to the end that amidst applauses, excuses, and pretexs, some Princes might be restrained, and others proceed with greater caution, applied all care

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well to impress the Pope with that opinion, to their offices of duty joining other means, and in particular to gain his Kindred, having for that purpose created the Prince of *Sulmona* his Nephew Grande of *Spain*. *Paul* nevertheless, having had the teaching of a long experience, preferred Peace before all flattery, nor did believe it fit, that, confounding together the interests of Religion and State, the Popes ought to expose themselves to the enmity of great Princes, or put themselves to have need of the assistance of the more powerful. He applied therefore to a neutrality, as a course more prudent, than what the Princes shewed themselves pleased with. But in the beginning of the year, having in a certain ecclesiastical function superfluously wearied and inflamed himself, he passes to Heaven to render an account of the World, over which for the direction of Souls he had been for sixteen years placed in the Popedom. Ever since to the Ecclesiastical Dignity a worldly Power hath been superadded, and that the corruption of the Age hath with the veneration of holy things confounded also humane respects, Princes have very often in the election of Popes caused to be profaned with their interests, that which the Church possesses of most pure and most to be regarded. But God that hath espoused it with the Ring of his true Faith, protects it from violence, confounds the counsels, punisheth the attempts, and preserving it by his holy Spirit, makes it clearly evident, that though the Conclaves are not exempt from factions, and affections, nevertheless, the counsels of man seldom succeeding, the lot falls where Divine Providence directs it.

For the present by how much the suspense of the Affairs of the *Valtelline* was more embroiled, with so much the more diligence did the Princes effectually labour to prevail with their partisans, to cause the Pontificate to fall upon him, that either by his own inclination adhered to their wills, or in regard of the Family and Kindred was like to be more easily gained. The will of the *Spaniards*, and of the Nephew of the dead Pope inclined to Cardinal *Campori* of *Cremona*, subject not only by birth, but by affection partially addicted to *Spain*, and by consequence for the same respects abhorred by *France*, and it appeared as though the election was not to be hindered, so strong was that party, although together with his private enviers, the Marquess de *Courc* Ambassador of *France* did openly oppose him. But the minds of the Conclave unexpectedly altering, contrary to the opinion of themselves, all concurred unanimously in *Alexander*, Cardinal *Lodoviso*, *Bolognese* by birth, who took the name of *Gregory* the Fifteenth. He almost seventy years old, giving himself to quiet more than business, leaves quickly the direction of Affairs to his Nephew, now a Cardinal, who governed them through the whole course of this Pontificate, with great ability and an authority supreme. The Princes studiously contended to possess the Pope in their favour, in the business of the *Valtelline*, *Favin* solicited those People to send Deputies to the Court of *Rome*, that they might fill all with clamours and complaints, so to stir up compassion towards those that made a shew to breathe nothing but Religiou

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ligion and Liberty, motives so powerful, that the one with reason possesses the chief place in things sacred, and the other in civil. He sends also *Giovanni Vives*, a known Minister of the advantages of the Monarchy, and of the disturbances of *Italy*, and joyns to him the President *Acerbi*; who, during his private Fortune, had been familiar with the Pope, that so in publick Audiences and private Discourses, he might continually have his ears beaten with the incitements of zeal and piety. The Ambassadors of the *Venetians* on the other side endeavoured to represent that affair in a contrary shape, and separate from Religion. Because that, *If the Republick kept it with so much care unviolated in its own Dominions, it could no less suffer it to be desiled amongst their Neighbours.* But it was not to be endured, that under a pretext of Piety, Interest should intrude it self, to the possessing of a Country, to which the *Spaniards* had no other title but that of their own profit and convenience, and the oppression of others. The Pope was greatly perplexed at these beginnings, and desired a composure of the business, and thereupon with his own hand wrote into *Spain* to the King, and the Cardinal *Lodoviso* to his Confessor and principal Ministers, representing; *That to Italy, nay rather to all Christendom, there could not be an appearance of a greater calamity by War, in which, amidst the zeal of Religion, military Licence would slip in with the contempt of Laws, both divine and humane, it being impossible for impiety it self and injustice to carry on a War by honest rules and innocent means.*

There arrived at this time in *Rome* an Embassy from the *Venetians*, which according to the pious custom of Catholick Princes is called of obedience, and consisted of four chief Senators, that is to say, *Girolamo Justiniano* Procurator, *Antonio Grimani*, *Francesco Contarini* Cavalier, Procurator, and *Girolamo Soranzo* Cavalier; the which, besides the accustomed offices, had order to insist much upon the business of the *Valtelline*. But *Gregory*, by a diversion from that chief point, required with great earnest, that the Republick would re-admit into their State again those religious people of the Society of *Jesus*, which for important causes, in the time of his Predecessor, had been banished, which being repugnant to many Laws and Formality, the indissoluble bonds of Government, he could not obtain. Nevertheless the Marquess de *Coevra*, in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, passing from *Rome* to *Venice*, with the business better laid, presses it home in the Name of King *Lewis*, and at the same time the Bishop of *Monte Fiascone*, Nuntio Apostolico, with a Brief from the Pope, and Letters from the Cardinal *Lodoviso*, did earnestly second the importunity. But the Senate did not depart from their first conception, remonstrating to the foresaid Ministers their Decrees and grave Considerations, by reason whereof Princes in amity with them ought not to press them to that, which was neither permitted to them to grant, nor could they deny without doing displeasure to themselves. Some took upon them to judge, that this demand had its rise from a higher account and more secret ends, it having perhaps been the aim of some, to render the *Venetians*, who

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it was supposed would not have given their content, either distrustful by the new Pope, or little acceptable to *France* at a time when it was needful to gain the good disposition of the one, for the affairs in agitation, and to manage confederations and adjustments with the other. In the mean time the hinge of the business of the *Valtelline* being fixed in *Rome*, with various turnings, passing also to other Courts, *Feria* manages his business more happily, planting Forts at *Morbegno*, *Sondrio*, and *Tirano* to establish himself in possession. Sowing in *Rhetia* incessant divisions, the effect was, that he at last gained *la Lega Grisa* by Rams of gold which equally over-turn Mountains, and the hearts of those people, persuading them to send six Ambassadors to *Milan*. The Government being in this manner divided, he could not have safer Hostages of their Venality, and of the ruine of that unhappy Country. To give it the last blow, with four of the Ambassadors, the other two dissenting, he concludes a Treaty, by which the Custody of the Forts was yielded to the *Spaniards*, the Passes were to be open to them, they with a shew of words reserving to themselves in appearance the ancient Alliance with *France* and *Feria*, promising assistance, if the other two dissenting Leagues should not confirm the Treaty. This Monster of Ambition and Interest was without form, begotten by an illegitimate Authority, but which nevertheless served for an advantage to *Feria's* designs, to put the *Grisons* into confusion, to remain in the Valley, and discompose whatsoever might be resolved elsewhere. *Gheffier* attempted to oppose himself, but in vain, the name of the *French* being either detested by the party most oppressed, or despised by that already sold to the *Spaniards*.

Scaramuccia Visconti going hereupon into *Rhetia*, in the name of the Governour of *Milan*, with money and promises, some of the Commons of the *Grisa* failed not to adhere to the foresaid accord, induced thereto besides from the fear of some Colours of the Catholic *Switzers*, who at the instance of *Feria*, being entred into that Country, oppressed it with Quarters. And the Canton of *Zurich* in opposition to them kept Souldiers in the other two Leagues; but esteeming no mischief greater than charge, these would have been long before disbanded, if the *Venetians* with ten thousand Florins a month had not kept them on foot. With this encouragement *la Cadé* and the Directorships took Arms, pretending by forcible remedies to keep the *Grisa* in the ancient Union. *Pompeo Pianta*, the supposed chief Contriver of the disagreements, was killed, and Visconti with many of the Faction of *Spain*, were forced to retire in great haste out of the Country; because to the first fury of that enraged people, nothing being able to resist, the Catholic *Switzers* also with their Colonel *Betlinger* retired, leaving Cannon and Baggage behind.

La Lega Grisa then joyned themselves to the other; but *Feria* in hopes, which quickly vanished, to keep the Torrent of these armed people far from the Valley, did not only strengthen the Forts, but to facilitate the gaining of *Chiavenna*, caused an Invasion to be made

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into the Valley of *Musocco*, which alone of the three Leagues is situate on this side the Mountains. The Inhabitants, though Catholics, yet for all that not inclined to the *Spaniards*, having cold and ice for the defence of their situation, hid themselves behind a great Trench of Snow, whence sallying without being observed, they so unexpectedly charged the *Spanish* Troops, that leaving five hundred dead upon the place, they retired dispersed by several ways into the *Milanese*.

Thus every day were their minds as well as Troops more and more imbrued in blood, and the *Venetians* finding in the Princes of *Italy* more apprehension of the evil than resolution for the remedy, had recourse again to the King of *England*, by the means of *Girolamo Lando* ordinary Ambassador, representing to him the state of things to be in a condition of great contingency. *James* with wonted magnificence of words answers; *That he took to heart the security and safety of Europe. That the Interests of Italy were always in his eye and in his cares. That he held the Republick above all in a choice confidence and constant friendship. And did therefore declare, that if his Son-in-law were despoiled of his Patrimonial Countries, he would send a powerful Army into Germany to uphold him. If the Hollanders should be invaded, he would not spare his assistance; and if the Venetians should suffer any molestation, he would succour them with the Forces of all his Kingdoms, and for an earnest offered a present Levy in England of ten thousand Souldiers.* The Senate by Letters expresses renders him thanks in abundance, esteeming those magnificent offers for a grace, if not an assistance. It was now no secret, that at this time the *Spaniards* themselves kept the King in hope of the Marriage of *Mary*, second Daughter of *Philip*, with the Prince of *Wales*, to the end to make him suspected by all, and beget a belief in himself, that the restitution of the *Palatinate* should be one of the chief Articles in that agreement. He nevertheless at *Madrid* presses also effectually for the restitution of the *Valtelline*, and *Bassompierre*, arriving thereupon, pursues the same, the Popes Nuntio also and the Ambassador of the *Venetians* contributing thereto their endeavours.

But the death of *Philip* the Third leaves for some days the business in suspense. The face of the Court was a little before this much changed; for although *Lerma*, with the Purple of a Cardinal, had thought to cover himself from changes and accidents, yet it being difficult by honest means to maintain the ascendancy over the Genius of Princes, he escaped not the accustomed malignant influence of Envy and of Fortune. Publick discourses ran abroad, that he had with poyson procured the death of the Queen *Margaret*, by the co-operation of *Roderigo Calderone*, who had a power over her mind, equal to that which he exercised over the will of the King. The disorders in the Government being over and above imputed to him, and in many things calumny, envy, and the interest of a few being joyned to what was true, his disgrace, from the hatred of all was fiercely promoted. Having for some time since wrestled with ma-

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ny in this narrow path of the ambition of Court, he met with no more fierce Competitor, than the Duke *D'Uceda* his own Son, closely oynd up with Father *Luigio Aliaga*, the Kings Confessor; so that there was not a corner that was not cunningly beset, even to the inward retirement of Conscience, and the most secret Colloquies of the Soul. The King at last yields to the general desire of the Court and Kingdoms, and in honour of the Purple silencing his accusations, commands him to retire. It remained a doubt, whether in an age, proclaimed by the wrath of Heaven, to the mockery of Favourites, the King would not have taken upon himself the Government, when death, in the forty third year of his age, takes him away from the troubles which Empire carries with it. His years would surely have been more memorable, if he had been born a private man rather than a King; because being better adorned with the ornaments of life, than endowed with the skill to command, as goodness, piety, and continuance placed him in a degree higher than ordinary Subjects, so the disapplication to Government rendred him lower than was fit or necessary. By publick defects, private virtues being corrupted, and in particular keeping his mind in idleness, it was believed, that he had reserved nothing for himself to do, but to consent to all that which the Favourite had a mind to. Thus the Government of the World, recommended to Princes as to the true Shepherds, falls into mercenary hands, making themselves not understood but by the sound voice of interest, and the authority of ambition, the people suffer ruine and calamity, and the Princes themselves render account to God of that Talent, which they have suffered their Ministers to make merchandize of. It is certain, that *Philip* in the agony of death, was not so much comforted with the calling to mind his innocent life, as he was troubled with the sting of conscience for his omissions in Government. The report was, that the Maxims of Interest yielding in that instant to the Law of God, the restitution of the *Valteline* was precisely ordered.

The Son, *Philip* the Fourth, comes to the Kingdom in an age so young, being but sixteen years old, that the World had cause heedfully to observe, whether ambition, the common disease of Princes, would sooner move or satiate him. But it quickly appeared, that the Ascendant of Favourites was not yet set; for dispatches being brought to the King, he delivers them to *Gaspard di Gusman*, Conde *d'Olivares*, and he shewing himself backward, though he desired it, commanded they should be given to whom the Count would appoint. He feigning modesty, assigns them to *Balthasar di Zuniga*, an old Minister, and of great credit, but yet by concert; for *Zuniga* being his Uncle, they had agreed to support one another; whereupon taking off the Mask, the Power fell to the Count, who quickly honoured besides with the Title of Duke, will be found with this double attribute in the following relation to be more famous than fortunate.

From the Republick, according to custom, were appointed an extraordinary Embassy to the King *Simeon Contarini* Cavalier, Procurator,

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curator, and *Girolamo Soranzo* Cavalier. But *Bassompierre*, the time being passed which the change of Princes necessarily carries with it, solicites the affair of the *Valteline* in such sort, that it was the 25. of April concluded, That the Armies should be withdrawn out of the Valley, and the Countries adjacent, and Religion with every other thing, as it was before the year 1617, restored; France, the Catholick Switzers, and the Valesians obliging themselves caution for it. To execute that much which was to be done, there was to be a Meeting in *Lucerna* of the Ministers of the Pope, of France, and the Archduke *Albert* in the Name of King *Philip*. The ancient Treaties of *Rhetia* with the House of *Austria* and with *Tirol* were to remain untouched. Some other Articles in favour of passage for the *spaniards* were secretly added, which at that time were not known. That notwithstanding, which was published, was more than sufficient to make it understood, that both the Crowns conspired in one and the same thing, which was to seek to delay the business; for France, the agitation of civil discords not yet well settled, cared not so suddenly to involve it self in those of Strangers; and Spain, in the instant of the new Reign, thought it wise counsel to defer the War, and dissemble a Peace. The Treaty, to say truth, contained but a huddle of things, little having been decided, and all remitted to new Conferences. And therefore, although in *Madrid* were published positive Orders to *Feria*, that he should withdraw his Arms, and restore; the effect nevertheless did not appear; some ascribing it to accidents suggested from more secret counsels, and the more simple reproaching the Governour of *Milan*, as if he so tenderly loved the fruit of his own contrivance, as not to be willing to part with it. But in Treaties faith will fail as long as interest lives, and interest will be found as long as Princes reign.

Feria, notwithstanding the advices of Peace, arms still more powerfully, and in *Germany* the Archduke *Leopold*, interdicting Commerce to the *Grisons* and *Venetians*, raised Souldiers, threatening the latter with Jealousies, and the other with War. Thus the Minesprung with great ease; for the Archduke having possessed himself of the Valley of *Munster*, while the *Grisons* demanded the restitution, alledging the Peace of *Madrid* so newly concluded, denies to be bound to observe it, he having had no Minister there, nor given his consent, and desired that Deputies might be sent to *Felkirch*, to the end, that by an amicable accord those causes and suspicions might be removed, which had moved him to possess it. The President *Dole*, in the Name of the Archduke *Albert*, being arrived at the meeting in *Lucerna*, pretends to be treated as representing *Philip*, stirring up the dispute of Precedence with the French, which expressly the Articles of *Madrid* by designing a Minister of the Archdukes had aimed to divert. During the delays to overcome this difficulty by writing, came new Orders, *Albert* dyes, and with him the Presidents full power failing, the Conference dissolves. Neither were other hinderances wanting, *Feria* declaring himself, that he would not execute the Treaty without the caution of the Catholick Cantons,

An.Dom. 1620. capitulated not so much for their power, as for their neighbourhood, and the dominion they have of passages. But they would not interpose betwixt two so powerful Monarchs, and the common opinion then being that *Feria* himself did strengthen them in that resistance. He also puts those of the *Valtelline* upon sending Deputies to *Madrid*, to make a clamour that Religion was not sufficiently provided for, and he accompanies them with Letters from the Senate of *Milan*, in which with motives of piety and Religion were mingled consequences of convenience and advantage. He offers afterwards to make a shew only that the Forts should be kept by the *Catholic Swissers*, but that the Protestants should not abide in the Valley, till the Treaty should be mended, and at the same time suggests underhand to the *Grisons* vain hopes of having again the *Valtelline*, if point blank it should not be otherwise conditioned, by some accord, in which the passages should be left free for *Spain*. But it was not in the power of the *Grisons* to alter what was agreed in *Madrid* betwixt the two Crowns.

All this while there arrived not a Courier out of *Spain* in *Italy*, but orders to the Duke were published for restoring and disarming, with an express command besides to hasten Souldiers for the Fleet, whilst the *Turks*, unsuccessfully involved in the War of *Poland*, and in the *Black sea* employed in repelling the *Cossacks*, left the *White* open to whatsoever attempts of the Christians. But *Feria*, and the other Ministers having their minds more fixed on advantages in *Italy*, than progress against the *Turks*, such discourses had no other end, but to raise a jealousy in the *Venetians*, as if within the bosom of the *Adriatick* some surprises and acquisitions were to be attempted in *Albania*; but the Fleet lying idle in *Messina*, more numerous in Ships than provided with men, the apprehension the Republick received from that side was but little and short.

But towards *Lombardy* jealousies did increase, because betwixt distrustful Neighbours, either accidents frequently cause discord, or the more powerful seeks pretexts. And so a contest and almost a breach arose for a very narrow way which is called the *Stecato*, which to the Territory of *Bergamo* joins that of *Crema*, imbayed and environed on all sides with the *Milanese*. By most ancient contracts with the City of *Milan*, it is the absolute and undoubted Dominion of the *Venetians*; but for convenience and shortning of way, a passage remains open, not only for passengers, but was wont to be permitted to Souldiers, when passage was demanded from the Governours of *Crema*. Now it hapned, that a Company of Horse sent by *Feria* to *Soncino*, attempted to pass without leave, with the flying Colours advanced, and Arms uncovered; but was hindred by the Guards. *Feria* in great wrath, and taking it for an affront to the Kings Colours, sends store of Troops to the Confines, publishing, that he would pass with a good Body of men without leave. But the *Venetians* making equal provisions ordered *Nicolo Contarini*, Provedor beyond the *Mincio*, that he should hinder him with all his force. They at the same time offered the pass, when according to custom

custom it should be demanded, and propounded that the Contracts might be examined by Commissioners on both sides. They wrote also to the Court of *Spain*, inveighing against *Feria*, that by raising discontents, and preferring idle tales before the merit of business, he aimed only to disturb the quiet. The Pope and the Grand Duke seriously considering, that from a small cause worse accidents might arise, employed their exhortations with the Governour of *Milan* to give place for a composition, since the *Venetians* did not appear averse to consent, that that Company should now pass, but without doing prejudice to the right of either party, that afterwards that might be determined by Commissioners, which right required. *Feria* deputed two Senators, which were *l' Aresé* and *Salamanca*, to treat with *Giacomo Vandramino* Resident of the Republick, and they would quickly have been agreed amongst themselves, that the Pass should have remained free for a certain time, within which the business should have been quietly settled, if the Duke, rejecting a while after all sort of handling, had not referred it to the Court of *Spain*, and as though nothing but management of Arms had belonged to him, he had not sent seventeen Companies of Horse with some Foot to attempt the Pass by force; but finding it well guarded, the *Spaniards* thought it best to make a halt. Many believed that in the heart of *Italy* there would from this little spark have been kindled a Fire, which might have prevented that, which upon *Rhetia* was foreseen to be but too imminent.

The Pope wrote briefs to the Republick; and orders *Scappi* his Nuntio in *Lucerna* to go to *Milan* to mediate; but he no sooner arrives, but there rising, as it happens in times of jealousy, one accident or another, he found that for a contest only about Confines betwixt the States of *Mantua* and *Bozzolo*, *Feria* was upon sending to the latter Souldiers and assistance, which could not be done without incensing the Neighbours and stirring up the *Venetians*. From this he succeeded to divert him; but for the way, it was agreed to expect Commissions from *Spain*, where what had happened being received, as it deserved, more calmly, and the Governour *Caimo* being deputed to treat with *Luigi Cornaro*, Ambassador of the Republick, it was at last by the interposition of the Nuntio agreed, that the company being sent again should pass without prejudice to the rights of either; and also that the difference should be terminated within the space of four Months, by Commissioners upon the place. And so in a cursory manner it was punctually performed. But *Luigi Mocenigo* Governour of *Bergamo*, and the Senator *Piccinardi* meeting in quality of Commissioners, could not agree in a total decision of the matter, it seeming, that where Confines are in dispute, force hath greater place than reason, and is more in use; howsoever in the course of the present suspicions, the passage was no more attempted by Souldiers in Arms, and within a while Affairs and mens minds settling into the former quiet, respect and good correspondence quickly began again. This composition hapned in the following year: But in this present upon the Borders of *Brescia*, there was a certain light

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encounter; upon the occasion that a Chain, laid by the *Venetians* over the River *Oglio*, which hindered the transport of Corn, because of the scarcity of that years Harvest, was loosened by people in Arms, and they of *Seniga* coming to hinder it, some of each side were killed, and some hurt; which nevertheless, being reciprocally taken, as done rather by the transport of the Borderers, than the command of the Princes, was easily appeased. All notwithstanding serving to disturb mens minds, and adding as considerations to those which the Affairs of the *Valtelline* carried in too great measure with them, the *Venetians* had agreed with the Duke of *Savoy* that he should leavy four thousand men, to the end that from the side of *Piedmont* they might make some seasonable diversion when there should be occasion.

That nevertheless was not performed by the Duke, though the Republick had disbursed their part of the charge; for *Carlo* in the vastness of his mind, embracing many things, and always novelty of projects, had suffered himself to be perswaded by *Feria* to surprize *Geneva*, possessed formerly by the Dukes of *Savoy*, and once attempted by himself. For that purpose, the Governour of *Milan* had not only offered him assistance, but sent certain Troops towards *Savoy*, to be at his dispose, both to divert him from the Affairs of the *Valtelline*, and also give jealousy to those of *Bearn*, and the other Protestant *Switzers*, Protectors of that City, that they might think no more of the *Grisons*. Nor did the design fail, for the intention of *Carlo*, from the moving of Troops out of the *Milanese* being discovered, those *Cantons* were in such a combustion, that they presently recalled out of *Rhetia* all assistance and consideration of it. The *Venetians* therefore resolved to interpose, and having procured *Carlo* to give his word, that he would not molest that City, they carried it to the *Switzers* to quiet them. Nor was *Carlo* very difficult in that promise; because the plot being discovered, *Geneva* was in defence, and the Neighbours were so ready with assistance, that the enterprise could not succeed.

Feria then recalls his Souldiers, and opposes himself more powerfully to the *Grisons*, who, weary of their own calamities, had resolved in a *Pittach* at *Coira* by forcible means to get out of them, sending Souldiers down into the *Valtelline*, to try the utmost remedies of their strength. But the enterprise was so ill managed, that it seemed a Monster begotten of despair; for that it was an Army composed of the meanest sort of people, without Commanders, without Counsel, without Provisions and Money, and in a manner without Arms, and abounded in nothing but temerity, confusion, and enraged madness. Those that sided with the *Venetians* dissuaded it, as unreasonable; but the Emisaries of *Feria* and his Faction had put them upon it, to give a more apparent pretext for the non-observance of the Treaty at *Madrid*. Six thousand men divided into three Bodies fiercely descended into the County of *Bormio*. One of them possesses certain Trenches abandoned by the *Spaniards* that kept it, fearing an attacke from behind them. Another

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ther entred into the Town of *Primai*, and from thence to *Bormio*. The third at the Bridge of *Santa Lucia*, mastering the defence thereof gain *Chiappina*, and the Pass of *Monbray*, which shuts up the way that comes from *Venosta*. Altogether stopped the Passes which could bring succours to the Fort of *Bormio*, where they lodged in the Town, dissipating those few which they found within it; but the Cannon from the Fort kindling a Fire in it, they were constrained to go out into the Campagna, and the Guards of the avenues, being pressed by hunger, to abandon them in disorder, to provide themselves of Victuals, gave opportunity to the *Spaniards* to possess them. At the same time that they attacked them in Front, they were assaulted in the Reer by the Colonel *Baldirone*, who, with fifteen hundred Souldiers of *Leopolds*, from the side of *Tirol* came down by the way of *Monbray*, and the Garrison of the Fort making a sally, the *Grisons* who also had want of ammunition, were so encompassed, that despair or courage would not have been able to have saved them, if the darkness of the night covering them, had not facilitated the means to many of hiding themselves in the Mountains, and from thence in small Troops to retire home. After this success, *Serbellone*, with a greater Force supplied him from the Governour of *Milan*, easily possesses *Chiaucena*, and *Baldirone* makes himself master of the Valley of *Partentz*, *Poschiavo*, and many other Towns and places of the *Aguedina*, and of the Ten Directorships. *Rhetia* by these redoubled invasions, was full of confusion and slaughter; nevertheless a *Pittach* was held in *Coira*, which, if it proved always tumultuous, was at present void of all order and form, every one pretending to give counsel to other, and no man knowing what was fit to resolve.

There was a great contest about sending new Ambassadors to *Milan*, many approved it, and the Ten Directorships opposed it: when *Leopolds* Army coming to *Coira*, resolves the doubt and the meeting; for the people in a fright went out to meet them, and renders them the Town, saving their Privileges, Government, and Liberty of Conscience. Certain it was, that the Arch Duke desired to have it, and pressed the Bishop to renounce the Church to him, to which are annexed many temporal jurisdictions, and the dominion of one part of the Town it self. In the mean time, to hinder the *Switzers* from succouring *Rhetia*, he causes a good Fort to be laid towards *Regatz*, slighting the jealousies of the *Cantons* and their displeasure, whilst not being able to resolve any thing, but by an unanimous consent, they were obliged first to call a Diet for it. And because *Feria* apprehended some motion from the *Venetians*, to keep the chief strength of their Forces in *Lombardy*, he sends a great number of men to their Borders. But there appeared a kind of breathing to Affairs, from whence it was least expected; for *Mansfelt*, who fought War every where, and his profit from every accident, being scarcely dis-intangled from the losses of *Bohemia*, with a speedy march comes into *Alfatia*, with so great a diversion, and such suc-

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THE FIFTH BOOK.

Certainly the *Valtelline* and *Rhetia* were not taken to be of little consequence, as not to deserve the care of the Princes, both as to the seizing and defending of them; such being their situation, that being possessed by Strangers, a snare might be said to be closed upon the relief and liberty of *Italy*. The *Venetians* therefore, to whom it more nearly belonged, became more earnest upon all occasions in their offices and invitations with the *French*. But that Kingdom, involved in new intestine discords, still languished from its first distemper, and the remonstrances or threats of the King were little feared by the *Austrians*. For *Luines* having formed a great design to take from the *Hugenots* the places, which former Kings, under the title of security, had for a time accorded to them, took pretext from a certain Assembly which they held in *Rochel*, that since the successes in *Bern*, they conspired with over-much licence things prejudicial to the Kings service, and declaring it suspect and unlawful, followed the Edicts with an Army. That Party was weakened enough already through dis-union; for the Court had gained some of the chief ones, who preferred their Interest before Religion, and amongst those *Dedignieres*; so that there remained no more Chiefs of Authority amongst them, but *Roban*, *Soubize*, *Chastiglione*, and *La Force*, of several inclinations, and divers ends amongst themselves. Many of the people desired peaceable rather than turbulent counsels, others adhered to the Chiefs, or followed

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followed the obstinate zeal for their false belief. The Court designed to suppress them all, and, the sooner to end the War, began it with great force, and with several Armies dispersed in several Provinces. With one the Duke of *Effernon* curbs *Rochel*; and with another, the Duke of *Maine* in his Government of *Guyenne* either confirms the Towns in obedience, or forces the disobedient. *Conde* longst the *Loire* takes *Sancere*, and the King with the most considerable part of his Forces besieges *S. Jean d'Angeli*.

The *Huguenots* were not wanting to themselves, some serving in person, others contributing money, notwithstanding all help from without failed them, *Germany* being too much imbroiled, *England* not minding Foreign affairs; and *Holland*, ready to come to blows with the *Spanish* Army, had more need of *French* succours, than were inclined to assist the Rebels of that Crown. They were therefore in many places obliged to submit, and *St. Jean d'Angeli*, though defended by *Soubise* to the utmost, was forced at its surrender to accept of any conditions, and to have the Walls razed. Such a resistance of such a place was of marvellous use to the *Huguenots* to blunt the first fury of the Kings Army, which, having rather done honour to some obscure places than overcome them, sat down at last before *Montauban*, a good deal weakened, and not so fierce. This was a very memorable Siege, because the place wanted neither Fortifications, Commanders, Provisions, and Garrison; nor the Aggressors Force, Discipline, and Courage. All Arts and Force of War were there practised; there were to be seen diversions attempted, ambushes laid, succours brought in, and sometimes repulsed, thundering batteries, assaults with more rashness than bravery undertaken and repulsed, with the shedding of noble blood, in such sort that the Ditches of *Montauban* were the burying place of the most worthy and valiant Souldiers. But at last some being weary, others disbanded, most dead, the Army was much weakened, and the season so far advanced, that the King was forced to raise the Siege, and withdrawing to Winter-quarters in *Guiena*, expect the taking in of some small places; where *Luines*, by favour assumed into the honourable Charge of *Constable*, surpris'd with a dangerous sickness, ends his days; worthy in this of great praise, that he at least roughed the great design of uniting all *France* unto it self, which was afterwards more happily perfected by others.

These Engagements of *France* contributed much to advantage the *Spaniards* designs, who with various Arts laboured to continue them longer intangled in the same; whereupon making thew of friendship and zeal of Religion, they offer succours to subdue the *Huguenots*, and particularly a Fleet to conquer *Rochel*. And indeed, not only the *Valteline*, but in all parts else, the Arms of the House of *Austria* went prosperously on, scarce finding opposition; for in *Bohemia* there remaining but *Tabor* and *Pilsen*, which held for *Frederick*, the first was by *Tilli*, who corrupted the Commanders, won with gold, and the other by *Marradas* after a very long Siege. *Silesia* was quickly brought under by the Elector of *Saxe*; and *Hungary*,

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Gabor having in vain sought succours from the *Turks* and the *Venetians*, was forced to receive a Peace and Laws, *Bethlem* having laid down the Title of King, and restored the Crown, with the recompence of seven Counties in *Hungary* it self, and two large Dukedoms in *Silesia*.

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There remained both the *Palatinates*, higher and lower, the Patrimony of *Frederick*, in whose name *Mansfelt* yet making War, was, as hath been said, entred into *Alsatia*, doing the Bishoprick of *Spira* and other places on the *Rhine* intolerable mischiefs, and in *Alsatia* it self, taking *Hughenau*, and with a strait but vain Siege attempted *Zabern*. In favour also of *Frederick* some other Generals of Armies discovered themselves, who, in imitation of *Mansfelt*, had the boldness, with secret assistance from other Princes, to struggle with the Power and Fortune of *Ferdinand*. One was *John George*, Marquess of *Jagendorf*, of the House of *Brandenburg*, who, by reason of the Reformation of Religion, which the Imperialists in the subdued Provinces executed with so much severity, that it seemed to many a slaughter rather than a remedy or chastisement, assembled many of the male-contents and some Souldiers to infest *Moravia* and *Silesia*. Another was *Christian*, Duke of *Branswick* and Administrator of *Halberstat*, who taking into his service some Troops of the King of *Denmark*, for that purpose disbanded, and having formed a considerable Army, harassed *Westphalia* and the Catholics of those parts. *Frederick*, weary of the vexations of a Crown so troublesome, and now desperate, being retired into *Holland*, gave way, that under the protection of the King of *England* his Interest should be managed in the Imperial Court, and that the *Palatinate* should defend it self.

But the offices of *James* were discredited by the weakness where-with he accompanied his force; whereupon, under pretext that the business of the Peace and pardon of *Frederick* was to be deferred to a general Diet, as was desired not only by *England*, but by *Denmark* and the *Lower Saxony*, the Army of the *Austrians* marched. Upon *Spinola's* coming near the *Rhine* with an Army well ordered and provided, the Princes Protestants of the Union being frightened, condescended to a Treaty in *Mentz*, by which their Union being dissolved, which consisted more in name than in a true concord of minds, they resolved to stand neutral, and *Spinola* on the other side promises so to respect them. In the *Palatinate* there being now, and that but with a very few Troops, only Colonel *Peer*, an *English* man, and *Obentranta German*, it would have been easie for *Spinola* to have possessed it, if out of fear to have too much irritated the King of *England*, and a desire he had to attempt some Exploit upon the *Hollanders*, he had not consented to a Truce for some months. A Truce highly disapproved by the *Spanish* Ministers, but which being of little continuance, advantaged them in the pretexes of their attempts, because the Commanders of the Troops in the *Palatinate*, encouraged with the succours which *Mansfelt* and *Halberstat* gave out they would bring them, having by a pernicious Council broken it, awa-

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joined the *spaniards*, separated into Quarters, to assemble themselves and besiege *Frankenthal*, after having taken *stein*, which was done by *Gonzalo di Cordua*, *spinola* being elsewhere employed.

The King of *England* nevertheless ceased not by means of his Ambassadour *Digby*, at the Imperial Court to sollicite the renewing the suspension of Arms. But *Ferdinand*, impressed already with the thought of depriving *Frederick* of his Electorship and Country, remits the Treaty to *Brussels* to gain time, and in that interim the Duke of *Bavaria*, in a manner provoked by *Mansfelt*, who with several Treaties for several months had deluded him, enters the *Upper Palatinate*, and possesses it without opposition, the Country being destitute of Fortresses or Forces. And the Duke, not to be wanting to the occasion and his own advantages, to pursue *Mansfelt* sends *Tilli* to the *Rhine*, and orders him to seize all that part of the *Lower Palatinate*, which lies betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Neccar*. A blow which *Maximilian* believed doubly pleasing to the Catholics, not only because it deprived the Hereticks of that very strong Hold, but because it prevented the *spaniards*, whom the *Germans* did not willingly see advanced into the Empire by such Conquests. The King of *England* was enraged to see his Son-in-law oppressed, and himself deluded; but not having forces proportionable to his anger, and his Authority serving no longer for a sufficient cover for his weakness, had called a Parliament, according to custom, to consider of Contributions and Provisions. But grievous complaints were presently started, some desiring that the Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Prince and the *Infanta* of *Spain* might be broken, and that a Wife might be given him of a Religion conformable to their own; others pressing a Reformation in the Government, with pretensions which were injurious to the Sovereignty, and opposite to the nature of it; so that he dissolves it without coming to a resolution.

The *Palatinate* then remained at the discretion of the Enemy-forces, nor was to expect other succours but from *Mansfelt*, who, according to his custom, with sly marches and unexpected arrives there, so unlooked for, that *Cordua* taking fright, raises the Siege, retiring or rather running away by night, leaving in his Quarters sick Souldiers, Materials, and Cannon. Thus ends this year famous for War, kindled in so many parts; and to the end no corner of *Europe* might remain free from the flame, in the *Low-Countries* also the Truce being expired, it fiercely breaks out again. Heretofore in the interval of greater Wars, that of *Flanders* served the *spanish* Monarchy for a standing Army, and to keep Military Discipline in exercise. But exercise it self becoming violent and to excess, consumed the most vital spirits of the Crown; the Souldiers of *Spain*, the gold of the *Indies*, the vigour of *Italy* being not able to supply them. And therefore a Truce for twelve years was willingly interposed, and might easily again have been prolonged, if in *Spain*, at the expiration thereof, the counsels of those had been continued who first settled it. But the *Conde Duke*, new in Government, keeping the young King remote from affairs, took the measure of his power

power from his own opinion and pride. Hence the Treaties which for some months had run on, being by this means broken, his thought was to break out into War, vainly believing to make the glory of the Monarchy appear, if amusing *France* in the divisions of Religion, and dandling *England* with Treaties of a Marriage, he should slight all others, and at the same time molest *Italy*, overwhelm *Holland*, and triumph over *Germany*.

Spinola then having consented to a Truce in the *Palatinate*, as hath been said, marches to the Frontiers of the United Provinces, threatening many places. At last encamps his Army near to Prince *Maurice* of *Orange*, who was at *Emerich* to observe his motions, and having by a Stratagem induced him to draw a thousand men out of *Juliers*, making a shew to attack another place, turns to that, first invested by Count *Henry Vanden Berg* with six thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, and six pieces of Cannon, and afterwards by *Spinola* himself with the grofs, environed with Forts and deep Trenches. That Town, the Metropolis of the Dukedom of the same name, is commodiously situate upon the *Roer*, a little River, but in the middle betwixt the *Rhine* and *Mise*, doth not less cover *Guelthers* on that side, than opens the way which leads into the very heart of the United Provinces. *Maurice* laboured exceedingly to put relief into it; but at first waited upon by *Spinola*, afterwards hindred by a strong Circumvallation, at last drawn away by another body of men, which from *Brabant*-side threatned *Holland*, he was forced to see it rendered after some months resistance. Upon the motion of these Armies, the States sent to several Courts for succours, and demanded of the *Venetians* those disbursements, to which the League obliged, and which being comprehended in the Article stipulated of Invasion, were by the Republick accordingly paid unto them.

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The Prince of *Echemberg*, Favourite and chief Minister of the Emperour, having in the end of the year past, in the name of his Master espoused, in *Mantua*, *Eleonora Gonzaga*, Sister of the Duke, a Princess, which over and above her Portion brought rare Beauty and singular Vertue; the most convenient passage for the Bride lying through the Territory of the *Venetians* about *Trent*, she was received and defrayed by *Andrea Paruta*, General di *Terra firma*, by order of the Senate with suitable Magnificence. But at the same time the Count d'Ognate disputed in *Vienna* the Rank and Dignity with *Pietro Gritti*, Ambassadour of the Republick, denying him the same Treatment and Title, which always formerly had been practised; and although *Ferdinand*, to whom *Ognate* in other respects had made himself sufficiently odious, shewed his great dislike of it, yet the *spaniard* persisting in his conceit, the Senate was necessitated to recal their Minister, leaving at the Court *Marco Antonio Padavino* Secretary, till such time that by the alteration of affairs, minds coming to change and be pacified, they might, as after a year or two happened, send again an Ambassadour to reside there. Amidst a

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heap of so many cross things, it served for some kind of satisfaction, that in *Naples* the Vice-King, Cardinal *Zappata*, restored at last the Gallies formerly taken, with the Merchandize remaining undevoured by *Ossuna*, nothing was spoken of the remainder, nor more of the Ships; because there having been much hurt done on either side, the liquidation would have been difficult. The Admiral Ship of *Naples* was alone, as hath been said, rendred by the *Venetians*. Another molestation at Sea ceased about this time; for *Freletich*, famous for many rapines and villanies, discharged out of the *Spaniards* service, was entertained by the Grand Duke in *Ligorn*; but being weary of quiet, and hungry after pillage, enters into the *Adriatick* to attempt in the *Quarnaro*, wonted surprisals upon the Islands or Ships of *Venetians*; but being taken by the Men of War, paid at last with many of his Companions for his folly with his life. Amidst foreign relations, domestick examples, and testimonies of the well regulated Discipline of the Common-wealth must not be omitted. It is forbidden the Sons of the Dukes, for important reasons which regard that temperance, which is most necessary among Citizens, during the life of the Father, to accept Benefices of the Church.

It happened that the Pope conferred upon *Mattheo*, Cardinal *Prinli*, the Bishoprick of *Bergamo*, and he mindful of enjoying the freedom of his Country, and to uphold in his Father the chief Dignity of the Common-wealth, refused it with great applause of his Fellow-Citizens, and probably to the admiration of those who know no other Law but that of Ambition and Interest. But amidst the moderation of such an example, another above measure abominable pollutes the City: For *Antonio Foscarini* Cavalier and Senator was seen hanged upon the Gallows, upon a calumny to have held a secret Correspondence with Strangers. The fraud of some of the wickedest of men, proposing to themselves rewards, had conspired against the life of the most innocent and eminent Patricians; for as much as the Government in turbulent times calling to mind past Treacheries, and considering the present hatreds, suspicions alone were easily disguised into crimes. They addressed themselves to the Magistrate of the greatest Inquisitors of State, and dividing the parts, some of Accusers, others of Witnesses, they betrayed Justice and the Just. But this infamous Conspiracy could not last long; for the hainousness of the offence being discovered, *Girolamo Vano da Salo* and *Domenico da Venetia* as the principal suffered just punishment. *Foscarini*, by a publick declaration of his innocency, was restored, if not to life, at least to his good name, and his family to their former lustre, and from common compassion promoted to greater degrees of Honour.

And now returning to the successes of the *French* Armies, whose motion was depending also upon those of *Italy*, they proceeded against the *Huguenots* with some sort of prosperity; for that *soubize* being driven out of the Islands of *Rochele*, the King in the mouth of the Chanel planted the Fort *Louis*, which though it did not shut up the Town and Port, did nevertheless incommode, and was afterward the

the foundation of that memorable Siege. The small places of *Guyenne* and *Languedock* were all rendred, being so much the more weak as they were more numerous, whilst the *Huguenot* Party, composed of many, equal in authority no less than in interest, instead of strengthening the vital and more noble parts, applied themselves to the defence of obscure places, which at the appearance of an Army or the first Volley of shot, were obliged to yield. But gaining the Chiefs of that Faction, turned to a far greater damage. *La Force*, upon a secret promise to be created Marechal of *France* abandons it, and *Chastillon* pretending to be ill satisfied with *Roban*, retires himself. *Dedignieres* declaring himself Catholick, obtained by it the Charge of Constable, which is the highest in the Armies; whereupon by example and other benefits magnifying his own advantages, he drew many that considered, such notable rewards were not to be had from other than the King. A Peace therefore with the *Huguenots* being procured by the Ambassadors of *England* and *Venice*, to the end the King might apply himself to foreign occurrences, was diverted, the endeavours, besides the allurements of present advantages, of the Apostolick Nuntio who wholly opposed himself against it, the artifice of the Ministers of *Spain* who craftily nourished the division, and the judgment of the Prince of *Conde*, who with great aversion to the belief, in which he was born, implacably solicited the War prevailing. But to the affairs of the *Valleline*, the greatest stop was put by the inclination of *Monsieur de Pisseux*, Secretary of State, who succeeded to *Luynes* in the favour, shewing himself irreluctant in business, instant in his word, and in all things a Minister of greater cunning than ability. He professed great respect to the *Spaniards*, and in the affairs of the *Grisons* published himself above measure solicitous to terminate them by Negotiation; but particularly with ambitious designs and hopes imbarcking in the pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, he procures the Expedition of the Ambassador *Monsieur de Sillery*, his Uncle, to *Gregory*, and assents so much the more willingly, that the seat of all that management should be in that City. Amidst these considerations the business languished, and if upon the attempts of the Governour of *Milan* and of *Leopold*, any complaint and threatening came forth from King *Lewis*, it quickly cooled again, being deluded by new projections; for the *Spanish* Ministers making the tumultuary motions of the *Grisons* the excuse of their Conquests, the Negotiation in *Madrid* being turned topsy turvy, referred the Treaty to the Court of *Rome*, where the common Father residing, the Mediator of Peace, the Prince, who, for what concerned Religion, had the greatest interest, shewed them selves always ready to execute whatsoever he, for the good and security of the same, should prescribe.

At the same time the business came to be disturbed by new Propositions; for in *Madrid* the *French* Ambassadors consents to a certain Writing to deposite the Forts in the hands of the great Duke of *Tuscany*, and although at the beginning in *France* they seemed to oppose it, because it made a rent in the first Treaty, the insinua-

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An.Dom. 1622. tions nevertheless of the Marquess of Mirabel, Ambassadour of Spain, prevailed above the considerations of that of the Venetians, which shewed the confounding of the business and the delusion of the Proposition; so that it was accepted with a change only of the person, trusted into, the Duke of Lorrain, as more acceptable to the French. In Spain, time, mens minds, and the business being tired out with such kind of proceedings, Feria in Milan precipitates himself with so much the more haste, to conclude with some Ambassadors of the Grisons (those of Switzers, who were come thither to assist the weakness of the others, being excluded from the Negotiation) three Treaties, one with the Milanese, another with the Valteline, and a third with the Archduke. In which was agreed, *The Subjection of the Ten Directorships to Leopold, a perpetual Confederation with the Milanese, openness and liberty of the passages to the Spaniards, reservation of the ancient Alliance with the Crown of France, and the subtraction of the Valteline from the Sovereignty of the Grisons; in place whereof twenty five thousand Crowns were to be paid unto them.* It was difficult to discern which in these conditions was greater, the violence of Feria, or the baseness of the Ambassadors, only excusable, that to dispose of the Liberty and Dominion was not in their power. Nor did the Commonalty dare to oppose it; but being assembled in Ilants, suborned by fear and force, notwithstanding the Ministers of France protested against it, they approved every title of it. The Venetians would not alone undergo the burden of redeeming the Grisons Liberty, while France involved themselves in Treaties, but observing accidents and the issue of affairs, furnish themselves with all sorts of provisions; and the name of Mansfelt being famous for courage and a numerous Militia that depended on him, they agreed with him under the Title of General beyond the Mountains, and the yearly entertainment of twelve thousand Ducats, though he were not in actual service, that he should be obliged to come to them when necessity required, and bring them twenty five thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, which under the pay of the Republick were to be conducted by such passages and to such places, which according to opportunity should be concerted. This served to make sure of a Militia in exercise, and a General of reputation to make a diversion, if, while Rhetia were oppressed, and succours excluded, the Republick should be invaded by the Austrians.

But the affairs of the Grisons took a new aspect, though not lasting, as it usually happens, as much from the indiscreet violence of him that oppresses, as from the inconsiderate licence of a people that rise in commotion. Some of the Commons, no longer able to suffer the misery they endured, fell into a Tumult, and in their fury making use of all sorts of Weapons, with staves and stones killed the Garrisons of the Austrians. In Sciers, where the Tumult began, a hundred Foot were cut to pieces, and in Grun three hundred more, with whose Arms the Mutineers being strengthened, at Miolans a more numerous Party was slain. At the important Pals of steich towards Tirol were left six hundred men in guard, the others coming

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to Maianfelt and Coira gave such encouragement to the Inhabitants, that they constrained the Garrisons to retire into the Castles, and render themselves a little after with an obligation to set at liberty certain Grisons, which were then Prisoners in Tirol. Three hundred Souldiers that were in Castles offered to render, saving their lives, but that people would give them no other conditions but from revenge to be cut in pieces. Those of Tirol attempted to recover steich; but being repulsed, retrenched themselves in number of six hundred close to the Pals; others from other parts of Rhetia, where they were in Garrison, coming forth joyned to keep the field; but being through the knowledge of the situations over-matched by those of that Country, were obliged to give way and retire with loss. Upon so prosperous beginnings, driven on by that fury which the Spirit of Liberty suggested, the banished appeared; and although Feria employed all sorts of offices, to the end the Catholick Switzers would shut certain Passes, which are betwixt some of the Cantons where Dominion is promiscuous, the Protestants sent secretly succours, and the Venetians at the persuasions of the French Ambassadour with a greater wariness supplied some money, that they might provide themselves with Arms and Ammunition. To so great a Tumult Feria applies no other remedy but well to provide the places possessed: then having experienced more than once the advantages of a Treaty and of time, believed, that the multitude, although it should prevail in force, at last by devices of wit would easily be brought under. He then insinuates a suspension of Arms with the Archduke, Gheffier favouring it, being not yet gone out of that Country where his opinions had frequently been fatal. Some that were partial, spread it among the common people, and in the Assemblies, where the Popular triumphed with various discourses of their own prowess and their liberty regained; *That now blood and revenge had been sufficiently satisfied, that the ancient valour of Rhetia was gloriously recovered out of ignominy and slavery. That all enjoyed with applause the glory and liberty purchas'd with so much merit by a few. That a People could not render it self more considerable to Strangers, nor more dreadful to Neighbours, than to bring great Princes to be sensible of their misdoings, and oblige them to just resolutions. That now to bear them and adjust with them, a short Truce was necessary, that might somewhat allay the boiling heat of mens minds, suspend the sharpness of the War, and divert accidents which might irritate affections with prejudice, or alter the state of things to the Wars. That it was necessary also to reform the Government so much disordered by the late Commotions. And how could that be done, the Commons remaining separate, and the best Patriots with their Arms in their hands dispersed into several Posts? Of whom then were they to be afraid? The Austrians being now driven away, and Liberty recovered; neither could ought else be pretended to be done but to preserve it with good orders, and restoring the ancient Institutions. That now Autumn and the approaching Winter did persuade it; but that they ought to be doubly secured both by the season and by faith. That the Proposition came from the*

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Some were not wanting to advise them to dive into the Treachery of the Peace; That the designs of the Austrians were to cast in a Remora to warlike proceedings. That the invincible Valour of the Grisons had in many occasions been taken notice of in the field, but their credulity as much discovered in Treaties, which springing from the candor of their faith, and the simplicity of their education, leaves them more exposed to the deceivings of Wit than to the blows of the sword. That the Archduke, though busied in repelling Mansfelt, would nevertheless within a while turn his Arms and his Designs against unhappy Rhetia. To what purpose propound a Truce but to disarm the people, separate the Commons, and lull them asleep in the false security of idleness? That their Liberty, laid in wait for, could not protect it self better than by the jealousies of fraud and the force of Arms. That they should then believe themselves more secure and defended from the Austrians, when they should have more discovered them to be enemies.

Affections, as is the wont of popular Governments, prevailed much more than reasons, and those which dissented, being the few and the wiser, the multitude on the other side ignorant of that which was in deliberation; the suspension of Arms with Leopold was embraced, in that instant that Mansfelt marching towards the Low Countries left him also free from his distractions. A Meeting after the Truce being held in Lindó under the name of fully establishing the Peace, there met there the Deputies of the Archduke, those of the Grisons, the Ambassadors of the Switzers, Casati for Spain, and Molina the Interpreter of France. But while the Grisons being disbanded, rested upon the security of that Treaty, Sults, Leopolds General, invades Rhetia, and having overcome the opposition at the first Passes, though with some blood, possesses with one sudden motion both the Agnedina's, the Valley of Partenz, Tava, Majansfelt, and Coira, without that they of the Country could joyn together for their defence. Being then fallen back into their former miseries under the yoke of Arms, there was no doubt but that the Grisons would submit to the Treaty, because that of Milan was concluded and confirmed. The ten Directorships remained at the dispose of the Archduke, who obliges them not only not to permit other than the exercise of the Catholick Faith, but reserves to himself a power to plant Fortresses, displace Garrisons, and to keep them at present in Majansfelt and Coira. It was to no purpose that Molina and some Switzer Cantons made their protests against it; for the Commons of the Cadé and the Grisa having a Meeting in Coira approved all, renouncing the Treaty of Madrid, reserving to themselves no other hope but to supplicate Feria for some moderate Reformation in that of Milan.

In this manner passed this year in the Grisons, in the end whereof France began to apply more attentively its thoughts to it, being free from domestick War, having concluded a Peace with the Huguenots under the Walls of Montpellier, a strong Town of Langue-

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dock. The King in this Siege meeting with greater difficulties than supposed, and not regarding the endeavours to the contrary, although suggested with many Stratagems of Conscience and State, and slighting the aversion of Conde himself, who goes from Court and out of the Kingdom, gave his assent to it. Many of the Conditions nevertheless not being performed, which the Huguenots published were promised to them, as to dismantle the Fort Louis, not to put a Garrison into Montpellier, nor place a Citadel there; the opinion was afterwards believed, that Piseux had appealed the complaints of the Nuntio, by telling him that the Huguenots could not more easily be ruined than by assuring them, disarming them, and deceiving them. But whatsoever the intention was, sure it is, that it was judged in Italy that affairs were to change their aspect; for the King being come forward to Lions, found there the Duke of Savoy with his eldest Son, and having fully understood the proceedings of the Austrians, discovered their ends, and examined their designs extended into several parts, it was resolved to oppose them, and the Meeting being transferred to Avignon; where meeting for the King the Constable Desdiguieres, the Garde-seau, Marechal Schomberg, and Piseux; for the Venetians, Giovanni Pesari their Ambassador, and the Duke himself of Savoy in person, the means were discussed of uniting themselves, so as to employ their Forces in favour of the Grisons, and by some diversion trouble the Austrians elsewhere. The conclusion of the Articles was deferred till the next year.

The King in that interim returned to Paris, and Carlo into Piedmont. At the report only of such a Meeting, 'tis not to be believed how much the Ministers at Madrid were moved at it, who resolving to artifice to joyn threats and fear, declare to the Popes Nuntio themselves no more bound to the deposition of the Forts, protesting, That such a Rupture would arise betwixt the Crowns, that neither the Authority of the Pope would be sufficient to set it right again, nor his own life so long as to see an end of the slaughters and calamities which would follow upon it. In effect, the affairs of Rhetia could not be otherwise repaired but by puissant Forces, because they were forsaken by all, and destitute also of Mansfelt's diversion in Alsace; for, as much opportunity, as the jealousy, risen betwixt the Spaniards and Bavarians, which kept those Armies idle at the Rhine for a time, had given for his progress; so much also did their Union, which at last followed, contribute to take it away. To say truth, the successes in those parts were no less important than worthy the due observation and reflection of all Europe. Mansfelt with his Army, Adventurer, as might be said, giving a Lesson to other Captains, who have since known largely enough to make use of it, how to make it subsist without Pay and without Country, by Contributions and Pillage out of Alsace marches towards the Palatinate, publishing that he made War in the name of Frederick. He nevertheless intermitted not Treaties at the same time, and at that very instant had by him Deputies of the Infanta Isabella Governors of

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1622. *Flanders*, and had in a manner concluded with large Conditions to be created a Prince of the Empire, with the perpetual Fief of *Haghebar* for himself and his descendants, besides great sums of money, and such places in the *Spanish* Army as to be subordinate to *Spinola* only.

But behold *Frederick* now appears in this Army, having passed by reason of the length of the way through many dangers; for weary any longer to be amused and deluded with dilatory hopes, he parts from *Holland*, and in a disguise with two persons passing by Sea to *France*, from thence crosses *Lorraine*, through the midst of the *Enemies* Troops; and at one lodging meeting with some Souldiers, and feigning himself to be of the same profession, the better to conceal himself, was constrained amidst the round of the Cups to imprecate his own person. At *Landau*, where *Minselt* had a Garrison, he discovers himself; thence at *Germerheim* finds the Count himself incamped, who received him with great applause. The Marquess *Frederick* of *Dorlach*, came thither to him, who had declared himself for that Party with an Army in great order, and the Count then discharging the Deputies of the *Infanta*, they possess the Bishoprick of *Spire*, and recover *Munckim*, and other places of the *Palatinate*, giving some little blow to the Troops of *Tilli*, who attempted to oppose them. *Halverscheidt* also advanced after he had gained the City of *Paderborn*, where he solicited for Divine vengeance, exercising against the Catholics all severity with savage cruelty, extorting all their substance, exposing Churches to plunder, converting the Ornaments of Divine Worship and the Reliques of Saints into money to pay the Souldiers. Upon these proceedings were the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians* with the *Reinart* also of the Imperial Troops, obliged to joyn against the common Enemies, betwixt *Vimfen* and *Hailbrun*, upon the side of the *Necar*. On the other side by most pernicious counsel the Protestants separate, while *Dorlach* by private jarrings having made himself incompatible with *Mansfelt*, divides from him; but being scarce lodged in the Village of *Ooer-Erfsheim*, understands, that *Tilli* marched towards him, when putting himself in order in the Campagna, he environs himself with Waggon, forming a large circuit, with his Artillery in fit places marvelously well placed.

Tilli on the other side presenting battel, had ordered his Army upon a long Line, with bodies of reserve in the Reer, and with some Cannon in the Front; but receiving great hurt from those of the Enemy, his Troops were near taking flight, and abandoning the field, when a Cannon-shot falling in the middle of *Dorlach's* Squadrons, where among the Baggage was the Ammunition, with a horrible blow sets the powder on fire. The fire spread it self into all parts; and Carts, living Creatures, and Souldiers flying in a moment into the Air, fell down in ashes, with less unhappiness than they who half burnt lay in a pitiful manner roaring and bewailing themselves. It seemed surely a blow from Heaven, which in an instant destroyed whole Squadrons, and those that being further off remained touched,

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1622. touched, uncertain whether that terrible sound was a Thunder bolt, or at least a Mine, being frightened ran presently away, leaving that unhappy field covered with ashes and bones. The Catholics, animated by so happy an accident, overcoming without fighting, failed not in the flight to pursue them, with no less slaughter than that which the fire had caused. The Marquess with a few more hardly saved his life, but not his Country; for that coming to be contested by his Nephews, *Ferdinand* adjudges it to them, and the Archduke puts into possession *William* the Elder, who, having been brought up in the Court of *Flanders* in the Catholic Religion, banished immediately every other Belief. Upon the advice of so great a blow *Halverscheidt* makes haste, and with twelve thousand Foot, and more than eighty Companies of Horse arrives at *Hochst*, a small place a little below *Francfort*, upon the side of the *Main* with design, having passed the River, with speedy marches and avoiding fighting to joyn with *Minselt*, and give new vigour to that Party. But spending more time than he believed in the building of a Bridge, he saw himself overtaken by *Tilli*, who, joyned to *Cordua*, was thereby become stronger in number, & pursued him to constrain him to a battel. He, sending the Baggage with almost all the Cannon to the other side of the River, hoped to amuse the Enemy with Skirmishes, and to delude him at last, by bringing himself and the nimblest of his Troops into safety; but the *Austrians* having seized the passages, pressed him in such sort, that he could not avoid the shock.

They fought then under the Walls of *Hochst* for some hours, *Halverscheidt's* people at first making great resistance, though from twenty four Cannons, fitly placed by the Catholics, they received great loss. At last, all order being confounded, the Cavalry were the first that shewed their backs, running to the Bridge, where all being in confusion amidst the noise, flight and throng, they pressed in such sort, that the Bridge yielding under the burden brake, and many falling into the River, what with their Baggage, and what with their Arms, were drowned. All order and direction now wanting, it was no more a battel but slaughter. Men fell in heaps, and so their Horses, and every one seeking a way to escape without finding it, no man resisted longer, or delayed common danger, Fortune shewing the way of safety to very few. *Halverscheidt* himself takes the River, and little was wanting but that the Incendiary of *Germany* had been quenched. After such a defeat, being got to the other side of the *Main*, he endeavours to rally what he could of the Cavalry; for the Foot were almost all cut to pieces, and so he joyns *Minselt*, who, not at all disheartened by such blows to the common Party, carries him to the relief of *Haguenau*, besieged by *Leopold*, and where he had left his spoils and booty, and placed the very hopes of a most assured refuge. Nor did the attempt succeed ill; for the Archduke by the supposed distance and weakness of his Enemies, lodging with more security of mind than defence, advice, unlooked for, being brought to him that they were come near, sends a thousand Horse to discover, which being met by *Obentraut*, and beaten, brought

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brought back such fright and terror into the Camp, that it was raised as in a tumult with disorder and loss. The place saved, it was yet expedient for *Mansfelt* to try another Exploit for enlarging his Quarters and Provision of Victuals, that Country being already eaten up; whereupon he makes choice of *Zaverne* as fitter for his purpose than any other. The *Palatine* was all this while in his Army, serving only for a shew and a name: But King *James*, inveigled by wonted Arts, persuades him to withdraw himself; for that the meeting, to find a composition of his affairs, being brought back to *Brussels*, the *Austrians* seemed not to know how to be assured of the *Palatine*, so long as they saw him in the hands of *Mansfelt* and *Halversstadt*, their so bitter Enemies. And he also adheres so much the more willingly to that counsel, by how much he saw *Dorlach* wasteful to nothing, *Halversstadt* weakened, and *Mansfelt* (wont, as the fortune of Arms wavered, to apply himself to Treaties) was always suspected by him, lest one day he should sell him, and sacrifice him to his own interest. But he was no sooner returned into *Holland*, and by a publick Declaration, (to shew his sincerity so much the more to the *Austrians*;) discharged out of his service *Mansfelt* and his Followers; but he perceived, that from an Enemy offended and in Arms, he that had no Forces could expect but hard Conditions of Peace; for there was offered to him but a small pittance of his Country with the rest to his eldest Son after the death of *Bavaria*, on condition that he should pass from Calvinism to the Catholick Faith. But such offers being openly rejected by *Frederick* and the Ministers of the King of *England*, the business was again referred to a Diet in *Ratisbone*.

By such Negotiations Peace being retarded, the War was more vigorously prosecuted. *Heidelberg*, the ancient Seat of the *Palatines*, was by *Tilli* taken by force, and *Frankenthal* reduced by *Cordua* to extremity; so that the King of *England*, who published that he held that Country under his Protection, desiring by some appearance, though laugh at by the World, to cover the contempt, not being able to succour it, consents to a Truce of fifteen months; during which, *Frankenthal*, and the rest of the lower *Palatinate* should be deposited in the *Spaniards* hands to restore them to the King, if within that time there were not a Peace concluded. So the *English* in that state of things, contenting themselves only with a promise, abandoned, soon after, the hopes also of recovering that place, the which for many years went not out of the hand of the *Spaniards*, till the new changes of Fortune, and the times obliged them to render it. But *Mansfelt* was constrained to raise the Siege from before *Zaverne*, both because the Catholick Armies, being at liberty from the employment of the *Palatinate*, threatened to draw towards him, and that the Duke of *Lorrain*, not being willing to suffer him to nestle himself upon his Borders, was preparing to relieve it. He nevertheless at that very time, when his Martial attempts succeeded not, sets on foot a Treaty with *Tilli* in his own and *Halversstadt* name with offers to change his Party; but his artifices, now so many

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ny times discovered, were by the *Austrians* with equal arts deluded. He nevertheless with a flourishing Army, and cried up by Military men, kept himself in great reputation of equally valiant and wise, so that to strife he was earnestly pressed with offers from all parts. He inclined not, though he were invited to it by the *Venetians*, in regard of the affairs of the *Valtelline*, to pass into *Rhetia*, apprehending that, amidst the difficulty of the Passes and the Straights of the Mountains, he might consume that Army which was accustomed with great spoils to maintain it self in the spacious Provinces of *Germany*; but he equally hearkened to the instances of the *Huguenots* of *France*, who with cries and provocations of Religion called him to their succours, and to those of the States of *Holland*, who with equal motives of their Religion, with greater recompence, sued to him for assistance.

At last not being able to subsist longer in *Alsacia*, whilst the Armies of *Tilli*, *Cordua*, and *Leopold* flanked upon him, and reflecting, that with the *Huguenots* it was rather to maintain a broken Faction than a settled Principality, he resolves to go into *Holland*. It was therefore necessary to keep his intention secret, and deceive with many various reports and divers marches, as he did: For having with great artifice disarmed the Duke of *Lorrain*, who expected nothing like it, of a sudden he marches into the middle of his Country, and in revenge that he had disturbed him in the Enterprize of *Zaverne*, put it into so great confusion and fright with such bitter losses, that the Duke was constrained to give him passage, furnish him with Victuals, and persuade him to vent that Military storm elsewhere. Nor did the Count fail; for the licence of his Souldiery being satiated in *Lorrain*, he enters into the Bishopricks of *Verdun* and *Metz* with such terrour to the neighbouring Countries, that *Paris* it self was in a fright, whilst the King, by reason of the War with the *Huguenots*, was so far off. The Duke of *Nevers*, Governour of *Champagne*, by all sorts of fair means and promises endeavours to stop him; and he, to say truth, bating those licences, which to an Army that had no other livelihood but rapine he was necessitated to permit, he restrained it as much as he could. Fear therefore entered into the Provinces of *Flanders*, towards whom it now appeared the march was directed, and the *Infanta* with no less solicitude endeavours to keep him afar off, sending as far as to the *Pont a Monson* the Duke of *Bornoville*, who with large offers was to persuade him to divert some whither else, or to inroul himself under the *Spanish* Colours. Certainly it was wonderful to consider, that an Army, new raised and mercenary, without the Authority of Princes, and without the Protection of Dominion, driven out of *Germany* after having overrun it, and in a great measure laid it waste, should now be the Scourge of *Lorrain*, the Fear of *France*, the Terror of *Flanders*, be paid by many, intreated by all, and every where most earnestly desired.

But whilst this fury of War in so many places either laid waste or threatened, discord slides into its bowels, *Halversstadt* upon great discontent separating, who being solicited by the Duke of *Bonillon*, inclined

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inclined to assist the *Huguenots*. Little wanted but that the common Souldiers, according to the animosity of the Chiefs, at variance also amongst themselves, had not fallen to kill one another, and with intestine Arms expiated the offence and the excesses till now committed. But at last foreseeing in their disunion their destruction, and considering that the flatteries and propositions of *Never*s, by gaining time, had served so to arm the Frontier, as to be able to make a strong resistance; the Commanders and the Troops reconciled amongst themselves, and leaving as in trust, under the faith of the Governour of the place, the Cannon in the Suburbs of *Monsion*, burning many Carriages, to set a greater number of men on Horseback, he continues his march with haste. And it was now necessary for him to hasten it, because *Cordua*, solicited not only by the *Infanta*, but also by the *French*, was come to *Ivoy* in *Lutsemburg* to cross him in his way, but with a strength inferior, not exceeding ten thousand Foot and five thousand Horse; so that at the first Encounter of *Mansfelt*s Horse, who confidently ravaged the Country, he received a little blow. But a while after, re-inforced by the Colonel *Verdugo*, whom *Spinola*, without abandoning the Siege of *Bergopzoom* sent to his relief (the Armies now being near an equal strength) they straitened one anothers victuals and march in such sort, that they could not now say nay to the battel. So that at *Fleury* in the Province of *Hennault* they presented themselves to it.

Mansfelt calling the Chiefs and principal Commanders of the Army to him, to encourage them says, *If out of our Country and from quiet, Glory and Reward have brought us hither through so many Countries, amidst infinite dangers, the occasion presents here in this field an abundant harvest. We the Restorers of the Liberty of Europe; we the Desires of great Princes; we the Contemners of sufferings and of dangers, follow through every Climate the Star of Military Fortune. Hitherto I have by wisdom and force conducted you in safety through the hatred of the greatest Potentates, the snares of so many Treaties, and from betwixt the jaws of so many Armies. The rest I now commit to your own Valour.* *Cordua* here waits upon us, a General in so many Encounters in Germany out-witted by us; and an Army more than once in the Palatinate beaten by us, overcome, and chased. And now laden with the spoils of that unhappy Country, it seems they have reserved them for us; for they shall be ours, if we will shew our skill in fight, and have a mind to overcome. But why do I speak of the spoils of an Army or a Country, when the most rich and plentiful Provinces of Europe shall remain your prey? All those that obey the King of Spain stand here exposed; we shall rest our weariness in more abundant Quarters; with present glory we shall console the memory of dangers past, we shall enrich poverty it self with the plenty and contributions of most large and fruitful Countries. The Hollanders will then keep their word as to our reward, and the Spaniards remain our prey and spoil. My self your General in name, am in sufferings your Companion, and in fight your fellow souldier; I shall not spare my self in this Encounter; my heart, my tongue, my hand, shall labour by concert. Other part of the Victory I pretend

pretend not for my self but reputation and well deserving; for I aspire to nothing but that death it self, which into its bosom gathers the obligation of all, should leave me upon my sepulchre a Record of Glory. I should do wrong to your Courage, if over and above vast recompences, I should particularize to you the necessity of fighting. You perceive very well that we are environed on all sides in the heart of the Enemies Country. Whether can we have a secure retreat, or where a safe refuge? without Country, without money, in this Army alone and the strength of your Arms we have Kingdoms and Treasures. As we are now armed, we are the Scourge of Princes, and the Terror of Europe; if overcome, we shall be named with infamy, proscribed by the Austrians, and cursed by all. In sum, there being no Sanctuary betwixt Victory and Death, we must either be beaten, or get the Victory.

While he was thus speaking, *Cordua* on the other part failed not, riding round his Army, to put some in mind of the Honour of the Nation, others of the defence of their own Country, and all of the duty to Religion, and the Kings Service. But now the Cannon henceforward silenced words. *Cordua* had disposed seven in three places. *Mansfelt* had but two, and therefore it behoved him with a speedy march to hasten to the shock; but at the same instant he commanded them to move, he found that in mercenary Armies and composed of Volunteers, many pretended to be equal, if not superior, to their Chief. All had not the same motives to fight, nor the same interest to overcome. Part therefore of the Horse mutining stood still instead of going to the Charge, demanding Pay. The Counts intreaties or reasons, nor that calling some by their names he put others in mind of their notable actions, and shewed to all, that in the necessity of fighting were placed vast rewards, and in Victory their pay and rest, prevailed not, but that they stood immoveable Spectators of the Battel. Nor could he now refuse it, but with an Army weakened in number and spirit, he resolved to enter into it with so great valour and such prudence, that greater courage or better conduct could not be desired from himself. In the left Wing *Halverstadt* maintained the fight with his Horse so long till his Arm being broken with a Buller, which was afterwards cut off, he was obliged to yield to the pain and the Enemy. In the right one the Dukes of *Weimar* and the Count of *Ortenberg* were killed. The Cavalry then which remained faithful, wanting their Chiefs, quit the field, leaving the Foot, which for the most part was cut to pieces on the place. And *Cordua*, although he had the Cannon and Baggage of the Count, with the name of a Victory, received a great blow, nor could he so suddenly repair himself as to follow him; whereupon *Mansfelt* gathering up the remainder, which were not a few, and the Mutineers joyning again with him, who at last saw themselves in the same danger, marches through *Brabant* with seven thousand Horse. Count *Henry Vanden Bergh*, who was to have stopped his passage, returning too late from *Frisland*, where he amused the *Hollanders* with a diversion; by this means the Count had free liberty to joyn himself with the Prince of *Orange*, and attempt

An.Dom. 1622. tempt the relief of *Berghopzoom*. *Spinola*, ever since the month of July, had besieged the place, and by reason of the importance of it, Forces not unequal were employed both in the Siege and in the Relief. It is situate on the right side of a Chanel of the *scheld*, where beneath *Antwerp* it divides it self into several branches, and terminates, or rather confounds the Confines of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Brabant*. Nature there scarce leaves the Land to be distinguished from the Sea: At one time it is covered with the Sea, and at another it remains dry. Heaps of Sand discover themselves in some places, and Gulphs of hidden Moors deepen in others; and the Chanels being many, and the Sea-walls every where continued, it looks as if the Waters travelled by Land, and the Fields sailed by Sea. The *Zoom*, a small River, made famous from the place, rises and runs on that side, and being received in an artificial Chanel in a straight and short course, is carried into the *scheld*. The place is of an irregular form and unsafe; of it self little, but enlarged with many Out-works, and that with so many advantages of situation, and such industries of invention, that perhaps for the well fortifying of another place, Nature and Art have not made a strength greater. Not far distant Forts, like so many Islands, do in all places appear, either where the Chanels run, or where the Country is overflowed, or the passage is open for Supplies and the Commerce with neighbour places.

Spinola in this one place had many to conquer; and therefore the Circumvallation was ordered with great Art. The chief Quarters were distributed where there was a height betwixt low and marshy places, the rest was environed with a continual Trench fortified with Forts and Redoubts. The approaches were carried on where the soil permitted, and the standing waters in some places served equally as a defence of the security of the Camp. About certain Half-moons and other Out-works, there were incessant fightings and assaults, often taken and re-taken with great slaughter. All inventions might be said to conspire against the life of man: Cannon was not sufficient, but Treacheries were hidden under ground with Mines and Fire. Some were met with by the besieged, others had no effect, many carried men and earth into the air, and so resolute was the defence and the attack, that the Garrison, being strong and numerous, defended the Posts, recovered them when lost, formed new ones, and assaulted those of the *Spaniards* with so much force and boldness, that it could not sometimes be distinguished who was the aggressor and who the aggrieved. *Spinola* could not totally shut up the way of relief, because the Sea, Rivers, and Chanels kept it open, and they were kept by the *Hollanders* by a multitude of Forts; and sometimes they laid the Country under water, and then let it run off again in such sort, that the *Spaniards* frequently suffered shipwreck in their Posts, sometimes they were seen besieged by an Inundation, and at others, buried in the mud. Nevertheless enduring all inconveniences with great resolution, and overcoming dangers with force, *Spinola* would at last, if a general succour had not arrived,

arrived, taken the place; but by the coming of *Mansfelt*, *Orange*, increased in strength, reputation, and courage, encamps at *Gertrudenberg*, and making a shew to attempt its Relief by Land, sent it happily by Sea with so great a number of men, that the Garrison amounting to ten thousand Souldiers, he threatened by a double assault to drive the *Spaniards* by force out of their Camp. *Spinola* finding himself with an Army in a great measure sick, the rest wearied out, and some so much suspected by him, that he feared a Mutiny in his Quarters, and intelligence with the Enemy, thought best to retire.

In this interim, *Mansfelt* being absent, all the lower *Palatinate* was forced to submit, and the Town of *Hagbenau*, with the Cities of *Spire*, *Germerheim*, and other places, easily yielded to *Leopold*. Amidst such multitudes of men slain, it served for a kind of breathing and security to Christendom, that the Enemies of it, with equal fury and examples not usual, were busied amongst themselves. The *Turks* have nothing of moderation; either they adore their Princes as Gods, or kill them like Tyrants. *Osmán*, a very young man, was Emperour of that vast State, who by unhappy success in the War of *Poland*, frustrated of that Glory, which he had fancied to himself, was much unsatisfied with the *Janissaries*, to whom alone he imputed the fault of his ill Fortune, for having shewed themselves as cowardly in the field as fierce and insolent in the Court. After a Peace concluded upon Terms little honourable, he published that he would make a Voyage to *Mocha*, under a shew of zeal to Religion, but believed by many mingled with a youthful weariness of remaining so very long and idle at *Constantinople*. Others judged, that he concealed a deeper design to remove the *Janissaries* from the Court, bring them into *Asia*, and there amidst a greater force of the *Spahies* their Envyers, disarm and disband them, and form a new Militia. The Baggage was shipping in the Gallies; Tents and store of Treasure were carried along to serve in the Voyage, and honour the Sepulchre of that Impostor with vast Presents, when the *Janissaries* one to another began to discourse of the fatigue and hardships to which, in so long a Pilgrimage, they were going to be exposed, and of the conveniences they left behind, the further they went, and the more divided they were, the more exposed to the hatred and cruelty of the King, more apprehended than any other hazard. Upon this from whispering in their Quarters, they fell quickly into a tumult; and a few beginning, but all following, they came into the place of the *Hippodromo* to the number of thirty thousand persons; from thence one part runs to the House of the *Coza* (who was the Kings School-master, and thought to be the Promoter of the Voyage,) but finding him not, exposed it to pillage; the rest halted to the *seraglio* with loud cries, requiring the heads of the *Vizir*, of the *Cheslar*, and of the *Coza*. They within wanted force, and had they had it, counsel. The principal persons, who with authority and friendliness might have opposed the enraged multitude, were the very object of their hatred, and were demanded that they might tear them to pieces. Nor did the Kings Proclamation to retract the

Age prevail any thing; for Tumults not ceasing commonly those satisfactions which serve for a pretext, it had been far from depending that people, if a great Rain interpreted by the superstitious Rabble for a sinister Prediction, had not separated them. He might probably might have allayed that heat, if some of those of the Law, venerated with a blind ignorance by the Vulgar, had not stirred up the Soldiers anew, declaring *Osman* fallen from the Empire, for that by sacrilegious actions he had violated the *Alcoran*.

The *Janissaries* then casting off all respect towards their Prince, flinging stones at their *Aga*, who put them in mind of their Oath and Fidelity, denying *Cassain Bassa*, who to quiet them, offered three hundred thousand *Zecchins*, forcing the *Seraglio*, though during that night, extraordinarily guarded, kill at the first entry certain Eunuchs with *Chiffur Aga* their Chief, and sought after *Mustapha*, Uncle to *Osman*, who formerly had served a short space rather for a mockery than the Head of that Empire: he that would not, or could not show where he was, they presently as in punishment of silence or ignorance cut off their heads. Getting down at last by signs into a Cellar under ground, they found him by order of his Nephew there, in a manner buried and little less than dead; for they had kept him two days already without meat; so that to the cries of making him Emperour, he answered, desiring at least a few drops of water as the price of the Empire. But he was scarce settled in the Throne but he shewed himself equally thirsty of *Osman's* blood. He had basely hid himself; but being found when it was very late, and committed to the custody of the *Eustangi Bassa*, he was afterwards conducted to the house of the *Aga* of the *Janissaries*, where *Cassain Bassa* only was. In many anger yielded to compassion, considering that young Prince, King by birth, made Suppliant to Fortune, and he improving that compassion with his interest, offered to the *Janissaries* fifty *Zecchins* a head. Some now relented, and the Chiefs consulted about the means to preserve him and re-establish him in the Throne, when the furious multitude taking him out of their hands, presented him to *Mustapha* in the *Seraglio*. *Osman* with tears begs his life of his Uncle, putting him in mind of gratitude for having, contrary to the custom of the *Ottoman* Emperours, preserved him for the Empire. But the *Barbarians* making Destiny guilty and Author of their villanies, *Mustapha* excuses himself, saying, that he knew he had oftentimes decreed his death, but that God would not permit it. Left then in prey to the *Janissaries*, and conducted to the seven Towers, amidst the concourse and execrations of the people, who having, during his Reign, endured all kinds of calamity, Hunger, Pestilence, and War, detested him as the fatal occasion of their evils, his Head was cut off. *Delivert grand Visir*, in this interim fled; but taken at *Scutari*, and brought back to *Constantinople*, he was killed, with his blood and a few others of the chief Ministers, and the pillaging of some house, the Tumult ceasing. Nevertheless *Mustapha*, destinated to frequent passages from a Prison to a

Throne,

Throne, remains not long upon the Stage; for his incapacity by new experience being confirmed, he was anew deposed, and *Amurath*, Brother of *Osman*, being very young, was assumed to the Crown. He sends to *Venice Mustapha Chians* with wonted respects of friendship and peace, and the Republick corresponded, as usual, by sending *Simeon Contarini*, Cavalier and Procurator, Ambassador Extraordinary to his Court.

A N N O M. DC. XXIII.

Bohemia being not alone, but the Imperial Crown, the object and reward of the War which inflamed *Germany*, the *Austrians* rejoiced so much the more in the Victories they had gotten, by how much with the spoils of the *Palatine*, having taken away a Vote from the Protestant, the Empire seemed to be confirmed in their Family and the Catholick Party. The *Pope* with motives of Religion pressed, that the *Electorate* might be disposed of, and recommended *Bavaria*, not only a Kinsman in blood to the proscribed *Palatine*, but worthily deserving it for his piety; promising also great assistances, if it should be necessary to maintain the disposal and decree by Arms. Nor was *Ferdinand* against it, but rather found himself engaged in his word and interest for *Maximilian*; and he by the almost entire possession of both the *Palatinates*, by his own Forces and those of the Catholick Ligue, made himself so much considered and almost feared, that it was not easie to dispose of it to another. The Emperour was very earnest to get out of his hands by this change the Upper *Austria*, which *Bavaria* held engaged for thirteen millions of Florins, which in subduing the Rebels he affirmed to have spent; but great difficulties crossed his desires.

The Protestants were enraged, and in particular *Saxony*, vexed besides at the Reformation of Religion, which was practised in *Bohemia*; many had compassion of the calamities of the *Palatine* and the innocence of his Children, and not a few pretended to be sharers in his ruine. But the most considerable opposition rose from the *Spaniards*, who irritated, that *Bavaria* had by Arms possessed himself of a part of the Lower *Palatinates*, openly opposed *Ferdinand's* intentions, and that with a pretext, that it was not fit so publicly to offend the King of *England*; and with reasons besides, that it was not convenient to set him up so high, who might one day dispute the Empire with the *Austrians*; but that resolving to maintain the Investiture by Arms, it was better to come to extremities, and bestowing it upon some of their own Kindred, to advance the greatness of the Family with an Electoral Vote. But the Emperour aiming to recover his own, and to amuse those of both Religions in the Empire, sends to *Saxe* the Archduke *Carlo*, his Brother, to persuade and appease him, and into *Spain*, some Religious persons to represent motives by which he was induced and in a manner forced to resolve.

They happened at this time the sudden Voyage of *Charles* Prince of *England* to the Court of *Spain*, which put into admiration all

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Europe, doubtful which was greatest, the artifice on the one side in soliciting it, or the happiness on the other in performing it. In Madrid, Digby resided Ambassador for King James, so much enamoured with such a Negotiation, that proposing to himself great rewards, according to his desires and proper interest, he continually represented facility and safety. The project consisted on the one side of promises to restore the Palatine into his Country and Vote, and on the other, of a connivance, or rather assistance to oppress the United Provinces of Holland. There resided then in London for the Catholick King the Count of Gondomar, who with a stupendous acuteness of wit so confounded pleasant things with serious, that it was not easie to be discerned when he spoke of business, and when he rallied. He had marvellously possessed the mind of the King, and the inclination of the Prince, and so insinuating himself into the hopes and inclination of both with mysterious speeches and facetious discourses, he perswades him in earnest to resolve, that Charles himself *incognito* should surprise them at Madrid to conclude the Marriage, and bring back the Bride to London. The Prince then parting in great silence, passes disguised by Post through France, accompanied by few others, but the Duke of Buckingham, Director of the whole Affair, and who with an unusual example enjoyed no less favour from the King in being than from the Prince his Successor. Not many resolutions haply are to be found which made a noise equal to this. Of a Prince that was foreseeing to a wonder, who was over-shadowed with jealousy; the people made it their discourse, and the English more than any murmured at it; the only Son of the King, the Heir of the Kingdom, hazard himself in such a long Voyage, carry himself as an Hostage, rather than a Spouse; to a Court of contrary Maxims of Religion and State humbly to supplicate for a Wife. Most men would not be perswaded but the business was concluded; so that many discourses were made of secret Alliances, and the Protestants feared it, nay some of the Catholics themselves no less suspiciously apprehended it, Bavaria in particular doubting lest the Country and Dignity, in favour of the Marriage, should be restored to Frederick; and France was jealous, lest if Great Brittain should adhere to the Austrians, their Power in Europe would be without a balance. In England the Hereticks were afraid, lest the King, inclined to change Religion, to effect it with greater security had a mind to support himself by the Forces and Countenance of great Princes, and the Catholics rejoiced, hoping by such a Marriage for Liberty of Conscience and security for their lives. In Ratisbon, where the Diet was assembled, the Spanish Ambassadors pretended, that without disposing of the Electorate, the Emperour should at least stay to see the issue of this Voyage, and of so great an Emergency.

But those of the Popes party and the Bavarians with unusual incessant instances pressed him to declare himself, and end the business. Notwithstanding then that the major part of the Empire were of opinion, that the Authority did not belong to the Emperour alone

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in a matter of so great importance to deprive an Elector, and at his own pleasure to make choice of another, Ferdinand calling the Clergy apart and some others of the principal Ministers, declared to them his resolution, not asking counsel; but shewing, *That so important a Dignity, which participated in the conservation of the Empire, could not be so vacant. That Frederick by Rebellion and so many other offences had made himself unworthy of it. That Bavaria, who was of the same House Palatine, for his piety and services done to the Empire did as much deserve it. That the reasons of the Pretenders, among which was the Duke of Neoburg of the same stock, could not at present, they being far off, be discussed; and therefore he referred them to another Diet. That in the mean time, by the Authority exercised by his Predecessors in like cases, he did invest Maximilian with the Electoral Dignity.* Some applauded and approved; others silently adhered by force, the Protestants in vain pondering to resent it; in regard the power of Ferdinand and the felicity of the Catholick Arms curbed the wills of the factious, and no less abated the thoughts of the disobedient. Bavaria had no sooner obtained his purpose, but begins to consider of the means to preserve the Dignity, as differing from those Arts by which he had gotten it; and being always mindful of the jealousy and opposition of the Spaniards, seeks new strengthnings against their envy and force. He sent into France frequent and secret Messengers to support himself by that Crown, and to shew himself partial to their advantages and interests; because he believed, that to a Party emulating the Austrians it would be a Complement; that he should remain in possession of the places taken upon the Rhine, to hinder the Spaniards from inwarding themselves further into the Empire. Whereupon, not separating himself in the union of Forces from Ferdinand, he was at work with new Treaties, and forming stronger friendships. It was just about this time, not without the Austrians jealousy, discovered, that he had sent to London certain Religious persons, of which sort he willingly made use for less observation and charge, in disguised habits, with many Propositions to King James, that he would unite himself to that Party of the Catholics in Germany, of which Maximilian himself was Head, to the end certainly to oppose himself against the designs and authority of the Spaniards. But those practices had no effect, because in the conclusion of them Maximilian gave it to be understood, that he would not part with the Electorate; but being without Children, and almost out of hope to have any, he offered the possession of it after his death to the eldest of those of the Palatine, provided he were brought up in his Court, and in the Catholick Faith, with a promise to obtain for him one of the Emperours Daughters to Wife. All these Propositions were by the English and Frederick rejected; because, besides the change of Religion, they contained but uncertain and remote hopes.

From these foreign occurrences, reflections fell back again to the affairs of Italy, where was contending on all sides with tricks of wit to arrive at their pretended advantages. The League projected in

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France at the latter end of the year past, was in the beginning of this present concluded without much difficulty, the interest of the Contractors concurring, it may be said, of themselves, because the *Venetians* thought not themselves strong enough to restore the Affairs of the *Grisons* without help of the Crown of France; and that knew an Union necessary with the *Venetians*, who alone by their nearness could furnish to any undertaking Victuals, other Necessaries, and Cannon. The Duke *Carlo* was then desired to be of the Party, both for his courage and reputation, and by reason of the situation of his Countries; besides the advantage of keeping him out of the our Party, well knowing that he would not have been able idly to look upon a War so near him without adhering to one side, and making his profit by it. It was then agreed, That the League should last two years, and what more need should require for procuring a restitution of places taken in the *Valteline* and *Grisons*; proposing to themselves, to form the body of an Army of between thirty and forty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, and they divided by an even proportion; a third to every one of the Princes united, but of those, assigning betwixt fifteen and eighteen thousand of them to France; ten or twelve thousand to the Republick; and eight thousand to Savoy, each to raise them as soon as might be, and send them to their own Frontiers. The Cannon were to be furnished by those that were nearest at a common charge, according to the rating of the Forces.

It was further concerted, To procure Mansfelt to make a diversion of the Austrians, giving him three hundred thousand Crowns yearly, the half to be paid by France, two thirds of the rest by the Republick, and what remained by Savoy. In case of Invasion, the others were to send half their men to the assistance of the assailed, to which the Treaty obliged; and if the Confederates should only shew willingness to Peace, and remain only dejenive, they referred to another Treaty the consideration of dividing the Conquests, when, forced to Hostility, they should happen to make any.

The *Switzers* were invited to enter into this League; but the Catholics, prepossessed in a particular Diet, by the endeavours of the *Nuntio* and Ambassadour of Spain, raised so many difficulties in the general one of all the body of the *Helvetians*, that, although some understood that their interest was highly concerned in it, nevertheless in their accustomed delays they let the Proposition fall. The Treaty was no sooner concluded, but Duke *Carlo*, well acquainted with the liberality of the Republick, earnestly solicited them by the Marquess of *Lantz*, sent to them Ambassadour Extraordinary, to supply him with the means to raise and maintain the Soldiers, which the League laid upon them. But the *Venetians* considering that the burden was divided by an equal ballance, according to each ones ability, and that, by reason of their nearness to the *Valteline*, they were to bear the hazard and greatest burden of the War, and besides, by reason of the long Frontier with the *Austrians*, were obliged to a more careful defence, did not hearken to the instances of

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of the Duke, who seemed more concerned in Conquests and advantages than in dangers.

As to *Minsfelt*, from France was sent into *Holland* (where the Count then was) *Monsieur de Monteró*, and from the Duke *Monsieur di Bos*, *Christopher Suriano* supplying for the Republick, who resided with the States, inviting him to make War in the *French Country*, supposed the fittest place to cut off communication of succours betwixt *Italy* and *Flanders*, and also to be near *Rhetia*, as an Army of reserve, if any ill accident should happen. And for this purpose they advance some months pay to him. The Count, who by such art subsisted in credit, shewing a readiness to march, not without the *Spaniards* apprehending, that to this League might adhere other Princes, made jealous or provoked by them, and particularly the *Italians*, the most disgusted, although the most patient. They therefore apply with greater earnest to protect their interest with the Banner of Religion, imploying all art chiefly to gain the Pope, under whose Skirt they did not only hope to preserve the *Valteline* from War, and induce the Confederates to reason, but settling themselves in the present advantages, by this means obtain yet greater.

To interest then *Gregory* in this cause, they offer to deposite the Forts of the *Valteline* in his hands, magnifying their intentions to quiet, and considering, That postponing their own conveniencies and the possession, so much the more just, by how much it proceeded from invitation and a voluntary resignation of the people, it appeared, that not the desire of dominion, nor the ambition of the Country, nor the designs to oppress *Italy*, but the sole consideration of Religion had induced them to protect it. That they resigned it to the common Father of Princes, to the Guardian of Religion it self, to the end, that the jealousy of the Catholics being quieted, the fierceness of the Hereticks restrained, he might prescribe rules to holy Worship, and to Italy convenient security, whilst the King would not depend but upon his Arbitrement, and with mounted zeal to his judgment, and the good of the Church, imploy the power of all his Dominions, where no other but the true Religion reigned.

In *Rome* the opinions and counsels upon an offer of such importance were wavering; for some, penetrating into the Mysteries of Policy, did not approve, that either the power of the Church, or the Authority of the Pope should be so far engaged, that the professed Neutrality and Mediation should run a hazard. They well knew, that if the trust was accepted, Peace was not to be hoped for; because, if betwixt the Crowns there should happen any agreement of restoring all things to their former estate, no man could see with what decency the *Valteline* could pass through the hand of the Pope back to the Hereticks, its first Masters; it being not fit that he should subscribe with the Protestants to reciprocal limitations, cautions, and conditions. On the other side, if with the fast band of Religion, he should be willing to continue in the possession, how could he ever hope for the consent of the Confederates, who pretended to right themselves by Arms. Will they (said they) be terrified with an empty

An.Dom. 1623. name and Authority without force, and at the sight of the Popes Standard, which upon the first Invasion must implore assistance from Feria, and under the shadow of the power of the Spaniards repair themselves of their losses and wrong? Will Gregory then in the utmost of his life cut off Peace betwixt his Children, making himself a Party, and leave to his Successor a lamentable Inheritance of War and Troubles. And take it for granted, that the Confederates would suffer it, the Protestants yet were not like to endure it; but at the name alone of the Ensigns of the Church would come down in Troops to oppose them. That Helvetia was near; the Princes of the Empire not yet suppressed; Massfelt had his Arms in his hands; all greedy, and longing to over-run Italy, and mischief the most sacred Seat of Religion and the Apostolate.

The offices of the Confederates joyned their assistance to these apprehensions, and in particular the Venetians, who, sending Girolamo Soranzo Cavalier, Ambassadour Extraordinary to Rome, dissuaded the Pope from lending his Name and Authority to the Interests of Spain. But he, environed by his Nephews, and they gained by Spain with Benefices, Pensions, and the Marriage of the Princess of Venosa, Vassal of the Monarchy, believed that the Princes made such a noise only to fright him, and that at the appearing of his Colours all their Arms out of veneration would fall out of their hands, there remaining to him, as an ornament to his Name and a Crown upon his Sepulchre, the glorious Memorial of Peace preserved, and Religion protected. The trust then was accepted by him, upon condition, that a Treaty of Agreement betwixt the two Kings should be pursued, and when without the Spaniards being in fault, it should not be concluded, that the Forts should then be restored to them again. This being treated in Rome, Feria persuades the Grisons, under pretext of moderating the Articles heretofore concluded, to send to him new Ambassadours, to bind so much the faster the knots of servitude and dependance. Leopold raises at Steib a very good Fort, and there was published an Investiture of the Emperour, which granted to the House of Trivultia, according to a certain pretension they had, the Valley of Musocco. The French shewed themselves much moved, that before a Resolution taken upon the Deposition, Gregory had not expected the sense of that Crown upon it. But in the counsel opinions were divided according to affections, some voting to break off all Treaty, and with a sudden march of Troops hinting to the Popes meddling, and the execution of the Trust it self. Others were of opinion, that the Deposition should be approved with certain limitations and reserves, and those counsels taking place which squared with the favour; for Pisseux was Author of them, in whose inclinations, both in Rome and Spain, were grounded their greatest hopes, it passed so.

It was then by the French declared, That the Deposition should remain until the end of July (it was now the month of May) within which time, the Forts being demolished, and all restraints upon the Grisons and Armies removed which did oppress them, affairs should be restored to their former state, which not being performed, the League should

should supplicate the Pope to joyn himself to their Arms, thereby to obtain the effect. Before such opinions were represented to the Pope, the Spaniards, getting notice of them, proceeded to hasten the Deposition with so much precipitation, that notwithstanding the indisposition into which Gregory was at that time desperately fallen, the Cardinal Lodovico orders, that the Duke de Fiano, the Popes own Brother, with fifteen hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse should march towards Milan. He being a person of most sottish parts, with the assistance nevertheless of some of better abilities, served only to make surer the engagement, and to conciliate some respect to those Troops. But being arrived in the Valley, he found that the people fearing to fall under another Dominion than that of Spain, to the number of two thousand, took Arms and resolved to oppose him; but all obstacles being removed by the authority of the Governor of Milan, he enters into the Forts, Feria himself furnishing Ammunition and Victuals, and keeping besides with his own Garrisons those of Chiavenna, Riva, and Bormio; Fiano nevertheless returns presently to Rome, leaving in the Valley for the command of the Troops Niccolo, one of the Marquesses of Bagni, and at Milan Monsieur Scappi to reside with the Governour. In the mean time, at Rome the Ambassadour Sillery, preventing those Orders which the Ministers of Venice and Savoy expected, performs himself alone the Commissions of the Court to the Pope, changing them, instructed (as was believed) by Pisseux, by approving the Deposition without limitation of time, and without the requiring of those things which the Collegiates were to demand; but by adding only an intreaty for the speedy demolishing the Forts and restitution, with those conditions for Religion which Gregory should prescribe.

Before the Pope could answer hereupon, God, upon the 8. of July, calls for him for the deposition of his life, after having held rather than exercised a little more than two years the name and authority of the Apostolate. A Pope that in matters of Religion left a fame of much zeal, employed with great applause in Wars of Germany, and spread abroad by the Congregation by him founded, for propagating Faith amongst the Barbarians. On the other side, as to business, he was taxed to have been of a mean spirit, and totally subject to the will of his Nephews, amongst which the Cardinal directed affairs with such an absolute power, that in the short time of his Uncles Pontificate procuring vast riches to his house, he minded little else but the heaping up wealth and honours. The state of Affairs and of Italy solicitously required the Election of a new Pope; nevertheless amidst so many affections and interests of Princes, and by reason of the forms, with secret scrutinies prescribed by Gregory in his Bull, it was doubted it would be long a doing.

But upon the 6. of August the Election, where opinions and minds least inclined, fell upon Maffeo, Cardinal Barberino, by Country a Florentine, of the age of fifty and six years, to the wonder of the Electors themselves, who were amazed to have deceived their own hopes by promoting a person, who for his complexion and vigour

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San. Dom. might out-live the greater part of them. He takes the name of *Urban* the Eighth with the applause of the World, by reason of the high conceit of his Learning and Ability.

And now in *Venice* to *Antonio Priuli* Duke deceased, loaden with years and deserts was substituted *Francesco Contarini* Cavalier Procurator, signal for many publick Employments, and for having undergone Embassies in almost all the Courts of *Europe* with such integrity and innocency, that nothing could be condemned in his actions, or accused in his manners. One of the first cares in his Principality was to send to *Rome* the four elected Ambassadors, according to custom, to venerate the High Priest, and they were *Francesco Erizzo* Cavalier, Procurator, *Renieri Zeno*, *Girolamo Soranzo* both Cavaliers, and *Girolamo Cornaro*, who were so much the more inflamed as *Sillery* proceeded with luke-warmness.

The Pope, to say truth, detested the engagement into which his Predecessor had put the Arms and Authority of the Church; complaining of the unseasonable charge, but found no way to get out, *Lodoviso* having strongly tied the knot both of the business and decency; that although *Urban*, by reason of employments had in that Court, was thought inclined to *France*, and in a manner partial, it was nevertheless fit to be serviceable in name to the aims and designs of *Spain*. But however time run on to the prejudice of those affairs, no man in these beginnings durst irritate or provoke the Pope; so that the *Grisons* groaned under the burden, *Leopold* continued in possession, and *Ferd*, bating the appearance, enjoyed the conveniencies and advantages which he had by the *Valtelline* proposed.

Nor did the diversion of *Mansfelt* come to any thing; for although he had received from the Confederates their money, yet believing to make War in *Germany* with more profit to himself, and being stirred up by the King of *Denmark* and the Protestants of the *Lower Saxony* was marched into the County of *Oldenburg*, and having extorted great Contributions there, leaving Garrisons in several places, had entred into *Westphalia* and the Bishoprick of *Munster*. On another side *Halberstat*, separate in Forces, but with the same ends, and with the same supplies from the Bishoprick of *Osnaburg*, threatened to advance into the *Palatinate* with thirty thousand men, most new raised, ill furnished with warlike Provisions, and with but a few Cannon. *Tilly*, inferior in number, but better provided, prevailing in Valour and military Discipline, marches speedily towards him, taking his passage through the Country of *Hassia*, mortifying the *Landgrave*, who had had the stoutness to deny it him with oppressions and contributions, and indeed terrifying with his fame the whole Protestant Union. He overtakes him in the Bishoprick of *Munster*, and doubtful whether he should go forwards towards the *Palatinate*, or bend towards *Holland*, provokes him to battle, he avoiding it with that disadvantage which he always hath who retires and gives way. Coming at last close up to him at *Bursteinfurt*, a place of no note, whilst he was marching towards *Stall* through a winding

winding way, interrupted with certain small Rivers, which forming in several places dams and ditches, gave him the opportunity to make a stand; then facing about, and leaving a strong defence there, assure both the Reer and this March. But the Catholics pressed so hard upon him, that overcoming all obstacles, and the resistance which was made them at the River *Aa*, they came at last at *Stall* upon the River *Berchel* the 6. of *August* to a general Battel, in which being defeated, leaving six thousand dead upon the place, besides four thousand which rendered themselves Prisoners, and the rest being dispersed, eighty Colours, Cannon, Baggage, and the glory of the Victory were the prey of the Conquerours. *Halberstat* then with two Companies of Horse flies into *Holland*, giving *Tilly* liberty to re take many places in *Westphalia*, in which he and *Mansfelt* had their Garrisons. *Tilly* hereupon meditates on a great design to make himself Master of *Emden*, and from thence through *Frisland* to pass into the bowels of the United Provinces of *Holland*, so to retribute to the advantage of the *Spaniards* that powerful assistance they had given *Ferdinand*; but the *Hollanders* furnished the place with all sorts of provisions, sending thither men and a Squadron of Ships of War, soliciting also *Mansfelt* for its relief, and consenting six thousand men to *Haverstadt* to repair his Army. For these reasons *Tilly*, seeing the enterprise difficult, and of a longer continuance than the approaching season of the Winter did permit, returns to take Quarters in *Hassia*.

Nor had *Mansfelt* better luck; for *Cordua*, having in *Westphalia* reduced many Garrisons of places, partly possessed by him, and partly protected by the *Hollanders*, with great facility every other place, except *Lipsit*, which made some defence, yielded. At last the Count of *Anhalt* and Colonel *Erwit* took *Mansfelt* in the Bishoprick of *Munster*, at such a disadvantage of situation and numbers; that he was wholly defeated, Heaven making War for the Imperialists with such partiality of favours, that they publicly boasted, That the justice of their cause was decided by the felicity of their successes.

The Imperialists also perswaded *Bethlem Gabor* to be quiet; for he proposing to himself either to make a short War or Peace, having obtained the *Turks* consent by the means of the Count de *La Tour*, who went to the Port for that purpose, had invaded *Hungary* and *Moravia*. But it being divulged, that *Tilly* having the fame of so many Victories his fore-runners, was coming to their relief, he retired into his own Country, and applies himself to new agreements. He had also in this year sent *Stephano Attuani*, his Minister of most trust, to *Venice*, to demand a League and assistance, but without effect; because the Senate purposed to be attentive observers of, but not be intangled in foreign occurrences so far distant from them.

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But was so much the more watchful upon the *Valteline*, experiencing now from the usurpation of the passages there, the mischiefs foreseen, whilst for recruiting their Army, and increasing their strength, in order to the fulfilling of the League, and guard themselves against the jealousies, which molested them on all sides, they had no means to bring any Souldiers but by Sea with much length of time and charge. The *Pope*, to gain time, proposed divers expedients, and above all expressed, that without re-imbursment of the charges he would not part with the trust; but the Confederates offering that with all readiness, provided he would put the Valley into their hands, to be rendred when the Forts were razed, and Religion restored to the first Owner, he remained fearful to offend *Spain*, and proposed, that of the Valley should be formed a sovereign body to be united either to the Catholick Cantons of *Helvetia*, or as a fourth League to the three of the *Grisons*.

But the Confederates, proposing to themselves the end of restoring things to their former state, judged they should be wanting to the protection promised to the *Grisons*, and nevertheless feared, lest the *Valteline*, not being able to subsist of it self, as a body apart, should uphold it self by the *spaniards*, by which means taking away the cover of the name, they should still enjoy predominancy over their minds, the convenience and liberty of the passage to the exclusion of all others. Nor could this chief interest be longer concealed; because, it being at last proposed in the name of the *Pope*, that passage through the Valley should remain free for the Souldiery of the King of *Spain*, it gave the Confederates occasion to conclude thereupon, that the subtle pretext of Religion being now removed, the Interest seemed discovered to tend to the subjecting no less of *Italy* than of *Germany*, by the uniting of Countries, and opening a door to over-run the one and the other at their pleasure. The *Pope* nevertheless persisted in what had been proposed, moderating the particular of passage, by confining it to the *Valteline*, excluding the Country of the *Grisons* and *Chiavenna*; and that, to take away jealousy from *Italy*, it should be understood only of passage from the *Milanese* for *Germany* and *Flanders*, and not from them back thither, and insisted upon it with so much urgency, that taking upon him the part of an Arbitrator, he pretended to a power to decree it, by virtue of the consent the Princes had given, that he should prescribe needful securities for the Catholick Religion, affirming withal, that to bridle the Protestants and *Hollanders*, a sudden march of *spanish* Troops was made necessary for the defence of the Low Countries and relief of the Empire; but the others considered that a door once opened to the *spaniards*, limits and ways could no more be prescribed, and that under the pretext of passage, the *Milanese* being made a perpetual place of Arms, jealousies, troubles, and apprehensions would be eternized in *Italy*. Ne-

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vertheless the Ambassadour *Sillery*, with the assistance of *Gheffier*, An.Dom. 1624. who was at that time at *Rome*, although he could not but know *France* more prejudiced than any others, both by the blow which its Confederates would feel within and without *Italy*, and the breach which would be made into that most ancient League with the *Grisons*, by vertue whereof the absolute disposition of the Passes was ascribed to them, readily consents to it, to the so much dissatisfaction of the other Princes united; that attributing all to *Pisieux*, from whose Judgment and Pen, by reason of the favour and his charge the business depended, they resolved to discover the Plot to the King himself, giving him to understand the alterations with which they had proceeded at *Rome*, from what had been concerted at *Paris*, setting at naught the Princes who were their friends, neglecting the Interests of the Crown it self, and having by a most destructive consent conducted the business to that very end which the *spanish* Ministers directed.

Concerning *Pisieux*, besides the hatred and envy, which are the wonted followers of favour, a common opinion was current, that he was not more powerful in the Kings favour, than venal in his Ministry, making use of his Authority rather for profit than honour. Being therefore not at all acceptable besides to the great men of the Kingdom, it proved no hard matter for the Ministers of the Princes, and in particular *Giovanni Pesari*, Ambassadour of the *Venetians*, by their Offices and wonted Arts to help forward the secret Intrigues of Court, which discovering themselves of a sudden, his Fortune split in a moment, the King intimating to him, that he and the Chancellor his Father should presently leave the Court.

The Marquess *de La Vieuville*, Superintendant of the Finances, took quickly possession of the favour, and in the little time he subsisted, by the Marriage with *England*, and other means, laid the foundations of those contrivances, perfected afterwards by his Successor with great felicity. But the affections of the King towards Favourites having hitherto proved but short and unhappy, he continued but a few months. Some ascribed his fall to covetousness, by which he provoked the hatred of the great ones, accustomed to satisfy their private interests out of the publick Treasury. Others judged, that one ingratitude being commonly the punishment of another, as he had lent his hand to the expulsion of *Pisieux*, the Raiser of his Fortune, to the Cardinal *Richelieu*, introduced by him into business, quickly excluded him.

This Cardinal is the person called elsewhere the Bishop of *Lusson*, and there is no doubt, that, as for the most part in the choice of great Ministers the judgment of the Princes agree with those of their Subjects, though soon after they differ in the maintaining of them, he was not ordained for that place from applause or common consent, but was brought into it chiefly by the favour of the Queen-Mother, with whom he had been long exercised in all sorts of obsequance. The King surely had no inclinations to him, either for having in former Negotiations discovered the sagacity of his nature,

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or because there is a certain natural secret aversion to those, who with an ascendant of wit exceed. Sure it is, that the Cardinal possessed rather the power of the favour than the favour itself, nevertheless, he had the great Art how to fix the mutable and suspicious Genius of the King, and the inconstant nature of the people, governing as with a supreme Dictatorship the one and the other even to his death.

But as to the Affairs of *Italy*, by the disgrace of *Risoux*, the Minister being changed, there was a change also at *Rome* in the proceeding of the Treaty, and *Sillery* being recalled, all that was disavowed, which he had negotiated and consented to. *Monsieur de Bethune*, a Minister formerly well known in *Italy*, being come to *Rome* in his place, assures the Pope, that all that which his Predecessor had approved, concerning the Passes, was wholly against the Kings mind; and in the name of the Confederates expressing to the holy See unalterable duty, and ready consent to that which might secure Religion in the Valley, as to the rest refuses any expedient, which did not deliver the *Grisons* from the present oppression, restore them to their Country and Sovereignty, and did not exclude the *Spaniards* from the Passes. They published this change of Ministers to be a thine; but the Pope, who had made them deliver to him *Riva* also and *Chiavenna*, endeavoured to gain time, perceiving, that to which soever of the Parties he should give the possession of the Forts, it would serve but for a pretext to kindle a most dangerous War, which flaming out betwixt the two Crowns, by Auxiliary Forces, would quickly extend it self throughout all *Europe*.

Nor did the *Spaniards* now fail, as they had succeeded in the gaining of the Cardinal *Lodovico* with Rewards and Marriages, to try every way to insnare the *Barberins* also, giving hopes to *Orbans* Nephews of the Princess *Stigliana*, who being an Inheritor of vast Territories in the Kingdom of *Naples*, brought also in Dowry the Sovereignty of the strong Fortress of *Sabroreda*. Some also suggested to the Pope and to his House hopes, that amidst the jealousies and dissensions of the Princes, he might have the hap to get himself glory, by uniting the Valley to the Church, or obtain advantages by investing his Kindred in it. But the one and the other equally displeased the Confederates; because no less suspicious was the temporal greatness of the Popes, who, protected by the Cloak of Religion, cannot make War themselves without danger, nor overcome without blame, then the inclination of the Nephews doubtful, it being not possible for him that possesses the Valley, but to depend upon the protection and assistance of the Governour of *Milan*. Nothing then remained but the closing in a War.

France, before engaging out of the Kingdom, strengthens it self with two great and important Treaties. The first with the Provinces of *Holland*, to whom were promised three millions and two hundred thousand *Livres Tournois* to be paid in three years, upon condition not to make Peace or Truce with *Spain* without their knowledge; and if it should so fall out, that *France* it self should have

have need of assistance, they were to retribute it either by restoring the half of the foresaid sum, or by furnishing Ships in proportion. The other was the Marriage of *Henrietta*, Sister of King *Lewis*, with *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, from which was derived a report, that the *English* would break into a War with *Spain*, and the *Palatine* be restored into his Country by Arms.

Charles, to say truth, from his Voyage into *Spain* had brought back discontent, hatred, and desire of revenge against that Crown; for though he were received at *Madrid* with all possible honours, he nevertheless penetrated the intention not to restore his Country to *Frederick*, nor conclude the Marriage for which the King, the Princess her self, *Olivares* and all the Kingdoms had in their hearts a particular aversion. Being for some months amused with several propositions, and a difficulty which they feigned came to them from the Court of *Rome*, though to remove it, he was induced to write himself to the Pope, and tempted at last, if he would have a Wife, to change his Religion, he parted in great haste, returning to *London* by Sea. It is not possible to express, what disdain vexed the heart of that young Prince, and King *James* with no less vehemency published his revenge, having a mind in his old age to adorn his Sepulchre with those resentments, which in the course of his Reign, having been blunted by idleness, seemed to have blemished the glory of his life. For this purpose he calls a Parliament, in which *Buckingham* having justified, with a zeal to common good, and a desire of Peace, the Kings intentions concerning the Marriage with *Spain*, and rendered an account of the Princes Voyage, it was resolved, that the Kings Son-in-law should be restored into his Country by Arms, and that the Son should marry with a Princess of the Blood Royal of *France*. But it being usual in *England*, that Parliaments have an equal suspicion of their Kings, when they are armed, as Kings have of Parliaments, when they are united, it was presently dissolved; many jealousies being spread abroad, which were believed fomented, at least, if not raised by the Ambassadors of *Spain*, as if the Parliament, adhering to the youthful age of *Charles*, and with applause flattering that Generosity, which he shewed to revenge himself, would condemn the cooler proceedings and past actions of the King, in whose life time they were disposing the spoils and Funerals of his Authority and Command. But withal the means were not ripened, nor the contributions consented, which might raise and keep on foot an Army. So that as the Marriage with *Henrietta* was easily concluded, with a dispence from the Pope, and many Articles of favour to the consciences of the Catholics, so the moving of Arms quickly vanished.

It is notwithstanding true, that *Mansfelt*, beaten in *Germany*, and in *Holland* not willingly suffered by *Orange*, through emulation of military glory and the applause of the people, was called into *England* by the King, where being received with great honour, making him his General for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, he ordains him an Army of ten thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, with six pieces

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pieces of Cannon, if *France* would concur with a Force proportionable. Sending him with this Proposition to King *Lewis*, who professed himself disgusted with the Count, because he had taken the Title of the Kings General without his knowledge; and therefore, when he went to *London*, had forbid him coming into *France*, he obtains to be admitted to treat with his Ministers, denying him his own presence. He was supplied with some money by the *French* with promises of more, though in effect they had little fervency in the interest of the *Palatine*. But for *Italy*, having secured all behind him by the friendship of the *English*, and the flank by the War of *Flanders*, they applied themselves with more warmth to the Affairs of the *Valtelline*.

The *Venetians* employed all care with the Princes of *Italy* to unite them in the common Interest. But succeeded no further, but to induce the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* to compose betwixt themselves, (excluding the Mediation of the *Spanish* Ministers) the differences so long in question, upon terms, that for the pretended Dowry of *Bianca*, *Ferdinand* should disburse to *Carlo* three hundred thousand Crowns, a third whereof within the space of four years *Constand* Crowns, a third whereof of *Margaret*; Moveables and tant, and the rest with the Dowry of *Monserrat* near to *Pied-Jewels* should be satisfied in so much Land in *Monserrat* near to *Piedmont*, to be set out by the Duke of *Mantua*, valuing the Rent at two per Cent. For a greater confirmation of the agreement, there was a promise of reciprocal Marriages, of *Mary* Princess of *Mantua* with *Filibert* Son of *Carlo*, and of one of the *Infanta's* of *Savoy* with him that should be Heir of the Dominions of the States of the House of *Gonzagha*. This notwithstanding was not to be executed but within the space of eight years, neither was there other difference in the Dowries of two hundred thousand Crowns for each, but that *Carlo* was to pay in ready money, and to receive in Lands. When therefore the Prince *Vincenzo* of *Mantua* should succeed, as he hoped, in dissolving, under pretence of sterility, a certain Bond, and, as he pretended, invalid Marriage, formerly contracted out of an amorous passion with the Widow *Isabella*, Princess of *Bozzolo*, the *Infanta* was to be his; but that not following, or *Ferdinand* having no Child Male, the other was yet to be accomplished with *Filibert*. In order to this agreement, *Carlo* and *Mary* yield the pretensions on *Monserrat* to *Ferdinand*, to his Brother and to their Children, and this was to take place, though by death or other disturbance, the foresaid Marriages should not succeed. In sum, the consent of the Emperour, as Sovereign of the States, was to be asked, and out of respect communication given to both the Crowns. Such were the conditions concluded on and subscribed, by which the ancient dissensions of both Houses were hoped to have been quieted; but to the delusion of humane wisdom, that which was believed an Antidote, was soon converted into the venomous seed of greater evils.

Amongst various accidents, the first was the death of *Filibert*; for although *Carlo*, sending his Secretary *Pater* to *Mantua*, offered to substitute *Maurice* his other Son to the Marriage, nevertheless the business

business fatally succeeded not, Heaven disposing new Thunder-claps for *Italy* and the House of *Gonzagha*. The minds then of the Confederates, being by such Negotiations forced for the present from several cares, applying themselves in earnest to the *Valtelline* and to Arms, caused the delivery of the Forts to be demanded of the Pope, that according to the League they might be demolished, and the Valley restored to the *Grisons*, or else that the *Spaniards* should within three months execute the Treaty of *Madrid*; but the Pope himself opposing the first Proposition, and not being able to bring the *Spaniards* to the other, it was replied unto him, That the Confederates found themselves necessitated for their own safety, not giving place to other expedients, to apply to more effectual remedies. King *Lewis* had sent into *Helvetia* the Marquess de *Coivre*, committing to him the charge of the Treaty and direction of the War. He and *Girolamo Cavazzza*, Resident for the Republick in *Zurich*, notwithstanding the opposition of the Popes and *Spanish* Ministers, by effectual offices, and to take away all pretexts, persuaded the Catholic *Cantons* to perform the caution required in the Treaty of *Madrid*, and the Protestants to take Arms, and permit Levies of men, provisions of Victuals, and other necessaries. They warily afterwards took upon them under-hand to animate the *Grisons*, encourage the oppressed, raise up the commons, recal the banished and fugitives out of the Country, to the end they might joyn with the Arms of the Confederates to shake off their yoke, and drive away the Enemy. *Feria*, stirred with great apprehensions upon the arrival of *Coivre* at *Solturno*, orders Recruits, and to keep the people of *Rhetia* quiet, threatens them with grievous mischiefs, *Leopold* also protesting no less chastisements, notwithstanding that he had stipulated another agreement with them, in which, upon the disbursement of some thousands of Florins, he promised to take the Garrisons out of *Mijanfelt* and *Coira*.

The Princes of the League being now resolved to take Arms, agreed to make the War under the name of the *Switzers* and *Grisons*, levying three thousand men of each of the two Nations, reinforcing them afterwards with twelve hundred Foot, and four hundred Horse of the *French*, and with another body of the *Venetian* Troops, of which the gross and those of *Carlo* were to keep upon the Borders of the *Milanese*, so long as the Royal Troops should lie incamped in the Province of *Brescia*; but the Confederates continued to proceed towards the same end, with designs and means differing; for *France*, abhorring an open breach with *Spain*, pretended not to manage the War, but by Auxiliary Forces, and without engaging his own Troops so far off, with little charge and less noise, at the cost of the other Confederates, especially the *Venetians* arrive at his purpose. The *Venetians* not aspiring, the affairs of the *Grisons* being restored, so to ought, but to confirm the Peace, desired that the enterprise might have carried reputation and vigour with it, so to have obtained the one and the other with equal honour and dispatch. And *Carlo* concurred rather in name than with

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his Forces, buying his thoughts in nothing but to bring the Crowns to an open breach in *Italy*; for being situated in the middle, as in a manner Guardian and Arbitrer of the War or Peace, whatever the event should happen to be, he hoped to make his profit, and serve himself of the Arms of others, principally of the *French*, for his own advantage. He represented to the King and to the Senate how prejudicial it would be to engage, and as it were bury Armies in a Country, as *Rhetia* was, barren and straight, how burdensome to maintain Troops idle upon their own Frontiers. He remonstrated to what charge the Confederates exposed themselves, and amidst what difficulties they would be straightned, if they aspired no higher than relieving the *Valteline* and defending themselves. Was it possibly to be believed, that the *Spaniards* would sit down with one blow, or that they would be frightened with the name of this Alliance? Their intention was nothing so, and being not inferiour in art and force, knew how to make use of them according to the change of times, never neglecting occasions, or losing advantages. When could they have greater hopes to achieve great designs; since the Princes of *Italy*, loosed from so many vexatious respects, have at last had the courage to take hands with Strangers, and in conjunction with them, make plain the way to their relief? The Duke laid great weight upon this Union, and the reflections were not of less moment; for, if when the World adored *Spain* in the height of its prosperity and greatness, he with his own Forces and the gold of the Republick had been able to resist, what might they not promise themselves at present from the powerful assistances of the Kingdom of *France*, whilst *England*, *Holland*, the Kingdoms of the North, and the Protestants conspired in the same designs? He shewed how *Europe* was divided, and that the Party, which bore Arms against the House of *Austria*, was much stronger than that which was subjected to their power; for he designed, that on the one side *Mansfelt* should make a diversion in *Burgundy*, *Hungary* on the other should be invaded by the *Transylvanian*, the War should be continued in the Provinces of *Flanders*; the King of *Denmark*, with the Princes of the *Lower Saxony*, should make War in the Empire, and the Seas and Coasts of *Spain* be infested by the *English* Fleet. Whence he concluded, that they were to remain always in fear, or at once make themselves to be feared, the opportunity was now offered by a great War to free themselves from greater dangers, and seizing speedily the Passes of the *Valteline*, and excluding succours, invade powerfully the Monarchy of *Spain* in the *Milanese*, which is its Center, for the Conquests whereof he generously offered his Forces, his Countries, and his own person, preferring Glory and Liberty before idleness and the greatest dangers.

The *Venetians* haply might not have been averse from such counsels, although they knew the attempt laborious and difficult, (from the disgusts which now for a long time had rendred the neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Armies so troublefom and grievous) if the *French* had been sincerely willing to employ their utmost power; but

but they, keeping to their aim not to break openly with *Spain*, gave it sufficiently to be understood, that by engaging their friends more than themselves, they desired to have them Dependants rather than Confederates. The Duke then, who was wont to have several designs in a readines, to the end that amidst many attempts, Fortune might favour some one, knowing *France*, as much impatient of quiet, as irresolute to the War, projected with subtil reaches of interest and advantage, that the Crown would at least undertake the Conquest of *Genova*. He had observed from a long time with a covetous eye that City grown rich by their long Peace, the Country open, the Citizens at discord; and his avarice was fomented by *Claudio Marini*, a *Genovese*, but Ledger Ambassadour with him for the Crown of *France*, who, ill satisfied with his own Country, sought amidst the ruines of it, either to exalt his name, or bury the ungrateful Fortune of his native Country. He offered Intelligences, and served as an instrument to corrupt several, in particular his own Kindred; whereupon, by the heat of his inclinations, the Duke earnestly pressed King *Lewis*, that if he would not spread his Colours against the *Milanese*, he would at least lend them him to employ them against the *Genovese*. This he looked at to be a meet diversion in favour of *Rhetia*, which was sought elsewhere in vain; whilst by this Conquest, *Milan* being disarmed of its Forces, and the Monarchy of money, the Mines would hardly supply, nor the *Indies* satisfy contingencies and other vast expences, if the *Genovese*, with equal care and covetousness, did not provide Treasures for the Gulph of Wars. They squeeze out the wealth of others to pour it forth into *Spain*, who, with the money of all, makes War to all. What was there to be expected from that Government where private interest setting publick liberty to sale, that of others is prejudiced. Their Ports were open to the *Spanish* Fleets, their Gallies augmented the Kings Squadrons, Passage was free, Quarters secure, their friendship was by obligation, their wills obedient, the chief ones were ready, and private men, no less either to serve in person in their Armies, or maintain them with their Riches.

The *Genovese* then was to be invaded, not only as the door, but as part of the Domination of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, by the taking whereof the *Milanese* is encompassed, Succours are cut off, Correspondence, Commerce, Navigation, and Aids are all broken. That that River was a Line, which to force it had no greater difficulty, but to attempt it; a short march would bring the Army under the Walls of the City, great in circuit, strong by situation, but by the barrenness of the Country, may be said besieged. The Mountains themselves serve for a Circumvallation of Intrenchment; the Vallies and Passages were shut up in a manner by themselves. The Fleet of *France* might with ease keep out succours. In Common-wealths with the *Astropolis* all is conquered; because the seat of liberty and Empire being overthrown, the Union is lost of which the Government is formed. There wanted not even within the Walls friendships and correspondencies with those Citizens, who have more than

An. Dom. 1624. once attempted to sell their liberty with their Country. Let France call to mind the Dominion it once had over that State, awaken its Rights, extend its Frontiers into the Land and Sea; replant the Flower-de-luces in Italy, and greatning it self with so glorious a Conquest, satiate his Armies with the spoils of the richest *Emporium* of Europe. All this was suggested by the Duke, and to him by ambition and interest, although he endeavoured to hide it with the cause of *Zuccarello*, elsewhere mentioned to be a little and ignoble Fief of the Empire in the Mountains, but esteemed by the *Genouefe*, important; because it lies in their bowels, by that fatality which *Italy* hath always been subject to, that things in themselves but small, being esteemed great by their Princes, have frequently opened the way to Strangers to usurp the greatest part of it. It was anciently the possession of the Family of *Carretta*, and the *Genouefe* had formerly attempted to get a right to it. They in particular bought of *Scipio*, one of the Marquesses, a certain annual Rent, with a condition of preference, in case the Fief it self should one day come to be sold. But it happened that the same *Scipio*, to prevent an Imperial Sentence which he feared in punishment for a murder he had committed, sold it to the *Savoyards*. The Emperour nevertheless, not enduring a fraud to manifest, calls the business to himself, and commits the care of it to the *Genouefe*, who aspired to it. At last being sold in these late times by Confiscation, it was not doubted but the gold and favour of the *Genouefe* contributed much to it, and perhaps the consideration of not enlarging the Duke in that Quarter, whence he might have been able to infect them, and greaten himself. All this was published by the Duke with a great train of protests and reasons, to which he added other disgusts, seeing himself hated by the Government of *Genova* and the people, and his name and reputation on all occasions vilified. Nevertheless the common opinion seemed to be, that he rather sought an occasion for War, rather than he had cause for it. But in *France*, although the Crown, besides an universal inclination of the more powerful to oppress the weak, had no other cause of enmity with the *Genouefe* but the discrepancy of interests and affections, the thoughts of *Carlo* were commended, and his propositions embraced, if for no other, yet at least to give exercise and vent to the minds now inflamed amidst these Preludiums to War.

But to the end all the League might concur therein, the Proposals were carried to the *Venetians* with a differing success; for although the *French* and *Savoyards* had made themselves believe, that mindful of ancient emulations, they would easily have assented; yet those animosities, (as good as cancelled by time and the long Peace) being in the Senate, put in ballance with the motives of equity and common interest, *Giovanna Basadonna*, in opposition to some who did consent to it, spake to this purpose. Ought we then to revenge the provocations and jealousies of the Austrians upon a state that is innocent? Oh how pernicious shall the example be to all, if the opportunity of a situation and the wealth of a state shall be a sufficient

argument

argument to raise a War. It is true, that the *Genouefe* are bound up to Spain, but the fear and necessity into which we have a mind to precipitate them, is not the means to loosen them from those Chains. If they lend their Ports at present and consent passag, they will then think it necessary to accept Garrison. If private men contribute money, we shall constrain the publick to receive the Law. Doth the League on the one side pretend with applause to drive the Spaniards out of the *Valteline*, exclude the Austrians out of *Rhetia*, redeem the *Grisons*, and restore them to their liberty and dominion; and on the other, shall it with injustice attempt to oppress *Genova*, to extinguish a Republick, and change perhaps the name but not the subjection of Italy? But what do I say to Conquests? We shall see that instead of moderating the Command of the Spaniards too too burdensom to that afflicted Country, it will without dispute increase with a new and greater dependancy under the specious title of defence. Who knows but that the *Genouefe* may one day mind against their fortune, and that Italy, coming to change its aspect, may not restore lustre to their Government? But let us not lose the hope for ever, if to the bonds of gold, by which some are bound at present, we shall joyn those of Iron into which the danger drives them with misery to all. The proposed Conquest is not so easie as by the *French* and *Savoyards* we hear described. The Territory of *Genova* is made strong by situation, and defended by Nature. The City by its greatness and population is able to maintain it self; the Sea being open, will furnish succours; the *Milanese* being near, will contribute assistance. And what will become of *Carlo*, if he should find himself environed on all sides by the Spaniards and *Genouefe*, and perhaps left as a prey to dangers by the *French* from their natural inconstancy? It is no short nor easie work to over-turn a Government radicated by time, nourished by good Laws, and strengthened by the thoughts, or at least the imagination of a peaceable liberty. The people will resist the change of Government, and falling under the Domination of a Prince they hate. The Citizens will be obstinate in defending themselves; and although the employments of the Spaniards in *Rhetia*, or elsewhere, should interrupt or retard the succours, a state that is rich hath, when put to it, Garrison and Relief within it self. With what hopes will our Republick participate in this design? Will it peradventure aspire to so difficult and remote Conquests, or will it only for anothers profit bear a part in the charges and in the dangers? The perpetuity of our Government is maintained by immutable Maxims and Institutions. The free and honourable quiet of not provoking, nor being easily provoked, hath always been the vital Element of our Dominion. We have always joyned our Arms to the better side, and never offended any but those that went about to injure us. Who sees not but *Carlo*, in the greatness of his mind, hath the presumption to force the nature of things decaying, and forgetting the years he reckons will be sooner abandoned by them than his high thoughts will forsake him? Who knows not the succours of the *French* to be uncertain, the Genius of the Nation easily to embrace designs, and then with the same inconstancy abandon them, and with short interims seek always in Peace War, and in War Peace? Experience in the present affairs shews

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it: the League for so long a time not considered; transgressing so often in the Treaty, forgetting as it were the Princes united with them, and now the final concert scarce settled, the Armies ready to march, either diverting them with difficult designs, or confounding them with new Proposals. The diversion is with much wisdom concluded to be out of Italy, to the end to keep Armies far off, because Strangers have never come near this Country but to bring all sorts of calamity into it, and to carry away the spoils. It is not our interest certainly to draw the body of the Austrian Forces into the very center of Italy within the sight of our Confines. But if the desire of glory or the itch of War incite to just and great enterprises, let the Milanese be the List, let it carry our Ensigns against that State which is that that troubles us, provokes and torments us. The Conquest there may be great and common; and if it be impossible to take Genoua so long as that State subsists, why is not the first blow given at the root? Italy will find its liberty there, the Princes their quiet; the Confederates profit and glory; and who doubts but the common yoke once shaken off, the Genouese also will withdraw themselves from it for ever.

The Senate fully concurred in this opinion, declaring that they would have no hand in the business of Zuccarello, as a thing out of the design of the League, far from common interest, and contrary to the good of Italy. But to impress upon France the reasons of this their dissent, and withal divert the mind of the King, they appoint *Girolamo Priuli* Cavalier, Ambassador Extraordinary to him, who notwithstanding was obliged to stop at *Turin*, by reason of the death of *Lorenzo Parula*, Ambassador in Ordinary with that Duke, and because the Constable *Desdiguieres* being come down into *Piedmont* with a great many men and a greater noise, the Court of *Carlo* became the seat of so weighty a business. There met then in *Susa* the Duke with his Sons, and the Constable with the Marshal *de Crequi* his Son-in-law and the President *Englion*, both with Characters of Ambassadors Extraordinary from the Crown for the present occurrences, and *Priuli* chanced to be there. He contested highly, that their Arms might be employed in any other place, except the *Genouese*, and if they would resolve upon an open War, gave consent that they might be managed against the *Milanese*.

But the *French* persisted in the Council to make a War, without breaking Peace with *Spain*; and *Carlo*, frustrate of his vast hopes, could not be paid with any reason; but, moved against the resistance of the Republick, began to give place in his heart to those disgusts, which carried him afterwards to greater transgressions. Nevertheless, not willing for the present, the Armies being in action in the *Grisons*, to alienate themselves from the Republick by an open separation of their counsels from their aims, taking pretext from the Winter-season, they make a shew to refer the resolution and employment of their Arms to another time. But in effect, the concert was secretly concluded betwixt the Crown and the Duke to invade the year following the *Genouese*, of which the East side of the River remaining to *Savoy*, that of the West accrued to *France*

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with the City it self of *Genoua*. About this there passed some dispute, each desiring, for the importance and wealth, to annex it to his Dominion; but *Carlo* at last gave way, such being the greediness he had of that enterprise, which, though the augmenting the power of *France*, and letting himself be environed in a manner on all sides, was not his interest; nevertheless calculating always his designs above his hopes, he fancied to himself to remain at last Arbitrer of *Italy*, out of a belief, that the *French* would either quickly be weary of their Conquests, or at least would soon neglect to preserve them. To remove him from such thoughts, the *Spanish* Ministers propounded large offers, to bestow the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, of great Revenue, upon the Cardinal his Son, and other advantages, with some satisfaction also in the business of *Zuccarello*. But he hopes for all. *Feria* attentive upon the motions in the *Grisons*, and the designs of the Duke, had raised a gallant Army in the *Milanese*, and the Republick encompassed by so many Troops of that State, and by no less jealousies towards *Tirol* and *Friuli*, strengthened it self more and more. Amongst many military Commanders which put themselves into their Service, the chief was *Henry de la Tour*, the famous stirrer up of the Rebellion of *Bohemia*. They increased also their Forces by Sea, arming in *Dalmatia* Gallies extraordinary; and it fitly happened, that thirteen Pinnaces of *Barbary* being advanced into the Chanel of *Cattaro*, with the connivence of the *Turkish* Commanders in *Castel novo*, assaulting *Perafa* by night and plundering it, had given pretext to twenty three Gallies of *Spain* in the pursuit of them to advance to *Ragusa*; whereupon, to repulse the one and the other, *Antonio Pisani* Proveditor of the Fleet, assembling it in all haste came into those waters. But the *Spaniards* retiring, and the Pirates flying with the same celerity, these did some little hurt as they passed to the Islands of *Teacchi* and of *Zant*, withdrawing themselves from the deserved chastisement, which with a more signal revenge was suspended till another time. During this interim, four Frigats of the Pirates of *St. Maura*, falling into the hands of the said Proveditor, paid the penalty of their Rapine and Piracy.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE Negotiation of *Piedmont* suspended, actions of Arms begin in the *Grisons*, and against the *Valtelline* towards the end of the year, the Confederates making choice of that season, which, though in the sharpness of situation might render proceedings difficult, was yet very advantageous to keep what should be gotten. The banished, with the encouragement of the Regiment of *Salice*, one of their own Country, came down at the same time from several parts, and by their knowledge of the situations, over-powering the Posts kept by the Souldiers of *Leopold*, in a very little time and with no great contest, possess themselves of the *Steich*, the Bridge of the *Rhine*, *Majanfelt*, the *Sluse* of *Partentz*, and *Flex*; excluding succours out of *Germany*. It is not to be believed, how upon the sudden, glaring forth of liberty, the people were refreshed, who had scarce known what it was, till they saw it oppressed. Applauding therefore the League as their Redeemer, those of the ten Directorships took courage, shaking off the yoke of *Leopold*. The Regiment of *Monsieur de Harcourt* advances now into *Rhetia*, and the Levy of *Switzers* and *Grisons* according to agreement was made. The Ambassadour *le Coeure* commanded these Troops with the assistance for the *Venetians* of *Luigi Valareffo* Knight, who returning from his Embassy of *England*, had order to remain there with him. They both went to *Coira* to encourage and animate that Government, from thence to *Peschiauo* to

to prepare for the Invasion of the *Valtelline*. *Feria*, that he might preserve it, cared little for *Leopold's* losses in *Rhetia*, but howsoever left the defence of the Valley to *Bagni* to engage the *Pope* so much the more to maintain it, and induce him to unite at last with *Spain*. *Bagni* found himself exercised with other thoughts; for on the one side he knew not how with a very small force to resist the flood he saw coming upon him, and on the other, calling *Feria* to assist, derogated to the neutrality desired by the *Pope*, and hastened a War betwixt the two Crowns. He endeavoured to help himself by art, threatening the Confederates to deliver the Forts to the Governour of *Milan*, if they should attempt them by force. But they, having now their Troops in readiness, could no longer, nor were inclined to it, remain amidst the Rocks of *Rhetia* without losing their Army by the rigour of the Winter and the want of Victuals. With six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse they enter by the way of *Peschiauo*, where the Valley being narrowest, opens a short passage to receive from the State of the Republick Victuals, Assistance, and Cannon.

The Pontificians abandon presently the weaker places, to be able to make better resistance in the stronger. Whereupon the Confederates become Masters of that of *Piantamali*, whence without stopping they pass on to *Tirano*. *Bagni* was fitly there with the Cavalier *Robustelli*, one of the chief Contrivers of the late Revolutions, and two hundred and fifty Souldiers, besides some of the *Valtelline* not very fit to bear Arms. Nevertheless he made a shew to be willing to defend himself more with the name and veneration of the Ensigns of the Church than with the Garrison; but the Towns-men not trusting to so weak Forces, and fearing death and pillage from the fury of the Souldiers, went out through a hole in the Wall while the Governour kept the Gates shut, to capitulate the delivery, which was accepted upon condition, not to put a Garrison of *Grisons*, but of *French* into it. *Bagni* being retired with his Souldiers into the Castle, imploring succours of *Feria*, and demanding of *Coeure* a suspension of Arms for some days, desired to protract time, in hope that, wanting Cannon for battery, and other provisions, the season and situation might defend him. But all conditions that might hinder their progress being refused by the Confederates, that, which the one believed impossible, succeeded easily to the others; for six Cannons arrived in the Camp, with a number of Pioneers and every thing else that was necessary, sent by *Antonio Barbaro*, General for the *Venetians*, who caused them to pass through the Snow and over the Cliffs: for those of the *Valtelline* had on that side towards *Auriga* cut off the way; but all yielding to fatigue and industry, they were quickly seen placed by the force of mens Arms upon high and almost inaccessible places, whence battering the Castle, they obliged it after a few shot to render, and *Bagni* to go out with conditions, granted in veneration of the *Pope* by the Confederates, with all sort of military Decorum. A thousand Foot with some Horse from *Feria* were then on their march for a relief; but

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The *Austrians* thereupon inveigh bitterly against them, calling them the Authors of this expedition and success, whilst without Victuals and other Provisions, which they furnished in great abundance, the Army could not have entred nor subsisted in the Valley. They discoursed publicly, that to divert that of the *Valtelline*, the *Austrians* should bring the War into their Country; and in this while to vent their distaste every where, the Count *Chefniler*, *Ferdinands* Ambassador, denies in *Spain* to *Leonardo Moro*, who with the same Character resided there for the Republick, the same title with which his Predecessors and he himself had till now treated him. Whereupon being in the Antichamber of the King, where none are admitted but Kings Ambassadors, there arose betwixt them a great stir, which was well-nigh appeased by the mutual civility of saluting one another without the officiousness of speaking.

The Pope made no less complaint, exclaiming in great wrath that his Souldiers and Colours were not respected; notwithstanding that the Confederates had made appear to him their long patience, the prejudices suffered, the Treaties unexecuted, the Expedients rejected; but if *Urban* reckoned himself offended by the Confederates, the *Spaniards* shewed themselves not at all satisfied with him, it seeming to them, that with an over-much coldness, venting himself only in words, he would endure the injury offered to his Ensigns. But he more and more detesting the counsels of his Predecessors, either believed the Forces of the Church not able to oppose the Confederates, or held the Union with the *Spaniards* suspect, upon whose will, they breaking with the other party, he should be forced to depend.

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If the *Valtelline* served for a Theatre to *Italy*, the eyes nevertheless of *Europe* were turned upon the Provinces of *Flanders*, where were acted important designs of numerous Armies and excellent Captains upon places strong and of the greatest reputation. *Spinola* aspiring to nothing more than to repair by some eminent Enterprize the honour of that Army, and the reputation of that Fame, which in the retreat from *Bergeopzoom* he thought somewhat blemished, chusing *Breda* for the undertaking, had in the month of *August* in the year past straightly besieged it with an Army of thirty thousand men. Threatning in several places, he had at first held the Prince of *Orange* in suspense where the blow would fall; and Count *Henry de Berg*, with a separate body of *Spanish* Troops, made a diversion towards the *Rhine*, and another number of Souldiers made themselves troublesome longt the *Muse*. Whereupon *Maurice*, not knowing where particularly to guard himself, had a vigilant eye over all, and having well provided the places of importance, kept his Army in a condition to hasten thither where succours should be required. But when he saw *Spinola* intrench himself before *Breda*, a concernment of publick and private interest, by the importance of the place, and for being the Patrimony of the House of *Orange*, he haltes thither in all diligence, and incamps thereabouts, sending relief by Boats, which got happily in before *Spinola* could close his Line with Forts, and shut up the River with Bridges.

Breda is situate in the extremity of *Brabant*, not far from the Sea, and but of a reasonable distance from *Antwerp*. Since the *Hollanders* had the good fortune to take it by surprize, they kept it with great care, both for the importance of the situation, and the excellency of Art, which had endeavoured by all sorts of inventions to render it strong. It being in the midst betwixt *Bergeopzoom* and *Gertrudenberg*, forms a Line little less than freight, by which, maintaining a part of *Brabant* in obedience to the *United Provinces*, is a defence also to *Zeland* and *Holland*. It is in a Plain, of a form unequal, but environed and covered with so many Out-works, that Art hath not been wanting to invention, nor invention to necessity. The *Merch* runs through it, a small River, but navigable; a little without the Town, losing its name, it discharges it self into several Channels, where it enters into the Sea, or rather falls into the Scheld.

Spinola foresaw the difficulties of attacking it by force, and from the vigorous defence, the incessant Sallies, the number of the Garrison, and the resolution of the Governour, who was *Justinus de Nassau*, natural Brother to Prince *Maurice*, comprehended the damage he might receive. Environing therefore his Camp with a strong Circumvallation of Trenches and Forts, resolves to take it by famine, which destroys all defence and devours Armies. *Maurice* had not above ten thousand men, but with them, by changing

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Quarters, he cut off Passages, disturbed the Country, and laid wait for Convoys; nor did he want resolution and courage to have attempted a general relief by attacking the Line, if the States, judging them too strong, and well fortified, had not dissented not to expose, with a number so unequal, the common defence to a hazardous event, and almost certain loss. It was then resolved to apply themselves to the same Arts, which the Enemy practised, by endeavouring to overcome famine with famine, and, by hindering Victuals from the Camp, to reduce *Spinola* to the fortune of the besieged. But he, with the prudence of an excellent Captain, foreseeing the necessity, had also provided for it by a flying body, causing the Convoys to be so strongly conducted, that the *Hollanders* either durst not attack them, or attempting it could not break them. It happened, that for the securing of one, the Garrison of the Castle of *Antwerp* was much weakened.

Maurice, whom Fortune seldom reproached for neglecting of occasions, attempts to surprize it, and having chosen a dark night, with Bridges made for that purpose passes the Ditch, though very broad, and raising the Ladders, which at the head of them were so fastened, that with Ropes they were easily set up, he was now upon the Rampart, when one of the Ladders, falling back upon its bridge, made such a noise, that the Sentinels heeding it, and they with some shot advertizing the Guards, the Alarm was given in the Castle. The *Hollanders* taking fright, retired, leaving some of their Engines behind; and now Force not being sufficient, nor Art succeeding, the hope of preserving the place was reduced to succours, which with great earnestness the States solicited from the Crowns of *England* and *France*.

Which last, besides the money promised in their Treaty, would not meddle further in that cause, having obtained their purpose to keep a great part of the *Spanish* Power engaged in that Country. It maintained over and above the War in *Italy*, nor were uneasinesses wanting within the Kingdom, whilst *Soubize*, either foreseeing from far the Siege of *Rochel*, or moved to it by those that desired to divert the Crown from foreign occurrences, had endeavoured to possess himself of some of the Ships Royal in the Port of *Blavet*; and although the design succeeded not, nevertheless, to the Kings great resentment, he possessed the Islands near to *Rochel*, and infested the Sea with Piracy, and the Land with disembarkings. To oppose and suppress *Roban*, who, in *Languedoc* and other parts, was contriving Commotions, the Kings Fleet assembles under Command of the Duke of *Monmorency*, and Souldiers were sent into several places to no small disturbance of the Wars in *Italy* and the necessities of *Flanders*.

But *England* had its Forces at liberty and minds inflamed; for *James*, in the month of *March* of this year, being dead, it looked as if the spirit of quiet would have extinguished with him, whilst his Successor *Charles*, as vigorous in his age as in the desire of Glory and hatred against the *Spaniards*, was believed that with his Fa-

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thers Crown he would have assumed differing thoughts. He engages himself presently to a great arming by Sea, with which he publishes to attempt upon *Spain* it self, the Head and Seat of its great Power, and at the same time raises an Army to put under *Mansfelt's* Command for the restoring the out-lawed *Palatine* into his Countries; for which purpose making a League with the King of *Denmark*, he disburses money to him, to the end, that making War with the same design in the Empire, he should not make Peace with *Ferdinand* without the Kings knowledge, and the restoring the *Palatine*.

But *Breda*, that had been many months besieged, could not expect concerts so remote. King *Charles* therefore, to preserve it, applies means more ready, it serving also his ends to keep the *Spanish* Forces employed in the *Low Countries*, lest, sending them into the Empire, they might hinder the principal design, which was the restoring of *Frederick*. Hoping then that *France* would concur in the same intention, he resolves, that *Mansfelt*, with a good number of *English* Foot, should pass the Sea, and landing at *Calais*, should first joyn *Halverstat* with two thousand Horse, and afterwards altogether the Prince of *Orange* to relieve the Town. But betwixt *England* and *France* it was found, that after the Marriage, the interest of State, or rather the passion of *Favourites*, converted the bonds of affection into causes of hatred. *Europe* in those times reckoned amidst its unhappy destiny, that the Government of it depended upon three young Kings yet in the flower of their age, Princes of great power, desirous of glory, and in interest contrary, but in this alone by Genius agreeing, that they committed the burden of their affairs to the will of their Ministers: for with an equal independency *France* was governed by *Richelieu*, and *Spain* by *Olivares*, and *Great Britain* by *Buckingham*, confounding affections with interest, as well publick as private. Betwixt the *Cardinal* and *Buckingham* open animosities discovered themselves, for causes so much the more unadvised, as they were more hard to be known.

Buckingham being in *France* to carry back *Charles* his Bride, it seemed, that in the free conversations of that Court, he had taken the boldness to discover something of his inclination to the *Queen*, whilst the *Cardinal* was inflamed with the same passions, or rather feigned to be so, with aversion in her, who with vertue equal to the nobleness of blood, equally despised the vanity of the one, and abhorred the artifices of the other. Whereupon the Factions, arising amongst the Ladies of the Court, were not so secret, but that the King was obliged to make a noise, and banish some: But the contention betwixt the two *Favourites* was for power, and *Richelieu*, by reason of the favour of the King in his own Kingdom, prevailing in Authority, procured to *Buckingham* many mortifications and disgusts. The other was no sooner arrived at *London* with the Bride, but to make shew of a power not inferior, by ill using her, thought to revenge himself. The Catholic Religion served for a pretext, whilst the Family brought out of *France*, according to the Contract of Marriage, practised it: whence distasts brake forth to such

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such a degree, that the minds of the Spouses being alienated, and affections betwixt the Crowns themselves disturbed, it looked, as if discord had been the Bride-maid at that Wedding.

All this passed to the prejudice of the Interests of the *Palatine* and of *Holland*. For *Mansfelt*, at the instant that he had embarked the *English* Army, *France* denying him the Port of *Calais*, and entry into the Kingdom, was forced to land in *Holland*, after having negotiated several days betwixt the two Kings. But the Souldiers remaining on board, the Ships wasted time, and almost themselves, and in their passage weather-beaten by a great storm, troubled with rains, and many inconveniences, they arrived so diminished and languishing, that the succours was found to be less than was needful, and fame had made them. Nevertheless at the noise of their landing, the *Spanish* Ministers being moved, and *Spinola* resolved not to stir from the place now reduced to extremity, assembled in an instant, with the pomp of their great power, another Army of thirty thousand Foot, and eight thousand Horse of the Trained-bands of the Country, intermixed with some old Souldiers drawn out of Garrisons, with which, and the succours together of six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse sent thither from *Tilly*, they resolved to keep the field, stop up the ways, hinder the relief or the diversion, which *Orange* or *Mansfelt* might attempt. But all this was more than needed; for the *Hollanders* and *Mansfelt* not finding themselves strong enough to attempt any thing of moment, it was of necessity to give way, and let the place be taken.

Another sudden accident which retarded and discomposed any further attempt by the States, was the death of Prince *Maurice* of *Orange*, a person of the highest Renown, who, after his Father, being, while yet a Youth, opposed in the Command of those Armies to *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, the most excellent Captain of *Europe*, became in the Arts both of offending and defence with equal valour and wisdom the most famous Commander of his Age. *Frederick Henry*, his Brother, succeeds into all his Charges, a Prince, who, in his skill in military affairs, hath held an eminent place, and perhaps superiour to his Brother, if the quality of his undertakings be considered, but certainly inferiour in merit; because he had to do in the prosperous times of the Common-wealth, and when its Fortune was in its prime. But whatever the effect was, the change was certainly prejudicial in that Conjunction, wherein *Freda* after more than nine months Siege languishing, and no succours appearing, was the 9. of *June* rendred upon honourable conditions. During which time many and various were the successes of the War in *Italy* and the Negotiations of Peace.

The *Valteline* was wholly reduced by the Arms of the League, except the two Appendixes of *Bormio* and *Chiavenna*, to which, in the beginning of the year, the Confederates applied themselves. Towards which the Signor *della Lande* advances first, and *Coevre* and *Valareffo* follow, possessing the Fort of *Chioppina* which was abandoned, and the Town it self of *Bormio*. But *Giovanni Baptista Canti* of

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of *Ascoli*, who commanded there for the Pope, being retired into the Fort, knowing that for want of water he could not make it subsist, renders it upon the sight and some shot of the Cannon. There marched out three hundred and forty Souldiers, obliged by oath not to bear Arms for the space of six months against the Confederates, and some of the *Valesians* were put into Garrison there under Command of the same *della Lande*, who had contributed much to the enterprise. The *Spaniards* in *Chiavenna*, retiring into the Castle with some of the *Popes* Souldiers, abandoned the Town to the Signor *de Harcourt*, in hopes, by the sharpness of the season and situation, to hold it out for some time; but, contrary to their expectation, seeing two pieces of Cannon appear, brought over the Mountain, called *Bernine*, with infinite labour, they also rendred. Together with this prosperity of Arms, went equally on the facility of the Treaty in the *Grisons*; for the Commonalty being called together in *Coira*, the Agents of the *Austrians* being dispersed or frightened, the Treaties of *Lindo* and of *Milan* were abolished, and the ancient Alliances with *France* and the *Switzers* restored to its first splendour. The Pope, endeavouring by all means to stop proceedings by Arms, had sent into *France* *Bernardino Nari* Knight, that together with Monsignor *Spada*, Nuntio in Ordinary, they might make in that Court effectual complaints for the Invasion of the *Valteline*, contrary to the respect due to his Colours, require the restitution of the Forts, and in conclusion, finding it not easie to be obtained, open the way to a Treaty. Upon bringing to remembrance things past, *France* failed not to justify the War, and withal to countertermine those advantages, which *Spain*, to captivate the *Popes* mind, offered to his Relations, proposed the Marriage of *Mademoiselle de Rieux*, who carried with her one of the richest Dowries in *France*, with one of his Nephews, together with all the force of that Crown; by means whereof, the Fief of *Urbino*, by reason of the great age of that Duke, being ready to revolve to the Church, he might invest one of them with it, and maintain him in the possession. By reason of the youth of the said Nephews, the burden of the affairs lay at that time upon the Cardinal *Magalotti*, their very near Kinsman, to whom both Crowns directed their propositions and invitations, not without offers of great advantages also to himself. There was no doubt but that the *Barberins* inclined rather to those of *Spain*, and particularly to the Marriage with *Stigliana*, as believed more contributing to their Fortune, whilst for the State of *Urbino* so many Bulls and Censures of Predecessors lay in the way, which prohibit to alienate Fiefs devolved to the Church, and which they apprehended, when *Urban* went about to use force, would bring upon them the envy of many, and the implacable hatred of those that should succeed into the *Romish* See. The Pope made some Levies, letting it be divulged, that he would raise to the number of ten thousand men; four thousand under the name of *Taddeo* his Nephew, and the rest under the Command of *Frederick*, Duke *Savelli*, and one of the Princes of *Palestrina*, which was then of the House *Colonna*. He sent besides some Souldiers

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To prepare the way for it, *Urban* insinuates to the Confederates a suspension of Arms; but they refused it, by experience of the prejudices in former delays, and by the prosperity they had in the War, there remaining no more to conquer but *la Riva*, a Post believed of no consideration, but became famous; because being unadvisedly left for the last enterprise, it was the first that put a stop to going forward. The *Adda*, where it rises making a Meer, closes with some moorish grounds to the entrance into the *Lago de Como*, in such sort, that it separates from it another little one, and of very narrow circuit, which is called by the name of *Chiavenna*. As the Valley terminates at the first, (and at the right side of the River, within the Jurisdiction of *Milan*, stands the Fort *Fuentes* in a situation something elevated) so to this other, the County of *Chiavenna* faces it self with a Plain, where runs the *Mera*. Over against it extends it self the Territory of *Como*, and Mountains with steep cliffs raise themselves on all sides. To joyn the County to the Valley, the way of the Mountains being too steep, a Street is continued longest the Lake, cut out of the Rock, which is called *Corbeio*. This begun at the *Riva*, which taking name from the same use for which it serves, is no other but a cover upon the brink of the water, for the convenience of Passengers, and safety of Merchandize which pass by that place. There is upon a height some marks rather than the form of a small Castle; and there are besides betwixt the *Valteline* and the *Riva* certain Villages, as *Campo* and *Nova*, and some other that lie higher, which would never have been taken notice of, if in this engagement betwixt so powerful Princes, in such a narrow corner, every Rock had not served for an attack, and every span of ground for an occasion of War. Into this Post of *Riva*, kept by fifteen Souldiers of the Popes and a Commander, the Governour of *Milan*, amusing them with shews, and in a manner forcing of them, were introduced the *spaniards*, and into the adjacent Villages, to the number of four thousand, with two Companies of Horse, under the Command of the Count *Giovanni Serbellone*; and enlarging it with many Intrenchments, kept it as a pledge of their hopes to recover what was lost. Nor indeed could any be fitter for their purpose; because keeping a Foot in the County of *Chiavenna*, and being defended by force and the situation, it had ready assistance from behind them by the

An. Dom. 1625. the way of the Lake, commanded by a great number of armed Barks. The Confederates, though late, attempt to drive the Enemy thence, and making the way of the Rock passable again, which the *spaniards* had demolished, assault and possess the Town of *Vico*, lying above that of *Campo*. But here was the dispute greater, there lodging 800 Souldiers in it, who, making use of a certain Wall instead of an Intrenchment, had the Assaultants point blank exposed to their Musket-shot. Two thousand five hundred Foot, with some Horse, were appointed for the attack, the Army standing in Arms within a little distance. After the first *salvo*, with loss on both sides, the Confederate-Troops advanced in such sort, that the *Albanais*, nimble getting over the Wall, obliged the *spaniards* to abandon that defence, and also retire out of the place. But in their March towards *Riva*, meeting with a thousand Foot which came to their relief, taking courage again, they returned altogether, and that so opportunely, that re-entring unawares into the place, whilst those of the Confederates, either weary or dispersed, minded nothing less than the return of an Enemy, obliged them to quit it, and betake themselves to flight, and could not be stopped by those Troops left more behind them. The *spaniards* nevertheless, not to separate themselves into so many parts in the night, quit it, and the Confederates without further contest possessed and fortified it. Captain *Ruinelli*, sent by night with four hundred Foot to take in *Montagnuola*, so situate as to command *Riva*, and greatly to infect it, found it prevented by great Guards of the *spaniards*, and fortified with many Works. To cut off relief from *Riva*, without which it was judged difficult to straighten it and take it, the Confederates applied themselves to several Expedients. Shipwrights were sent from *Venice* to build Barks upon the Lake it self, to dispute the possession of it with the Enemy. It was resolved also to place a Fort upon the Canal which separated the two Lakes; but *le Coeure* made scruple to execute it, finding the place to belong to *Milan*, within whose Confines he had no authority to make War. *Harcourt* also, who on the other side of the *Mera* had taken in *Archetto*, a Post upon the Lake, thought fit to leave it, because *Riva*, being re-inforced with three thousand *Germans* commanded by *Papenheim*, gave cause to apprehend for *Chiavenna*, out of which *Coeure* had taken the two Regiments of *Salice* and *Berna*, to strengthen the Posts of the entrance into the *Valteline*. *Codera*, a small place, but which facilitated Commerce with *Chiavenna* and relief, the Confederates took with a Pettard. But the *spaniards*, sufficiently strengthened, extended their Quarters and Trenches to *Nova* and *Colico*, threatening to enter again into the Valley, whilst the Army of the Confederates was weakened; and although three thousand *Grisons* more were levying, yet that Nation thinking of nothing but enjoying their present condition, they were long in raising, and as men that were new, could not serve for much. The Regiment of *Normandy*, consisting of sixteen hundred men, came now out of *France*, and the Republick sent two thousand Foot and two hundred Horse into the Valley. And

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now without question the power of the Crown of *Spain* appeared, in that, besides naval Forces and potent Armies elsewhere employed, *Feria* had in the *Milnefe* forty thousand Foot and four thousand Horse. The Dukes of *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Urbino*, had sent their Regiments, and the Catholick *Switzers* of *Helvetia*, notwithstanding all endeavours of the Confederates against it, had consented a Levy of seven thousand of their Nation, and free passage to all those, who from beyond the Mountains should flock to the Service of the *Milanois*. Great numbers of Souldiers besides were levied in several places, and principally in the Provinces of *Austria* near to the *Venetians*, to touch them the more to the quick with jealousy. They nevertheless, though in great streights and perplexity, by reason the burden of the War of the *Valteline* was greatest upon them, and of the difficulty which they met with, *France* being elsewhere distracted, and the State environed with suspicions, threatnings, and Arms, would not recede from the Union with King *Lewis*, although, amidst these extremities and hostile appearances, allured by *Spain* by the sending of *Christoforo Benavento de Benavides*, Ambassadour to *Venice*, and of *Ferdinand* Duke of *Mantua*, who, moved unto by the *Spaniards*, came expressly to that City, they were invited with full advantages and offers, if they would adhere to the *Austrian* Party.

Fortune had now beyond dispute conducted the Emperour to such an height of reputation and glory, that what with fear, and what with Armies quartered in most of the Provinces of the Empire, he kept under, or in quiet, as well those that envied him as his Enemies. The King of *Denmark* only with the assistance of money, which *England* contributed to him, and a certain sum which *France* with greater caution gave him, shewed his resentment, taking upon him the Title of General of the *Lower Saxony*, which that Circle, to the Emperours great displeasure, conferred upon him. The King notwithstanding proceeded with some sort of respect, and first sending Ambassadours to *Ferdinand*, demanded the pardon and restitution of *Frederick*. But the Emperour, making answer to the business with an Army, sent *Tilly* into those parts to bridle him, and to give countenance, as he passed, to the Election of a Catholick into the Bishoprick of *Osnaburg*, which also succeeded, notwithstanding that the disagreement of the Chapter had given great hopes to the Protestants to obtain it. That Army advances thence to the *Weser* to hinder passage, and prepossesses the Banks on that side, expecting till *Albert of Wallenstein*, under whom *Ferdinand* had raised almost in a moment a new Army of twenty thousand men, should come and joyn with him. But he, as he passed by, having beaten the Duke of *Lüneburg*, who at certain narrow passages had endeavoured to stop him, carried his Army with great success into the Bishopricks of *Halberstat*, *Magdeburg*, and *Hall*, heretofore possessed by the Protestants. In the heat of this, *Tilly* also, who had besieged *Siegenburg* in vain, gave battel near *Hanover* to a great body of the Protestants, and obtained a signal Victory, there remaining dead of them upon

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upon the place the Duke of *Saxony*, the Count of *Altemberg*, and *Obentraut*, who served to the King of *Denmark* for General of the Horse. *Ferdinand*, elevated by so great prosperities, aspired to great things, and having caused his eldest Son *Ferdinand Ernest* to be proclaimed King in *Hungary*, reformed Religion in his Hereditary Countries without the least contest, being become formidable to all, and in particular dreadful by reason of vicinity to the *Venetians*, to whom, as an addition of apprehensions, was joyned the Peace, confirmed by the Emperour by the means of the *Bassa* of *Buda* for ten years more with the *Ottoman Port*; which, although at the suggestion of *Gabor*, the chief Ministers made a shew at *Constantinople* that they would not approve it, because the old Treaty, concluded at a time when that Empire was involved in the Wars of *Asia*, contained things prejudicial and unbecoming; nevertheless being accustomed in the weightiest businesses, cheapening gain rather than glory, to raise difficulties, that they may be overcome by interest, they quickly ratified it.

At the same time, but with Fortune differing, *John Baptista Montalbano*, and a Priest being sent to *Constantinople* by the Vice-King of *Naples*, they proposed a Truce to be concluded betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Turks*, obliging themselves to restrain the Piracies of the *Cossacks* in the *Black Sea*, promoted in great part, for the easing of the King of *Poland*, with the money of *Spain*, and to interpose themselves for a Peace betwixt the *Port* and the *Persians*. But the *Caimecan*, who at that time had the direction of affairs, knowing how odious such a Proposition would be to the very Subjects of that Empire, rejected it, discharging those that had proposed it. The design by this Treaty, to make the Republick jealous, and raise a diffidence betwixt them and the *Port*, had not probably the last place in the *Spaniards* intentions. But the *Turks*, on the other side plunged into the War of *Persia*, thought it not fit for them to alienate it by unreasonable suspicions. They therefore caused the *Bassa* of *Buda* to send a *Sangiaccos* to *Venice*, who, under colour to communicate the Peace confirmed in *Hungary*, offered in token of Friendship twenty thousand men, which the *Bassa* of *Buda* with their Commanders at their charge would cause to be conducted to the Confines, where being entertained, should yield their due obedience to whom the *Venetians* should appoint. But even gifts themselves being from *Barbarians* treacherous, the Republick receiving the offer as a Complement, did not accept it, making use only of some rules, by which the *Turkish* Ministers on the Confines might give way to the levy of some *Albanese*. They there and in other ultramarine Provinces made numerous Levies, but the greatest beyond the Mountains, by the facility which the passages of *Rhetia* and the possession of the *Valteline* yielded. Their Army amounted to more than twenty thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, all of stranger Nations, which for the most part, by supplying the Garrisons with the Country Militia, might be drawn out into the field. Therefore wearied with jealousies, and preferring revenge before suspicion, they de-

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Reviving then in *France* their instances and endeavours, they represented, that by making War in the *Milanese*, mischiefs might be prevented, much to the common quiet and glory of the Confederates, considering, *That by one sole blow the Grisons would be established for ever, the Valteline secured, Italy delivered, the jealousies, expences, molestations of so many years taken away. The honour of the King, the Decorum of the French Nation did not consist in oppressing the image of liberty, which was yet remaining amongst the Genouefse, but in confirming it to Italy, by abating the Rival power, and doing himself reason on a State, upon which he hath a pretence, and which more than once, by the united Forces of the Republick, hath been possessed by his generous Ancestors. To what else will amount the undertaking of Genoua, but to superadd reproaches upon mischiefs? whilst the Spaniards secure in the Milanese, means will be left there to send Forces into the Valteline, by treading yet harder on the neck of the Genouefse, to make the yoke more heavy to Italy, and to make their own advantage of their money, of their Souldiers and Fleets.*

But nothing was of force to divert the *French* and *Savoyards* from what they had concerted, although dissembling it, they attempted to ingage the *Venetians* alone to break with *Spain*; for by promoting a diversion in the *Milanese*, they hoped that their Forces being employed there, they would not remain so strong and so at liberty as to be forward to go to the assistance of the *Genouefse*. Whereupon *Carlo* and the *French* Ministers in *Turin* feigning to adhere to the judgment of the Republick, dealt with it to invade the *Milanese*, faithfully promising, that upon advice of the breach, the Duke himself with his, and *Desdiguieres* with the Forces of the Crown, would give countenance and assistance. But diving into the subtilty of the artifice, the Senate, with an equal wariness deluding their intentions, offers to enter into the *Milanese* so soon as the Confederates should let him know, that their Armies were passed beyond the Borders. But whilst the Confederates amongst themselves contended about opinions and cunning, the season for the motion of Armies drawing on, the Treaty of *Susa* could no longer be concealed, and at last *Englione* in *Turin* communicates it to *Prinzi*, with great hopes, that the *Genouefse* being quickly subdued by Force and Intelligence, there would be a fit time to invade the *Milanese* with greater advantages. The Senate refuses again to approve the design, and to the end to take no part in it, no not so much as in appearance or name, they order the said *Prinzi* not to enter into the *Genouefse* with the Duke, but to stay upon the Borders. In the midst of so difficult affairs *Franceſco Contarini* Duke, who with many and signal virtues had sustained the Principality, though but for a very short time, yields to the burden of his years and cares, and *Giovanni Cornaro*, Procurator of *St. Marco*, succeeds him, arriving at the highest dignity of the Country without having made any suit for it, and considerable not so much for his riches and the splendour of his noble

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Desdiguieres in his decrepit age carried himself as became him with great vivacity of spirit under the shadow of his ancient Fame. The Duke pufft with vanity, appeared in the Army with a self-conceited confidence, rejoicing to see himself once upon the way to great and secure Conquests, and with the supposed increase of his States, now meditated to adorn his gray hair with Kingly Titles and Crowns. Where for a little space they passed through the *Milanese*, *Desdiguieres* commands strictly no hurt in any kind to be done; but in *Monferrat*, *St. Damiano*, *Nizza della Paglia*, and *Aqui*, were forced to open their gates, leaving in the last a strong Garrison for the guard of the Magazin of War which was fixed there.

The Duke of *Mantua* complained greatly, that the Army had not only taken their passage, but possessed that place, and feared the wonted imaginations of *Carlo*, and expected no less instances from the Governour of *Milan*, doubting lest his State should in conclusion become the place of Ingagement, or at least serve for Quarters to the Armies of both the Crowns. But the *French* excusing the necessity of the passage, and promising, when the expedition was at an end, to restore all, marched forward.

The *Genouefse*, not accustomed for a long time to the accidents and troubles of War, and losing courage upon so potent an attack, made shew of a very weak resistance. The Country was open, the City had but weak Walls, and though about some places they raised Trenches, they were nevertheless weak and ill guarded; their Souldiers for the most Peasants, who, used to idleness, were ignorant of discipline, impatient of labour, and fearful in dangers. They implored assistance from the Pope and from the *Spanish* Ministers; but the one applied nothing but encouragements and counsels, and the other interposed delays; because, fearing for the *Milanese*, they had a mind to observe the bent of the intentions and the march of the Army, and aimed to let them be streightned with greater necessities, whilst not having elsewhere to expect relief, they would be obliged not only to pour forth their gold to make the *Spaniards* move, but to subject themselves to whatsoever hard condition that Crown should prescribe to them. Wherefore, dejected in spirit by the difficulty of Councils and the unhappiness of successes, they resolve, abandoning the Country, to undertake the defence of *Genoua* alone, and ordered, that the Artillery, Ammunition, and Garrisons should presently be withdrawn from *Scavona* and other places; but soon after, being admonished from a better light of wisdom, particularly from the counsels of *Giovanni Girolamo Doria*, who shewed, that there could not be a worse counsel than willingly to yield what they doubted

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doubted they might lose by force, countermanding the first Orders, they generously apply to their own defence, by maintaining *savona* and there rest.

The *French* now made themselves to be felt, being gotten into the Streights of the Mountains by two ways on that side, where the Territory of *Genoua* is most enlarged towards *Tortona*. *Novi* renders it self to *Deslignieres*, the Syndick meeting him with the keys. The Duke having taken the Castle of *Ovada* with little resistance, and by the way routed five Companies of *Neapolitans*, which were sent from *Tortona* in relief of one of those Posts, advanced to *Rossiglione*, which is one of those passages, and of the two ways (the other being at *Gavi*) which lead to *Genoua* and the Sea, and found it abandoned by 2000 Foot of the Country, which left in prey to the Enemy the provisions and money, which was to serve for their nourishment and pay. The Town of *Campo* yielded in like manner; whereupon the Duke, proud with the felicity of such successes, solicited the *French* to hasten their march to draw near to *Genoua*, which as yet little better than unprovided, and greatly disturbed by these sinister accidents, seemed exposed to the prey, offering the benefit of the Intelligences and of so long a March; but the concert, with some of the Citizens, were just at that very instant discovered by the Government, getting knowledge, that some had designed to open the Gates to the *French*, and the Duke reckoning amongst them one of the House of *Marini*, a Kinsman to the Ambassadour at *Turin*. Whereupon the greatest hopes of the Confederates being cut off, and nothing remaining but the force of Arms, they were perplexed in their designs and march; and on the other side the *Genouese* took courage, certain Gallies arriving at that time from *Spain* with a great deal of money, and from *Sicily* and *Naples* Souldiers to relieve them. The Governour of *Milan* also sends thither under the Command of *Lodovico Gualco* four thousand *Italian* Foot, for which they had disbursed three hundred thousand Crowns, and obtained *Thomaso Caracciolo* to command the Arms of the Republick, governed till now by Chiefs not very vigorous.

Upon such re-inforcements there increased in the minds of the *Genouese* cares also equal to their security, for fear, lest having repulsed their Enemies, and they gone further off, they should at last remain subject to their Auxiliaries. They therefore lodged the *Spanish* Souldiers, either in the places most exposed to be attacked, or the outmost parts of the City, not without complaint of the Count of *Castioneda*, who resided in *Genoua* Ambassadour for the Catholick King, and reproached to the Council the unseasonableness of Jealousies in the midst of so many dangers: But new and unhappy events soon brought things to extremity. The Duke having taken *Sassuolo*, not far from *Savona*, directed his march to joyn *Deslignieres*, when he found the strength of the Enemies Forces assembled in *Ortaggio*, which consisted of five or six thousand Foot, commanded by considerable Chiefs, as *Caracciolo*, *Gualco*, *Cataneo*, *Battenville*, with some of the Nobles of *Genoua*, and many others joyned together in

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that great place, in design to keep *Gavi* from the attempts of the Confederates. But going forth in a good number to keep the *savoyards* at a distance with Skirmishes, it so fell out, that they pursuing them, and the Duke arriving thereupon in person, they were defeated, and *Caracciolo* in the flight being taken Prisoner, the Conquerours mingling with them, became Masters of the Trenches and the place. The others retreated into the Castle; but unprovided of Ammunition and all manner of defence, abounding in nothing but number, were forced to render themselves, all the Chiefs, Colours, and Arms falling into the Dukes hands, with a very rich spoil.

Carlo going out upon the Mountains, and having from thence in his view the Prospect of the River, the deliciousness of the situation, and the Wealth of the City, stirred up in him that avarice which had provoked him to the undertaking. Although this blow had greatly troubled mens minds in *Genoua*, yet there was not the least wavering there; whereupon the Duke was forced to retire, and, in conjunction with the *French*, apply himself unwillingly to the taking in of *Gavi*. He had counselled *Deslignieres*, that, letting that Rock lye, which being unmoveable could not disturb their progress, he would, during the warmth of the Victory, bring his Army directly to the Gates of *Genoua*. But the Constable not consenting, was firm in the opinion, not to leave a place behind him, which having in it no small Garrison, might in those streights of Mountains stop up the ways for Victuals. The Duke had no remedy but to give way, though that resolution highly increased that discontent, which was already secretly creeping upon him; observing that *Deslignieres* introduced into the places taken Garrisons of the *French* Nation only; arguing clearly from thence, that arrogating to himself the direction of the War, he assumed, with the disposing of the Conquests, the Arbitrement of the Peace also. Nevertheless he refused all Propositions and advantages, which, to disjoyn him from *France*, came underneath, largely offered to him by the *spaniards*, and refuses the suspension of Arms, which Cardinal *Barberin* Legate, touching at *Genoua* in his way to the Court of *France*, caused Monsignor *Giovanni Baptista Paulilio* to propose to him.

The *Genouese* doubtful concerning *Gavi*, whether it were not best to resist with the hazard of the Garrison in maintaining that Post, had referred the resolution to the Governour of *Milan*; because not being able to receive succours but from thence alone, it depended upon him to quit or keep it. He was not willing as yet openly to engage himself with the Army, and therefore commands Captain *Meazza*, who was Governour, that for preservation of the Garrison, consisting of about three thousand men, he should endeavour warily to withdraw himself by night. But *Meazza* being gone out, and finding the passages towards the *Milanes* beset by the Enemy, and in the confusion of the darkness not knowing whither to go, returns again into the place, and the day following renders it, contrary to the intentions, signified to his Masters to have held it out longer.

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The Castle suddenly run the same hazard, the Constable having, as was publicly given out, found a more easy way to batter it with gold, than bringing the Cannon before it would have been; for being situated upon a Rock, it was out of all battery and attack. The expedition of the enterprise would have satisfied the Dukes impatient desires, if *Desdignieres* had been willing to second them by going forward; but amidst these Rocks, seeming that he had his courage in a manner petrified, he laid his excuse upon the want of Victuals and the disbanding of his men. The Duke from earnest pressing of him passed into fury, and from fury into suspicions and accusations, laying to his charge, that he had been caught by *Genouese* money; because the glory of so great a man being notoriously defiled with avarice, there was cause to doubt, that by interest no less than age his warlike spirits had been blunted.

The *Genouese*, to foment such an opinion, failed not, sometimes by publick dispatches to *Desdignieres*, then by secret Propositions to the other Ministers, and sometimes also by advertisements, though false, to the Duke himself, to nourish distrusts and his disagreements with the *French* Ministers. Nevertheless they found themselves greatly perplexed within; for to move *Feria* in so fair an opportunity, neither invitations, intreaties, nor the disbursement of pay prevailed any thing; whereupon they go on to protests, declaring, that if he abandoned them, they would submit themselves to the protection of *France*. Nor failed they, to the end to give credit to that opinion, to send certain Propositions to *Desdignieres*, which it was believed had a great power to retard and restrain him. But in *Genoua* the name of the Duke was so abhorred by all sorts of people, that every other calamity was thought less, than to fall under his Government. On the other side, mens minds not being accustomed to the War, many being distracted by their private affections and considerations, others afflicted from the desolation, which the Country together with their goods and fortunes suffered, the advantages and offers of both the Crowns made them wavering; and whilst against *France* was objected the fresh hatred of so many evils, and the interest of many private persons closed with *Spain*; after long debates in the most secret of their counsels, the resolution not to subject themselves entirely to *Spain* was carried but by three Votes only. They admitted notwithstanding *Spanish* Souldiers into their places and into *Genoua* it self; and *Feria* at last leaving a good part of his Army towards the *Valteline* and the *Venetian* Confines, advances with eight thousand Foot and three thousand Horse to *Alessandria*. From thence *Gonsales Oliveira*, with a Body of that Nation, marches forward to *Nizza de la Paglia* to cut off Victuals from all parts. And now, to say truth, the Confederates about *Gavi* were brought to streights, no succours coming from *France*, and the assistance hoped for from the Sea failing; for notwithstanding that *Carlo* endeavoured by most effectual offices to persuade the King of *England* to send his powerful Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, he could not effect it, the King proposing to himself more plausible and profitable designs

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designs against *Spain*. That of *France*, though the motion of it was one of the conditions agreed on, yet could as little be disposed to it, whilst the Ships were kept in the West Sea to repulse the annoyances of *Soubize*, and the Duke of *Cuisse* Admiral, was in *Provence* with a few Ships, unproportionable to what was needful, and incapable to undertake any thing but a booty of one hundred and eighty thousand Rials, as it was waisted from *Spain* to *Genoua*. That caused more noise than profit; for in requital, all the effects of the *French* in *Spain*, and, in revenge, those of the *Spaniards* in *France* were seized.

The *Genouese* pretended to make themselves satisfaction by a vengeance more conspicuous; three of their Gallies taking the Admiral-Ship of the *savoyards* at the Islands of *St. Honorat*, possessing also by four or five thousand men, they sent thither, *Oneglia*, almost without dispute. *Carlo* ill bearing the insults of the Enemy, and the loss of his own hopes, though the Conquest of *Genoua* proved difficult, had a mind at least to attempt the possessing the West part of the River, which in the division belonged to him. Separating then his own from the *French* Forces, he sends one part with *Felix*, his natural Son, to take in *Savignone*, a Fief of the Empire, distant but a few miles from *Genoua*; and the rest, which consisted in six thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, he commits to the Prince *Victorio*, who with one Carriere of good Fortune made himself Master of all that tract; for having after a short resistance forced *la Pieve*, where were made Prisoners *Giovanni Girelamo Doria*, with some Officers of note; *Albenga*, *Porto*, *Mauritio*, *Ventimiglia*, and *Zuccarello* yielded almost of their own accord; *Oneglia* was recovered, and almost all that remained of that River gained. The people there wanted rather goods and blood than the Souldiers greediness and arrogance; cruelty and avarice, as it were to strive, exercising themselves, so that the Country not fruitful, nor large, but delicious and opulent, was in a short space set on broach and stript. This prosperity lasted little; for the *Genouese* being re-inforced, and *Feria* drawing near, *Desdignieres* was in a manner shut up in *Gavi*, with eight thousand men only, which disbanded also by Troops, not without the secret consent and some sort of licence from the Constable and *Crequi*, who in the want they were in of Victuals, published it better to withdraw them from the calamity of hunger, though the Duke upbraided them, that they did it to convert the pay to their own use. It was therefore necessary to call back the Prince, and resolve to retire into *Piedmont*, leaving in *Gavi* nineteen pieces of the Dukes Cannon, for want of draught to carry them away, whilst the Inhabitants of *Pocovera*, a bold people, that dwell in a Valley near *Genoua*, entering into the Quarter where they were kept; making prey of a great many, by cutting their Ham-strings, made the rest unserviceable.

The retreat out of the Country of *Genoua* was done with some appearance of military daring; for the Duke marching in the Vanguard, when he passed in view of the *Spaniards*, challenged them

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The *French* Ministers then were vehemently earnest with the *Venetians*, and the Duke used his effectual intreaties, that to divert the destruction of *Piedmont*, they would resolve to invade the *Milanese*. But they ascribing the sinister events to worse counsels, would not make them good by exposing themselves alone to dan-

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gers and prejudice, and the rather because they saw succours far off, *Deslignieres* ready to repass the Mountains, and the power and honour of the Crown of *France* declined in *Italy*; nevertheless remaining constant in their friendship, they offered the greatest readines in the Spring to second with their Arms the generous designs of the King in whatsoever the League obliged to.

Feria making choice of the enterprize on *Verrua*, which at first might have been exploited with a few Troops, engages his most choice Army about it, to the great ease of the mind and sollicitude of the *French* and *Carlo*. And indeed the situation being so deep in *Piedmont*, the *Spaniards* supposing it an enterprize of a few days, hoped to be able from thence to torment the Duke in his bowels with their Winter-quarters. 'Tis a little place on the right side of the *Po*, stands on a Hillock, with a weak Castle on the top of it, and a weaker Town on the descent, at that time little less than not regarded and unprovided. But *Feria* with *Gonsales di Cordua*, who, come out of *Flanders*, assisted in the government of the Army, what with preparatives and delays, which the motion of a great Army requires, gave time to Prince *Thomas* and to *Chrequi*, disengaged from the care of defending *Asti*, not only to follow him, and flank upon him, but to send the Marquess of *St. Rairan* with a thousand men to strengthen those three hundred which alone were in it before. It seemed to some, that the *Spanish* Chiefs were excellently well skilled in the Orders of the War, but did not well adjust them to the present business; for to march with an Army in a body, secure its Quarters, and intrench it self first before the attack of a place, was conceived wise counsel against places of strength; but for *Verrua* it was judged exceeding the quality of the enterprize, and unreasonable by reason of the Winters approaching. War, to say truth, is like a mixture of contrary Elements, wisdom is very often confounded with fortune, and, according as the occasion requires, caution and boldness have each its time.

All gave the Duke means to provide for it better, and to be vigilant for its relief, which at first he in a manner resolved to neglect. He made his place of Arms in *Crescentino*, which stands opposite to it on the *Po*, and laying over a Bridge, fortifies himself upon the banks of the River. The *Spaniards* Force was by this means rendred vain; for succours, at the Dukes pleasure, entred into the place with flying Colours, the Guards were changed, Drums beating, Souldiers were relieved, the weak and hurt withdrawn; and if *Feria* battered it on the one side, *Carlo* on the other repaired it. There was notable service for many days at a *Ravelline*, which was at the bottom of the Town, defended from the upper part by certain Trenches and Cuttings, which ascended in most parts above the steep of the Hill, the one giving countenance and defence to the other. There, for the conquest of so small a piece of earth, the blood of many was without consideration sported away in infinite Factions, it being contentiously attacked, and defended with most manifest proofs of valour. Destroyed at last rather than gained, the *spaniards* endea-

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voured by little and little to advance, creeping as it were upwards; but with slow and always disputed progress, whilst with a pace more swift, the season, sickness, and death bringing the Army to nothing, overcame the constancy of the Governour of *Milan*. The Duke insulted upon it with so much the greater boldness, as by his pressing instances, notwithstanding the Winter, the Marquess *Vignoles* with about four thousand Souldiers were coming out of *France*. Whereupon the besiegers themselves seemed in a manner besieged; for the waters and the mire encompassed their un-inhabited Quarters, in which there was great doubt to be over-powered by the boldness of the Enemy, and the Chiefs of the Army were just in consultation to yield the Punctilio to Fortune, when *Carlo* and *Chrequi* giving on upon the same Quarters, and possessing certain Posts, obliged *Feria* to rise by night and to retreat *à la fourdine*. The difficulty of the ways hindered the Duke to pursue him, and the opposition of the *French* Chiefs diverted him from going into the *Milanese*. So that *Feria*, with the small reliques of his great Army, was able to get to *Pontesura* at the same time that *Santacroce*, having left *Piedmont*, was returning to embark. These events, in which the two Crowns had gained rather the satisfaction to have protected their friends, than reaped the honour of noble enterprises, must not interrupt the relation of Actions in the *Valtelline*, where the Army of the Confederates, being come to *Riva*, as to the boundary of their progress, had remained for some months idle, although by the succours, they had received, they consisted of eight thousand Foot and five hundred Horse in the field, besides Garrisons and a Body of men which was with *Harcourt* at *Chiavenna*.

Nevertheless the other Party, though inferior in number, because *Serbellione* being gone, the Governour of *Milan* had recommended those Posts to *Papenbaim* alone with five thousand five hundred Foot and four hundred Horse, had the advantage of the strength of the situation, and the facility of relief; nor could that be hindered by four Barks, which being built in those parts, were armed with Souldiers of the Republick, because the *Spaniards* being superiour in number, and their Cannon from the Posts thereabouts beating upon them, did not give them leave so much as to put off from the shore. Besides the proceedings were much retarded by the emulation betwixt *Cocvre* and *Monsieur de Vobcour*, Marshal de Camp, grown to such a height, that he, envying the glory and authority of the Marquess, contradicted always the counsels, or diverted the executions.

Thus remained the Confederates amidst the difficulty of the Enterprise and the tediousness of Consults, to the great discontent of the *Venetians*; many imputing also to the Marquess, as it was usual, that he was too much in love with the continuance of the command and the management of the War and Money: Resolving at last to attempt *Nova*, which having at first been abandoned by the *Spaniards*, and neglected by the Confederates, was now with many Trenches joyned unto *Riva*; but the Chiefs of the *French* deferring the

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the execution for a month, the *Spaniards* had time not only to be pre-advertised, but to repair the ruins of *Codera*, and plant Batteries in flank at *San Fedele* and at *Francesca*, keeping themselves in a readiness to withstand the attack. Nevertheless it was attempted, *Vobcour* with the *French* in the march having the Vanguard, the stranger Militia of the Republick under *Melander*, and the *Italians* commanded by Count *Niccolo Gualdo*, followed. *Vobcour* at a little River makes a stand, to lay over a Bridge; but *Papenbaim* drawing many Squadrons into Arms on the other side disputes it with him, and the Skirmish grew so hot, that if night had not separated, both Armies would have been engaged in a general fight. The Confederates finding the opposition strong, and the batteries annoying, under shot whereof the Troops being obliged to pass, with a loss greater than they on the other side received, retired, having two hundred hurt, and almost as many killed, amongst which *Marc Antonio Gualdo*, Nephew to the Count *Nicholas*, was of greatest name. It was imputed to *Vobcour*, first to have made a halt unseasonably, and next to have engaged in a fight without staying for the gross; and because from the delays and ill successses pretences and accusations were never wanting betwixt him and the Marquess, he was recalled to Court. In the hot months of Summer, both Armies, by the unwholesomeness where they lay being infected with sickness, languished, being daily weakened by death and run-aways; so that there was a secret cessation of Arms.

The *Venetians* notwithstanding not at all trusting in such a calm, brought into the *Valtelline* fifteen hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse more, there being now few others besides their Troops there. *Valaresso*, fallen sick, they ordered *Luigi Giorgio* to succeed, and to *Barbaro* General at Land, *Francesco Erizzo* Cavalier and Procurator. *Leopold* from the side of *Tirol* threatened the Valley of *Parrentz*; but levying at the common charge of the League two thousands of the Peasants of those parts to keep the passages, the danger presently vanished. *Papenbaim*, at last re-inforced with men, and not at all less by the slow proceedings of the Confederates, passed over the Mountain with three thousand Foot, and his Horse at the same time by way of the Lake disembarking in the mouth of the Valley, enters into the little Campagna called the *Back*. *Melander* with Souldiers of the Republick, had the guard of it; but finding himself not strong enough, and having required and not received succours from *Cocvre*, who uncertain whether the Enemies march would tend, would not separate his Forces, he retires in good order, first burning the Ammunition, leaving notwithstanding seven little Pieces and four empty Barks in the power of the *Germans*. *Giorgio*, to a Redoubt which guarded the high-way, and had been gallantly, at the first assault, defended by the *Albanian* Foot, would have sent succours, but *Cocvre* thought it not fit that the Army should be engaged for so small a matter; but rather retired to the Bridge of *Ganda*, abandoning the Country and several places upon the Mountain, together with the Towns of *Trabona*, *Cepsono*, *San Giovanni*, and others even to *Morbegno*. The

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During this season, improper for the management of Arms, the Confederates apply themselves to confirm what they had got, placing two Forts, one in the Center of the Valley at *Tirano*, and another near to the entrance at *Trabona*; the first garrisoned by the *French*, and the second by the *Venetians*. Nor was there the least doubt of the continuance of the War the year following; because the Negotiation of Peace by the Cardinal *Barberin* in the Court of *France* was come to nothing, he, by reason of his Purple, his Ministry, and nearness to the *Pope*, having had an exquisite reception, but found the business as much intricate and difficult. His offices consisted in complaints for the Invasion, in demands for the consignment of the Forts, in scruples of restoring the Valley to the *Grisons*, in propositions to withdraw it from their Dominion, as the only means to secure Religion and the Consciences of the people.

But the Cardinal *Richelieu*, the Marshal of *Schomberg*, and the Secretary of State *Herbault*, deputed by the King to confer with the Legate, insisted, That the Treaty of Madrid should be executed, adding, that *Chiavenna* by the *French*, and *la Riva* by the *Spaniards* should by way of respect, be delivered to the *Pope*, to be presently demolished, and afterwards the other Forts successively, the demolishing of the one always preceding the delivery of another. That in this condition they should afterwards be restored to the *Grisons*, with a Covenant express, that the *Catholic* Worship alone should be there practised, the *Magistrates* and *Inhabitants* of a contrary belief excepted.

The Legate shewing himself not contented herewith, proposed at least a general suspension of Arms in *Italy*, but was rejected by the *French*, the Ambassadors of *Venice* and *Savoy* mainly opposing it; who believed, that the Confederates, intricated in the vain hopes of Peace, would employ themselves more slackly to the provision for War; and so would be of no other use but to confirm the *Spaniards* in their predominancy, to enfeeble the *French*, and to consume the *Italians* betwixt Jealousies and Charges. The Legate then seeing his longer stay unprofitable to the Treaty, and prejudicial to good Manners, departs without expecting the issue of an Assembly of some chief persons which *Richelieu* called, because he foresaw that the

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The Kingdom enjoyed now within a certain appearing quiet, since *Soubize* being driven out of the Island, and his Ships dispersed, certain Articles were agreed with the *Huguenots*, which *Roche* also at last received under the caution of the King of *England*, that they should be observed by *France*, and it looked as if the King were now to employ himself more powerfully to the Affairs of the *Valteline*; to promote which, the *Venetians* had sent besides to that Court *Simcon Contarini* Cavalier Procurator as Ambassadour Extraordinary.

But the *Pope* ill digesting, after the disparaging his Troops, the repulse also in the Treaty, declared, that in the Spring to come he would return into the Valley with six thousand Foot and five hundred Horse under the Command of *Torquato Conti*. To give ground and reputation to this undertaking, he solicited *Leopoldus*, who by devotion of the holy year was then at *Rome*, to invade it on his side. He sends to *Milan* the Prior *Aldobrandino*, who concerted, that the Governour was to provide Victuals, furnish necessities and Cannon, and supply also a number of Souldiers which should waste in the occasions of War, at the charge of the King, though under the *Popes* own Colours.

The Confederates, stricken with this so sudden resolution, shewed themselves greatly moved, that *Urban*, renouncing to the intentions of a professed Neutrality, would make himself a Party in this War, in which, amidst so many considerations, the most holy one of Religion served henceforth but for a shadow. The Cardinal *Magallotti* therefore having communicated to their Ministers in *Rome*, that the noise of those Arms tended against the *Grisons* only, they let him know, That the interest of that people being indistinct from the common concern of the League, as much as the Princes venerated the sacred name of the High Priest, so much they were resolved not to abandon the Cause of their Friends, and the universal good of *Italy*.

Surely whoever considered the appearance only and noise of this undertaking, divulged by the *Pope*, would easily be persuaded, that his mind being overcome with the hopes of the Marriage of *Stigliana* with his Nephew, and the private interests of the Family, he had given himself up in prey to the will of the *Austrians*, and would draw stronger arguments from his having destined the Cardinal *Barberine* immediately upon his return to *Rome* Legate into *Spain*, under the title to hold at the Sacred Font a Daughter born about that time to the King; but he ruminating in his mind upon more abscinded ends, governed himself by motives more secret: for having discovered the secret Negotiations, which passed betwixt the two Crowns, and knowing that the Peace betwixt them was near being concluded, to the deluding of the rest, he had a mind by this ostentation of vigour and Arms to uphold to the World the reputation and opinion, which he thought prejudiced by the suffering of so great an affront. Nevertheless in affairs of a like nature, the cause being

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the aim of the Favourite being but to interest the most accredited of the Kingdom in his own judgment; their opinions, as it happened, would not be differing from his counsels.

The Kingdom enjoyed now within a certain appearing quiet, since *Soubize* being driven out of the Island, and his Ships dispersed, certain Articles were agreed with the *Huguenots*, which *Rochel* also at last received under the caution of the King of *England*, that they should be observed by *France*, and it looked as if the King were now to employ himself more powerfully to the Affairs of the *Valtelline*; to promote which, the *Venetians* had sent besides to that Court *Simone Contarini* Cavalier Procurator as Ambassador Extraordinary.

But the *Pope* ill digesting, after the disparaging his Troops, the repulse also in the Treaty, declared, that in the Spring to come he would return into the Valley with six thousand Foot and five hundred Horse under the Command of *Torquato Conti*. To give ground and reputation to this undertaking, he solicited *Leopoldus*, who by devotion of the holy year was then at *Rome*, to invade it on his side. He sends to *Milan* the Prior *Aldobrandino*, who concerted, that the Governour was to provide Victuals, furnish necessaries and Cannon, and supply also a number of Souldiers which should waste in the occasions of War, at the charge of the King, though under the *Popes* own Colours.

The Confederates, stricken with this so sudden resolution, shewed themselves greatly moved, that *Urban*, renouncing to the intentions of a professed Neutrality, would make himself a Party in this War, in which, amidst so many considerations, the most holy one of Religion served henceforth but for a shadow. The Cardinal *Magallotti* therefore having communicated to their Ministers in *Rome*, that the noise of those Arms tended against the *Grisons* only, they let him know, That the interest of that people being indistinct from the common concern of the League, as much as the Princes venerated the sacred name of the High Priest, so much they were resolved not to abandon the Cause of their Friends, and the universal good of *Italy*.

Surely whoever considered the appearance only and noise of this undertaking, divulged by the *Pope*, would easily be persuaded, that his mind being overcome with the hopes of the Marriage of *stigliana* with his Nephew, and the private interests of the Family, he had given himself up in prey to the will of the *Austrians*, and would draw stronger arguments from his having destined the Cardinal *Barberine* immediately upon his return to *Rome* Legate into *Spain*, under the title to hold at the Sacred Font a Daughter born about that time to the King; but he ruminating in his mind upon more abscinded ends, governed himself by motives more secret: for having discovered the secret Negotiations, which passed betwixt the two Crowns, and knowing that the Peace betwixt them was near being concluded, to the deluding of the rest, he had a mind by this ostentation of vigour and Arms to uphold to the World the reputation and opinion, which he thought prejudiced by the suffering of so great an affront. Nevertheless in affairs of a like nature, the cause being

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being not to be dived into before the effects, every one believed, that by interressing the Name and Authority of the *Pope*, the War would be exasperated. Preparations were made on all sides, of Arms and of minds, and the *French* feigning to be equally pressed, demanded by *Monsieur de Bassompierre* a great Levy of *Switzers*, and that passage might be denied to those of the *Austrians*.

To find out some compofure betwixt those of the *Valteline* and the *Crisons*, which might serve to maintain the defence with minds united, or facilitate the Peace, *Coecore* and *Giorgio* assembled their Deputies in *Sondrio*, but without fruit, the one not resolving to lose their Sovereignty and the profits, and the other fancying to themselves, that pardon was more to be suspected than revenge. Seeds of greater calamities sprung now up in all parts; for as much as that in *Germany* also the Victories of *Ferdinand* served rather to exasperate than terminate the War, whilst his prosperity rendred his power as much burdensome to his Neighbours as hazardous to the Empire. For this purpose a Meeting was held at the *Hague*, to which coming the Ministers of *France*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Gabor*, and of other Princes of the North, they made the World believe, that they aimed not so much at the moderation of the greatness of the *Austrians* as totally to suppress it. Nevertheless, according to the destiny attending such an Assembly, every one amidst the common interest driving his own peculiar designs, it was discovered, that the *French* did not intend to charge themselves with ought else, but to give the *Hollanders* the Subsidy stipulated, that they would refuse the Truce offered by the *Spaniards* with other large Conditions.

The Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* desired to make a War, and demanded great sums of money to maintain it; and the *Transylvanian*, not regarding the Conditions lately made with the Emperour, offered to break anew, provided he might have a vigorous assistance. In such sort that every one demanding considerable assistances, and none being willing to give them to another, the Meeting separates like one of those great Engines which split when they are ready for motion; taking pretext, that some, especially the *Transylvanian*, had not sufficient powers: whereupon the Meeting was put off to the year following, to the end that by a better concert the League might then be finished.

No body had shewed himself more earnest in this business than the King of *England*, as both younger and more provoked; whereupon dispatching his Favourite *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* for his Ambassadors to the *Hague*, impatient of longer delay, he concludes with the United Provinces a Treaty of offence and defence for fifteen years, by means whereof he pretended to restore the *Palatine Frederick* into his Patrimony, concerting a diversion by Sea on the Coast of *Spain*, and to send an Army by Land at a common charge. But of this, for want of money, which could not be raised without the odious calling of a Parliament, the design vanished; and of the other, Fortune frustrated the effect, although the

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


















Fleet consisted of more than ninety Ships, a Squadron of *Holland* being therein comprehended, so well furnished with Souldiers, and all other necessaries, that if in the inconstancy of the waves, reason or force might have commanded any attempt whatsoever, seemed likely to succeed. But carrying *Fredericks* Colours for a shew, sailing longest the Coast of *Spain*, and casting Anchor in the Bay of *Cadiz*, in design to take that Port, and to pillage the rich Fleet, which was expected from *America*, they land at *Puntal*, to cut off succours from the Town, and shut up certain Gallies and Gallions in the Port; which would have easily succeeded, if they had not spent a great deal of time to no purpose in fortifying themselves. *Spain*, that was wont rather to provoke her Enemies afar off, than to see them before her face, and in her bosom, was in disorder, and the King would have gone in person to oppose them, if *Oliveres* had not diverted him, considering the remedy too late, and unbecoming the grandeur and gravity of that Nation. *Ferdinand Giron*, who commanded in that Quarter, with a stupendious stoutness transported in a few Gallies from the *Terra firma*, and in sight of the Enemy, Ammunition and Souldiers, with which the Garrison was strengthened; they so molested the *English* with Sallies, that, judging the gaining of it would be long and difficult, they re-imbarked, applying themselves to what they could light on at Sea. Many Barks were dispatched from the Coast of *Spain* to meet the Fleet, to the end, that changing their course, and keeping aloof from the Cape of *St. Vincent*, where the *English* waited for them, they might put in at the *Corogue*. One of them falling seasonably into their hands, saved the rest; for taking it for granted, that the Fleet would make for this Port, they sailed thither, whilst in the mean time having had no advice, it arrived happily at *Cadiz*. And now the *English* Weather-beaten, and sickness increasing, returned into their own Country, not without mutual dissatisfaction with the *Hollander*, the one imputing to the other the ill success of the Expedition.

But greater were the jars and jealousies, which, after the Conference in *Holland*, increased more and more betwixt *England* and *France*; for the one attributed to the other the loss of *Breda*, by denying passage to *Munfelt*, and upbraided him with the ruine of the *Palatine*, and the other interests in *Germany*, whilst designing in his own Kingdom the destruction of the *Huguenots*, he desired the lessening of the Protestants every where. Nor did *France* want complaints reciprocal, for the many reprisals happened at Sea, the retreat of *Soubize* to *London*, the assistances promised before the Peace to the *Rochellois*, and the caution given to that Peace, as though *England* intended to make a Party with its Subjects, besides the unhandson intreatment of the Queen, and her Family, contrary to the Conditions of Marriage.

The *Austrians* hoping for great advantages from such disagreements, the common friends to both interposed themselves to put a stop to them or remove them, and particularly the *Venetians*, who charged *Marco Antonio Corrado* and *Angelo Contarini* Cavalieri, Am-

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the year 1620. forwards. It was imposed upon the *Grifons* to lay down Arms, and the Crowns were presently to suspend their Auxiliaries in the difference of Duke *Carlo* with the *Genovesi*, offering themselves to interpose, that both Parties might perform it, and that cause be made an end of. They reserve to themselves at last the interpretation, in case of any difficulty in the present Treaty, which by other private Articles was yet made worse; for the *Grifons* and those of the *Valteline* not agreeing about the Pension, or the Duke of *Savoy* not according with the *Genovesi* about the business of *Zucarello*, the Crowns assumed the decision to themselves: In sum, capitulating all rather like Arbitrators than as Princes of contrary Parties and different Interests.

Many believed, that the two Kings and their chief Ministers being with so much secrecy thus agreed, had their aim to divide the care, or rather the Dominion of the World, prescribing Laws to inferiours, and promising themselves reciprocal assistances to oppress their Envyers and Enemies, subdue the Protestants and Hereticks, divide *England*, and share *Europe* betwixt them. But others considered, that the interests of *France* and *Spain* being incompatible, what between the emulation and the power, no other effect in this Conjunction could happen but that which is seen in bodies, which, possessed by two spirits, are strangely tossed up and down; and from thence did foretel, that the present friendship would quickly break out into greater contests and a more sharp War. In effect, the Treaty was penned in terms very differing from those which lodged in the heart of their Authors, such a Union so extemporary taking its measures at that time only from occasion and interest. The two Ministers had no other aim but to deceive each other.

Richelieu sacrificed all considerations whatsoever to appease a furious storm, which, with danger to involve the Kingdom in a Civil War, was rising against his Authority. He had besides a great desire to subdue *Rochel*, and humble the *Huguenots*, and no less passion drove him to vent his revenge against *England* and *Buckingham*. On the other side *Olivares* thought, that by amusing *France*, either in Intestine discord, or Foreign hopes, and the designs of great profit, he should without opposition arrive at the height of all advantages in *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, thinking by great attempts to legitimate that Title of Great, which in the beginning of his Power he had caused the King to assume. Nevertheless, upon the first divulging of a Peace so unexpected, men could not so soon penetrate into the designs of it; but in the confusion of the causes and discourses all stood amazed, and many afraid. The *Venetians* shewed themselves greatly affected with it, and stood at gaze with so much the more wonder, because that the very self same day, but a little before the news came, *Monsieur d'Aligre*, the French Ambassadour, had been in the Senate to give them assurance, that without the knowledge and consent of its Confederates the Crown would not so much as hearken to Propositions, much less conclude the Treaty. Many doubts hereupon were tossed to and fro in mens minds; but that which clearly

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clearly appeared, was the omission, not only of the consent of the Confederates, but of their interest and security, which was not perceived so much as mentioned; the *Grifons*, besides all this, remained prejudged, and indeed oppressed, contrary to that protection, which with so much reason the League had undertaken of them, and those of the *Valteline* saw themselves by the liberty they had gotten, necessarily bound up to *Spain*, which, bating the name, would certainly enjoy the disposition of the Valley and the passages.

The Duke of *Savoy* raged not a little, whilst besides the publick Interests trodden under foot, he complained, that his own proper Concerns were exposed, if not abandoned. In this grievous resentment, recalling his Son from *Paris*, upon his old disgusts he heaps up new complaints, bewailing himself, that the friendship and assistance of the French had served for nothing but to traverse his designs and greatness, calling to his remembrance; how before *Astis*, when he had *Inviois* and his Army at an advantage, and in a manner consumed, the Ministers of that Crown by protests and threatnings had extorted his consent to a Peace, and added over and above of a fresh date, that by *Desdiguieres* and *Craqui* he had several times been forbidden rather than perswaded not to invade the *Milanese*, at a time when upon *Feria's* retreat he had hopes with great ease to have made great progress. Amidst dissatisfaction therefore and disdain he meditated on repentment and revenge.

But at *Venice* the Senate ballanced with great deliberation the conjunctures and the times, and some hesitating to approve the Peace, *Girolamo Trevisano*, one of the gravest Senators, spake to this purpose: It hath seldom happened, that in friendships with the more powerful, the happiness of success is answerable to the hopes in the beginning. In the Treaties which unite us to *France*, we cannot deny but that the thought of increasing the strength of our Arms and the necessity to add security to our affairs did induce us to it. It is now certain, that in the present Treaties the Ministers of that Crown have neglected the interest of the Republick, failed in their faith and truth, forgotten their friends, violated their own honour, and that which is common to all, the League. But it is true also, that to us remains the glory to have opposed our selves against Princes the most powerful, to have by force and ourselves maintained our Neighbours, performed the parts of punctuality and of friendship, nay ex abundanti born almost alone the burden of the War. Let the blame then of the Treaties fall upon them that have negotiated and concluded them. Certainly the friendships with the French are fatal to the Republick, and great good and great evils have our Ancestors experienced from them. But she hath always, in whatsoever Fortune, held her constancy for her Dowry, and having truth for her guide, hath been delivered with safety and applause even from shipwreck itself. And now sitting aside anger and fear, it concerns us to consider what is our part to do and to debate; whether the negligence of the French in their own advantages should be preferred before the institution of this Senate, the fatality of the times present, the importance of our own and the universal Interest. The French Ministers in the Treaty of

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of Monzone have omitted the naming their Confederates; but shall we then reject the Treaty it self, and, if that do not include us, why shall we exclude our selves also from the affection of one of the greatest Kings, and while we are afraid to be exposed to the Arms of Spain, renounce wholly to the protection of the friendship of the French? Fortune is now become the portion of the Austrians; Reputation and Power are their Ministers; Prosperity and Victory fight under their Ensigns. Most powerful Countries and Armies as strong encompass us on all sides, and though jealousies may for a time be stilled, they will never be reconciled. Whither shall we run in our dangers? To whom shall we trust our suspicions? The Pope pretends to be offended; it is at least true, that he is displeased with us. Amongst the Princes of Italy, Carlo excepted, (who runs the common risk with us, but for the most part hath thoughts and designs apart) to whom can we trust our selves, or our security, or the publick liberty? The friendship then of the French Crown is necessary for us, though perhaps dangerous. It behoves us therefore to dissimble much; for all our safety is placed in an Equilibrium, which their power alone is able to give to Spain. Nor let the report disturb us, which gives out, as if these two potent Crowns had united themselves to the oppression of all else. Heaven hath prescribed limits to Empires, as also to the Elements, and if the divers and contrary qualities of these by contending for mastery over the other, preserve the order and duration of the World, it is not to be feared, that interests as discrepant being radically ingrafted in France and Spain, they can ever conspire to destroy the Constitution of Europe. The hearts of Politicians have Caverns and secret retiring places, into which there is no penetrating but by the wary guide of their ends and advantages: that errs not nor deceives; and from thence I could easily ingage to you, that the present Peace is a false shadow, which seems formed from a light yet more false, from some concern of a great Minister, which disorders the publick ones of that Kingdom and the universal ones of the World. But it will surely vanish, while the cooperating of France for the advantages and greatness of Spain is a force against Nature, which will languish and quickly fall, when that short violence that moves it shall be at an end. We see the Kingdom already in a confusion, the Court divided, the favour tottering; but this tempest will soon vanish, it being the custom of the French Climate not long to suffer turbulent weather, or be pleased with fair. To us who are accustomed by prudence and constancy to weary out adversity it self, it belongs to remain steadfast; with dexterity to oppose the present; to divert dangers; wait for better Conjunctions; and above all, not to assure our selves of our new Enemies, nor despair of our ancient friendships.

By such conceptions, those reasons being rooted up out of mens minds, which before had been imbued with the contrary, the Peace was approved by the Venetians, both by necessity and prudence. At the same time nevertheless, they perswaded the Duke Carlo to remain firm in the Maxims of the common Interest, and they always fortified themselves with greater Forces, till that, amidst the confusions and obscurity of objects, the beat of Affairs might be better discerned.

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cerned. The French understood the reasonable sense of their Confederates, and withal feared to lose by this example the imagination and hopes of new friendships. They dispatched therefore in extraordinary Ambassage to Venice Monsieur de Chasteauneuf, and to Turin Monsieur de Buglion, to the end, that excusing things past by the necessity of domestick interests, they should give assurance, that Italy should not be abandoned to the will of the Spaniards; should promise assistance in case of invasion or attacke to both the Confederates, and to heal the present wounds, should propose to the Republick to procure for them of the Grisons the liberty of the passages, and entertain the Duke with the hopes of Kingly Titles and other vain advantages.

But the Venetians listened with little credit to such projects; for France having with the conclusion of the Articles lost the Authority and Keys, which he formerly had in Rhetia, it was no more in his power to shut or open the Passes to his friends. And therefore France had nothing else to alledge in excuse, but the domestick disturbances which threatened to subvert that Kingdom. The Nation nevertheless in general were enraged at the indignity of the Treaty, and those that designed the ruine of Richelieu, failed not to publish the reproofs, accusing him, that betraying friends, he had sold the glory and advantages of the Crown to Strangers, and that with the worse consequences; because it yielding to the Spaniards in the largeness of Territories and the sagacity of Negotiation, there was no way to even the scales but by friendships. But now, said they, who will any more rely upon France, if the observance of Treaties shall not depend upon the integrity of the Princes, or the eternal Maxims of the State, but upon the venal arbitrage and fickle interests of some Favourite Minister? Was it not enough then, to have offended the King of England, ruined Mansfelt, cast off the Protestants of the Empire, lost Breda, and with it in a manner Holland, if Italy were not abandoned, the Valteline and Rhetia oppressed, and the best and ancient Friends of France were not discontented? Is it to be thought, that the friendship of Spain is to be preferred before a base and unworthy Peace, a friendship always full of jealousy and trouble, and now so much the more to be lamented, as it by the Treaty makes such breaches into reputation and interest, as by no length of time can be repaired by Arms? Let the Cardinal then rejoyce in his secret Negotiations, so long as there shall remain no more famous Monuments of his Authority and Name, than to have razed the two strongest Pillars of the Kingdom, Faith and Friendship.

But the Cardinal, deaf to reproaches and the gainsayings of all, maintained the Treaty, and solicited the execution of it. It is necessary to know what were the more internal motives of the Kingdom to so important an emergency, and what were the successes that followed. France, to say truth, was at the point of being in a combustion; for division was no more restrained to Religion and its Partisans, but had invaded the Court it self, the Cardinal having the chiefest part in it. There is no Nation that more hates and suffers

An. Dom. 1626. *fers Favourites than the French.* In civil dissensions they serve some for a pretext, and others for a shelter. War and Peace depend upon their will; the Factions are either destroyed or promoted: Kings make use of them sometimes for a shadow, and oftentimes also for a help. The Cardinal *Richelieu* above all others hath taught the rule to govern himself in such manner, that making his own and the Royal Interest one, and incorporating the Favour with the Authority of the Sovereign, the one, though there was a difference, could not be distinguished from the other, nor could that be offended but the other was wounded.

The sterility which seemed to be in the Marriage of King *Lewis*, helped forward this boisterous storm, and there was thereby confounded together, as is usual in the Court of *France*, jealousies, interests, passions, and loves also. It was expedient therefore to marry *Gaston*, then Duke of *Anjou*, and afterwards of *Orleans*, the only Brother of the King, and by his Marriage the hopes of the Succession and the fortune of the Kingdom being espoused, the minds and eyes of the Court and Nation were turned towards him. He, as young in years, and inconstant by nature, suffered his affections to be governed by the Marshal *d'Ornano*, who Governour of his Childhood, and now Director of his Youth, by complying with him in the luxurious desires of that lascivious Age, had so much power with him, that sometimes setting him against the Favourites, sometimes making merchandize of his inclinations to his own advantage, with various Fortune passing through a Prison, rose afterwards to be Marshal of *France*, with considerable power and no less riches. Amongst the Propositions of Marriage, the most secret counsel excluded that with strangers, that the Duke might not provoke unnecessarily mens minds to bold attempts, and unreasonable hopes to get and possess the Crown by the trust and reliance upon Foreign Forces.

The Queen-mother promoted that alone with the Heir of the House of *Montpensier*, which, to the splendour of the Blood Royal, added a considerable portion of Goods, Jurisdictions, and also of Sovereignty with the Principality of *Dombes*. The Faction of the *Guises* abetted her in it; because the Mother of this young Princefs, by a second Marriage, was passed into that Family, and the Cardinal *de Richelieu* concurred in it, thinking to retribute to the Queen the gratitude of that favour, which he acknowledged from her Authority and Protection. Others desired to give him the Daughter of *Conde*; and *Ornano*, who was said beyond measure enamoured on the beauty of the Princefs, her Mother, promoted it, and moved the will and inclinations of the Duke to it. But the Web was woven with yet greater Intrigues; for many with the discord of the Royal Family desired to introduce an alteration in Affairs, for as much as the favour of the King, and the authority of the Government falling upon *Richelieu* alone, others were unsatisfied at it, and aspired to their own advantages by jostling out the chief Minister, and changing the Government.

Conde, made wary by past experiences, taking himself off from his pretensions

pretensions in favour of his Daughter, which in the concurrence of so many interests he saw served but for a state or pretext, the malecontents betook themselves to Engines more powerful, making, to oppose the Queen-mother, the Queen Regent through impressions of jealousy believe, that the Marriage with *Montpensier* succeeding to be fruitful, she should be neglected; and in case of Widowhood, be necessitated with shame and scorn to subject her self to one of her own Vassals. They let it fall to her, that breaking the Treaty of Marriage with *Montpensier*, she should promote that with her own Sister the *Infanta* of *Spain*, to conjoyn *France* to that Crown with a double obligation, and establish for her self in all events stronger defence and more pleasing supports.

To introduce such thoughts into the Queens mind, the abhorrence which she had of the Cardinal *Richelieu* prevailed much, which was fomented by the Dutcheß of *Cheveruse*, her Confident, who with many artifices had the power of her will, and besides augmented her party; for the Grand Prior of *Vendosme* being her Gallant, was by her perswaded to owne it, and to bring the Duke his Brother into it; Brothers both, though base born, of King *Lewis*. With such supports they went on to greater designs, deliberating to offer to the *Huguenots* *Gaston* for their Head, suborning Governours of Provinces and places, not without whispering, that *Gaston* himself, after having killed the Cardinal with his own hand, and retiring himself from Court with the applause of a great party, should not only have constrained the King to pardon him, but disposed, as he thought fit, of the Marriage, of the Government, and of the Crown. Nothing passed without *Richelieu*'s knowledge; for *Monsieur de Chalais*, Master of the Wardrobe to the King, a great Confident of *Cheveruses*, discovering of her the secrets of the business, reported them to the King with so terrible a prospect, as if the Conspiracy being against his own Person, the design was to shut him up in a Convent, exalt his Brother to the Throne, and make him marry the Queen; so that *Lewis*, suspicious by nature, and distrustful to extremity, might have been perswaded to believe things yet more absurd: Nature had afforded to few the *Magick*, I may call it, of the tongue so powerful as to *Richelieu*; for, with a quick and nervous eloquence, enriched with ready replies, and strengthened oftentimes at his pleasure with tears, oaths, and passions moving affections, he overcame mens minds, and governed above all the will of King *Lewis*, who full of fear, referred himself to his wisdom and conduct, to the end, that he might conjure down so many false appearances. The beginning was made by the imprisonment of *Ornano* done at *Fontainebleau*, whither the Court was removed expressly to avoid those uproars and confusions, which are but too easily raised at *Paris*. The King there talking to him of the Marriage of his Brother with *Montpensier*; and he shewing himself not inclined to it, he was presently after arrested by the Guards, to the astonishment of all the rest of his party, & that so much the more as it was quickly followed by his death, ascribed by some to the indispositions of his old age, and by others attributed

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The Count of *Soissons*, who aspired to the Marriage of *Monpensier*, and, to obtain it, was entered into the parry of the male-contents, left the Kingdom, and made a Voyage into *Italy*. *Cheveruse*, commanded to remain at a house in the Country, making an escape, gets into *Lorraine*, and with a spirit, (above the custom of the Sex) greedy of novelties, passes afterwards to other Courts, carrying every where in her mind the fire of War against *France*, and that of the loves of great Princes in her rare beauty. *Chalais* alone remained unwarily taken in the net, which he had laid for others; for either trusting in the good turn he had done, more than mindful of the offence committed, thinking his service not well recompensed, conceived too vast hopes; or that, repenting to have said too much, he would discover no more, was by sentence of Judges, as guilty of the Conspiracy it self, beheaded in *Nantes*. Where at last the Marriage with *Monpensier* was performed; for the Kings Brother, having no body near him that might suggest the contrary, married her, and immediately intangled in loves and the first pleasures of Marriage, was careless of the ruine of all his Confidants.

These were then the confusions of Court, amidst which the Treaty of *Monzone* being concluded, if they took not wholly away the blame, they at least served to make some sort of excuse; but the Duke of *Savoy* not admitting of any, despising the flatteries of *Bouillon*, was so greatly offended, that swearing an implacable hatred and the most open resentments against the Cardinal, by the means of *Alexander* the Abbot of *Scaglia*, his most sharp-sighted Minister, he closes with the male-contents of the Kingdom, offers them all incouragement

couragement and forces, and particularly to *Gaston* assistance and retreat, if, as he effectually persuaded him, he would revenge himself of the Cardinal.

But at Court the seeds of discord being extinguished, he turns his practices to the *Huguenots* and to *England*, sending *Scaglia* to *London*, to the end that promoting a fierce War against *France*, he might either gain upon that Kingdom those Conquests, which he complained he had been elsewhere traversed in by those Ministers, or at least molest and punish him that had dared to abandon and set at naught a Prince in friendship with him. The rupture indeed betwixt *France* and *England* advanced apace, the disagreements betwixt the King and Queen in *London* continuing, notwithstanding that the Maréchal of *Bassompierre*, gone thither Ambassadour Extraordinary, settled certain Articles concerning the Queens Family, which in matters of Religion served for a pretext to distrust; but not reconciling the interests and passions of the two Favourites, *Richelieu* disavowed him, and *Buckingham* as studiously crossed him. At the instigation of the Duke of *Savoy*, who by his own anger sharpened that of others, the Domesticks of the Queen were sent back to *Paris*.

There followed hereupon many reciprocal reprisals at Sea, and King *Charles*, taking the *Huguenots* and *Rochel* into his protection, complained of the inobservancy of Treaties, and of the inconvenience, the Fort *Lewis* was to that Town. Upon these pretexts, *Buckingham* taking the quality of Ambassadour, had a mind to pass into *France* to procure redress; but the true motive of his Journey being ascribed to loves contracted in that Court, *Richelieu* persuades the King to refuse him entrance into the Kingdom. The rage hereupon of the other was inflamed to extremity, and swearing that since he was forbidden to enter in a peaceable manner into *France*, he would make his passage with an Army, he applies himself to an open breach. The Kings intentions being carried by *Monsieur Montaigne* to the *Huguenots* and the Duke of *Savoy*, it was resolved betwixt them, that the King, as Protector of the last Peace with the *Huguenots*, should, to repair the pretended infractions, send thirty thousand men against *France*, divided into three Armies; whereof the first was to take in the Islands next to *Xaintonge* to strengthen *Rochel*; the second, to land in the *Garonne* near *Bordeaux*; and the third, keeping *Normandy* and *Britany* in apprehension, distrust the Forces; and, shutting up the entrances into the Rivers, hinder the Commerce.

The Duke of *Savoy* was at the same time to invade *Provence* and *Dauphiné*, promising also to send five hundred Horse to *Roban*, who offered to raise the greatest part of *Languedoc* with the *Huguenots*, and with four thousand Foot and a good number of Horse to joyn with the *English* in *Guyenne*. And to the end the Kingdom might be invaded on all parts, *Carlo* Duke of *Lorraine*, moved thereto by *Cheveruse* and *Scaglia*, who went to attend him for that purpose, was to enter into it from his side with powerful Forces. The *Venetians* and the States of *Holland* were also invited by the *English* and

An.Dom. by *Savoy*, the one by the interests of Religion, and the other in revenge of the Treaty of *Monzone*, and for fear of the Union betwixt *France* and *Spain*; but both these Republicks, apprehending more than from the Treaty of *Monzone*, the evils from the discord betwixt *England* and *France*, who coming to a War left every where a field open to the advantages and arbitrement of the *Austrians*, endeavoured by an effectual mediation to reconcile them.

In this interim the Treaty was executing in the *Valteline*, though the *Grisons*, greatly stirred with prejudice, appealed, sending an express Embassy into *France*. Nor was it to any purpose, that *Monsieur de Chasteauneuf*, to appease them came from *Venice* to *Coira*, and from thence into *Helvetia*: for the three Leagues, and amongst the *Switzers* the Protestant Cantons would never give their consent. Nevertheless, not regarding their complaints, it was agreed to render the Forts, and withdraw the Armies.

The *Venetians*, by reason of the nearness, were troubled that the Forts should be demolished, and the Pope refusing to charge himself with such a trouble and expence, *Fargis* at the Court of *Spain* had consented to new prejudices, capitulating that they should by the Pope be delivered to those of the *Valteline* or the *Spaniards* themselves to demolish them. But that being disapproved by *France* and the Republick; it was at last agreed in *Rome*, between *Monsieur Bethune* and the Count *d'Ognate*, Ambassadors of the Crowns, That these old Forts, out of which the Ensigns of the Church had gone forth, should be restored to *Torquato Conti*, who should enter into them with three thousand men; that he afterwards should go out of them when the Spanish Ministers should deliver him a Writing, that they were satisfied of the former deposition: That at the same time the Confederates should withdraw their Forces out of the new Forts, and they to be all at a time demolished by the Peasants so soon as Pope *Urbans Colours* should enter into the first. Some retardments deferred the delivery until the beginning of the year to come; for *Coevre* had a mind before he retired, that the Pension of those of the *Valteline* to the *Grisons* should be adjusted. But *Gonsales de Cordua* (who, upon the removal of *Ferja*, as little inclined to execute the Peace, commanded in the *Milanese*) denying that he had power concerning this, it was in *France* adjudged by the King with the consent of the Ambassador of *Spain* at twenty five thousand Crowns a year. *Carlo* also, pressed by *Bouillon*, had made a suspension of Arms with the *Genouefs*; rather to revenge himself of *France*, than out of complacency to it; for being entred into the design to invade with great hopes that Kingdom, he did not unwillingly disengage himself on that side. In this manner was *Italy* set at quiet, but knew it self big with new storms and more fierce tempests. The *Venetians* accommodating themselves to the time, and reforming their Militia, kept a strong body of the most veteran and tried ones. In this year amongst the domestick Affairs, *Frederico Cornaro*, Bishop of *Bergamo*, being promoted to the Cardinalat, in that order in which amongst the other Crowns the Popes are wont to honour the Republick, there arose a doubt,

a doubt, whether, he being Son of the *Doge* the Law had place, which forbid them to receive Ecclesiastical Benefices; and it was declared by the Senate, that a dignity of that quality was not comprehended under the common name of Benefices. On the contrary, to *Carlo Quirini*, Bishop elect of *Sebenico*, was denied the possession, because the Council of Ten, having received knowledge, that he had gotten it by means not lawful for Citizens of the Republick, and by the favour of the Ministers of other Princes, banished him with the severest penalties, and the Church was given by the Pope to another.

During the Truce, howsoever short, caused by the Arms and evils of *Italy*, a new War arises in *Germany*, or rather the old was increased, by the practices of *Christian* the Fourth, King of *Denmark*, contrived with the Protestants. That Kingdom is not great in Territory, nor puissant in Forces, but considerable for its situation by Land and by Sea, and by reason of the support, which through its nearness it gave to the Princes of the *Lower Saxony*, who, as hath been said, had chosen him for General of the Circle, and he, together with the charge, assuming high thoughts, hoped to manage the War to his own advantage, by the forces and money of others; believing, that not only the Princes of the Empire, but Strangers also, emulous of the *Austrians*, would assist him, some from the motive of Religion, others from interest of State. He aims therefore to extend his Borders, and that principally by putting his Sons into the Bishopricks, which lying betwixt the *Elb* and *Weser*, had for some time been possessed by the Protestants. The designs being not yet ripe, nor the succours ready, which the King hoped for from *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, *Tilli*, not to give him time to strengthen himself, comes to close up to him, that, not to give way, he was forced unseasonably to break. A Truce nevertheless for three months having, at the instances of the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, been concluded before, certain Propositions of Peace were debated; but not agreeing about the point of Religion, and what should be the limits, which the Peace of the Empire, called *Pax religiosa*, prescribed, the Negotiation was broken off. The Armies then coming to move, the King calling to him *Halvershat* and *Manisfelt*, together with the Princes of the *Lower Saxony*, who chose rather to lose themselves amidst hopes and attempts, than abandon themselves to despair and fear, the Army was found to consist of sixty thousand men. *Ulrich Frederick*, Duke of *Brunswick*, refusing to joyn with the others, as partial to the Emperour, was by the King deposed, and putting *Halvershat* into his place, planted in that Country, very convenient for it by reason of its situation, the seat of the War. But the Army, which united, seemed capable to overcome all obstacles and to march into the Empire, being divided into several parts was quickly ruined every where. The King sends *Halvershat* into the Catholick Bishopricks of *Osnabrug*, *Heildesheim*, and *Minden*, which were able to furnish victuals and money in abundance, and *Manisfelt* towards the *Elb*, to drive *Wallestein* out of the Country of *Magdeburg*, who possessed it with his Quarters, and afterwards to advance forwards into

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into *Sileſia* to encourage the male-contents and *Gabor*, who offered once more to break the Peace in *Hungary*. Himſelf takes his Quarters near the *Weſer* to amuſe *Tilli*, more feared than all the reſt. But *Halverſtadt*, againſt whom *Bavaria* had ſent the Count of *Anhalt* with the Army of the Catholick League, was quickly recalled to joyne the King, and oppoſe *Tilli* with more powerful Forces; but he falling ſick, ends his days, being ſcarce thirty years old, leaving that fruit of Glory not yet ripe, which by diſturbinge the Empire he had propoſed to himſelf, and alſo a great document, how uncertain and ſhort life proves for remote and too vaſt deſigns. *Mansfelt* finding that *Walleſtain* held at *Deſſeau* a Bridge over the *Elb* with ſome Fortifications, attempting it, played upon them for ſome days with his Cannon; but being maintained and defended by *Aldringer* with the ſuccours the Count *de ſlich* brought him, *Walleſtain* had time to come with the groſs, and taking away the Enemies fight with a blind of linen-cloth, paſſes a part of his Army, and charges with ſo good ſucceſs the Troops of the Count, that the Horſe taking flight, left the Foot for the moſt part cut to pieces, with the loſs of ſix Cannons and forty Colours. But *Mansfelt*, more ready in recruiting Troops, than fortunate in preſerving them, appeared again quickly with fifteen thouſand men, the Adminiſtrator of *Magdeburg* having given him ſome re-inforcement, and more covertly the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who having married one of his Siſters to *Gabor*, gave great jealouſie to the Imperialiſts. Joyning at laſt with *John Erneſt*, Duke of *Weimar*, his numbers being increaſed by many that were baniſhed out of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, by unuſual ways and a very nimble march he enters into *Sileſia*, giving ſuch heart to the male-contents for Religion, that the Peaſants of the Upper *Auſtria*, though far off, riſing in great numbers beſieged *Lintz*, and great commotions appeared in the other Hereditary Provinces.

Ferdinand was in great perplexity at theſe riſings in Arms, beſides the jealouſies he had of *Gabor* and alſo of the *Turks*. *Walleſtain* ſending preſently into *Sileſia* three thouſand Horſe under Colonel *Beckman*, ſtays him ſome days to ſecure himſelf of *Magdeburg* and of the Eleſtor of *Brandenburg*, who being frighted, did not only give Contributions and Quarters, but acknowledged *Bavaria* for Eleſtor, as *Saxony* at the perſwaſion of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* had done before him. *Tilli* his Victory a while after ruined at a blow and ſubdued all the Proteſtants. He had with great good-luck, though with ſhedding of blood, taken in *Minden* and *Gottinghen*, and afterwards beſieged *Northheim*, places near the *Weſer*, to rid thoſe parts of the *Danes*, and ingage them to an encounter. The King, to relieve the place, comes near to it, and obliges the Imperialiſts to riſe; but loſing the advantage to fight them in the retreat, and at a time, when *Tilli* being ſick was far off, it happened, that he not only had time to recover his health, but with various and uncertain marches deluded the King, and wearied him out. At laſt, in the Dutchy of *Brunſwick* the Armies met at *Luther*, a Village amidſt certain Mountains, which by its name gave forebodings of hopes to the Proteſtants,

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Proteſtants, but by the event proved unhappy to them.

Tilli offered them battel, and the King with great reſolution reſuſed it not. That at laſt came to paſs, which is ſeldom obſerved, that Fortune changed during the fight, and that Victory crowned them, who in the beginning ſeemed abandoned, as overcome. At the fiſt Charge, it is not to be ſaid, what the force and fierceneſs of the Proteſtants was. The Guards, which conſiſted of four Regiments, being at one ſide made to run, they poſſeſſed the Cannon, and by that example almoſt all the reſt of the Catholicks gave way. But, as the more veteran Souldiers are not wont to take fright at the fiſt ſtroke, but in conſuſion and the greateſt diſorder to put themſelves again in order, many turning their faces of their own accord, others rallied by their Officers, were brought back to the fight, and ſome meeting in their flight with impaſſable Bogs, taking courage from neceſſity, repulſed in ſuch ſort the Enemy, ſomewhat diſordered in the purſuit, that they took from them all their advantage. The diſpute was very fierce, fighting with an unwonted obſtinacy for ſeveral hours, man to man, their Swords in their hands, with ſuch noiſe from their Arms and cryes, that the Sky roared for a good way round about. At laſt the Cavalry of the right Wing of the Proteſtants fell foul upon their own Foot, with ſuch diſorder, as gave the Victory to the Imperialiſts, to the great ſlaughter of the conquered. The King changed Horſes thrice, and as often re-conducted his Troops to the Charge, kept them from running away, animated the faint-hearted, was in every place where either danger terrified, or hopes gave courage, acting with his voice and endeavours, directive to his own, viſible to his Enemies, and of example to all. Nor did *Tilli* not perform the part of a great Captain, with ſo much the more applauſe, as to have got the day, after he was little leſs than overcome; ſo that Chance, which in Battels uſurps ſo great a ſhare, could not in this, by the Victory, upbraid the one with its favours, or by the loſs blemiſh the praiſe of the other. At the price of ſuch a days work, not only the remainder of the conquered, who ſtraitned in *Luther*, rendred at diſcretion; but *Northheim* and all the Countries of *Luneburg* and *Brunſwick* with many other Cities and places yielded; conſequences, proſperous to *Ferdinand*, ſpreading themſelves into every part of the Empire. Nor could it fall out at a time more unſeaſonable for the King of *Denmark*; for that *England* and *France*, ready to break betwixt themſelves, denied him the aſſiſtance he hoped for. The States of *Holland* only, who apprehended *Tilli* his old deſign of getting into *Friſland* by the way of *Emden*, ſent him ſome ſuccours of men, being able to do it with ſo much the greater convenience, as that in this year, beſides the taking of *Oldenſel*, which was of no great moment, they had ſtood either attentive on the Affairs of the Empire, or only employed themſelves to hinder the cutting off a Chanel, which the *Spaniards* attempted in vain to unite, the *Maze* with the *Rhine*.

The King himſelf within a while took new vigour from ſix thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe, ſent him by the Adminiſtrator of *Hall*,

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Hall, and from Recruits of his own Subjects; whereupon marching out of the Country of *Holslein*, whither he was retired for refuge, he was able to take *Hoye*, though himself hurt there with a Musket-shot, and his Son by a double stroke much more dangerously. Taking his Quarters afterwards in the Bishoprick of *Bremen*, *Tilli* also divided his throughout the *Lower Saxony*, for a bridle and punishment of those refractory Provinces. But the defeat at *Luther* had given its counter-blow in every other part. To reduce the Upper *Austria*, whose stirring carried great danger with it, *Ferdinand* had invited *Bavaria* to signalize himself by the recovery of that Province once more to God and the *Austrians*. But he, wont above all men in all Negotiations to joyn together two things so contrary as are Religion and Interest, offers to do it at his own charge, provided nevertheless for his re-imburement, that the Country as a fresh pledge might remain in his hand.

Ferdinand doubtful, if another Country should be offered him, of recovering this, and recompensing him, was contented that he should only lend him some Souldiers, with which joyning some Horse under the Command of *Papenheim*, the Peasants were forced to remove from *Lintz*, and having their Quarters afterwards beaten up at *Entz*, were at last wholly subdued with much blood and a mighty slaughter. In *Silesia*, *Mansfelt* had lost the opportunity of going forward by a Truce interposed by *Gabor*, that he might joyn with him; so that the Imperialists had him shut in betwixt two Rivers; but when they thought to keep him so inclosed, he gets loose from them by stealth, and advances into the Mountains of *Hungary*, where at last *Gabor's* Brother joyns him with three thousand Horse, and a little after a great Body of *Turks*, with which he might have had the better of the Enemy; by reason of the number of his Forces and the inclination of the people, if the fame of the Victory of *Luther* had not been to *Wallestain* in place of a great supply: For *Gabor* applying himself to new projects of Peace, separates from *Mansfelt*, and by his example the *Turks* retire; so that the Count, environed in the Mountains by the Imperialists, without victuals, without money, and with Troops almost disbanded and consumed, leaving order to the small reliques of his Army, that they should endeavour to joyn with the *Transylvanian*, slips away almost alone, and by a desperate counsel getting into the *Turkish* Dominions, proposes new Unions and Treaties to the *Ottoman* Ministers, and takes his way towards *Dalmatia*, so to get to *Venice*; and from thence p[as]s to those Princes which had formerly assisted him. But being come to *Cracoviz*, an obscure place in *Poznia*, near to the Confines of the *Venetians*, wearied with cares and wants he dies, ordering his Corps to be buried in the Territories belonging to the Republick.

And so *Ernest*, Count of *Mansfelt*, having sought for a glorious death amongst so many famous occasions, was ignobly surprized by it there where he least expected, to the end it might be said, that Fortune had defrauded him both in his birth and death. A man otherwise that without envy may be called Famous, and be celebrated

celebrated without blame for great, in an Age wherein some are chosen from Heaven for Ministers of Divine Justice and publick Calamities. He had the courage to provoke alone, and by his own private Authority and Conduct, the formidable power of the *Austrians*. He was alone overcome in Battel, but by his felicity of getting up again no less renowned than the Conquerours. Superiour in Negotiations to the greatest Wits. Bold in encountering dangers, and highly subtil in winding himself out of them; a Lover of disorders and novelties; enduring hunger, watchings, and excess; eloquent, wise, and vigilant; prodigal of his own, covetous of anothers; lived amidst great hopes and designs, and dyed without Lordships and without Treasure.

The Marquess of *Dowlach* thought by his example to be able to attempt *Alsatia*, having raised some Troops in *Basil*, by encouragement of the Protestant *Switzers*, and some little money with which *France* and *England* secretly furnished him, but not with an equal success; for the greatness of the *Austrians*, so firmly rooted with so many Victories, being no more to be moved with little shocks, the *Marquess* no sooner began to put himself in order, but an Army of *Ferdinand's* arriving in those parts ruined the design, intimidated the *Switzers*, and obliged those of *Basil* to discharge him. He therefore passes into *Denmark*, but had first sent to *Venice* the Colonel *Niccolas Boet*, to communicate his intentions to the Republick, and desired assistance, at a time that the King of *Denmark* also, by *Joachim Cratz*, and the effectual interposition of the Ambassadors of *England* and *Holland*, demanded money for the maintaining of five or six Regiments. The Senate having fully deduced the obligation, which the Republick had to the common Cause, by what had been done in the course of many years in *Italy*, shewed their sense in the importunity without engaging themselves further.

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Ferdinand now feared by many, and respected by all, kept under the Empire with an armed hand, keeping his Armies dispersed in the Countries of the Electors and Princes, that, where any heid up his head, they were ready to suppress and chastise them. Nor seemed the design longer concealed to reduce Christian Religion and the Authority of the *Austrians* to an Union in *Germany*. The discourse now was to make the Empire successive, *Wallestain* in particular not dissembling his thoughts so to moderate the power of the Electors, that like Grandees of *Spain*, according to his own expression, they might serve for ornament, but not to give jealousy. He and *Tilli* disposed with an absolute Authority of all Undertakings, Garrisons, Quarters, and Contributions, but with a hand so severe and heavy, that oppressing the Countries of the Protestants, and not much respecting those of the Catholics, they drained them every where, by an unheard of licence of the Souldiery, of their money and blood. The people groaned and the Princes stormed no less,

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having been accustomed to determine with a certain sort of liberty the most important affairs in their *Diet*, and not to have Contributions imposed on them but by common consent and an equal distribution. In this sad and servile prospect of things scarce any was found that durst shew his dislike.

Only the King of *Denmark*, though overcome, did his best to resist, and, to represent the necessities to others, and by the quality of the person to give weight to the business, sends *Christian William* of *Brandenburg*, administrator of *Magdeburg* and of *Halversbadt*, to several Courts imploring assistance. In *France* the designs and Arms of the Crown being turned another way, he obtained nothing. In *Holland* he had better fortune, those Provinces being in a manner without War, in regard the *Spaniards* continued to apply themselves only to the Affairs of the Empire, out of a firm belief, that the Protestants there once subdued, the *Hollanders* would not be afterwards but an Appendix to the Victory. And for this cause also *Spinola*, finding himself without employment, was gone to *Madrid*, his Reputation and Glory after the taking of *Breda* seeming among the *Spaniards* to be turned into jealousy and envy. The *Hollanders* then sending to the King of *Denmark* a body of men, with them were garrisoned some places on the *Weser*; offering two thousand more to keep the *Sound*, which is the Streight defended by two Cittadels, where betwixt the Island of *Zeland* and the Province of *Schonen* Ships pass into the *Baltick* Sea. The King taking all things in good part, only refused this, out of a doubt, lest the *Hollanders* once entred into that place so commodious and important, would afterward not easily be got out of it.

Christian went also to *Venice*, and found the Senate scarce out of the troubles of the *Yalteline*, involved anew in suspicions, and attentive upon the dangers, which by the succession of *Mantua* seemed imminent; so that he obtained nothing but the discharge of the old Count of *la Tour* from the Service of the Republick, who went thence to the Service of *Denmark*. *Bethlehem Gabor* was also tempted by the Prince himself; but he, after *Mansfelt's* departure and the disbanding of his Troops upon it, having made a new Treaty of Peace with *Ferdinand* could not break it, though he wanted not will for it, because he had not the help and the consent of the *Turks*, who terrified with the prosperity of *Ferdinand*, and intricated with disadvantage in the War of *Persia*, thought it best to preserve the Peace, and, to confirm it, to send an Ambassadour to *Vienna*. And now the King of *Denmark* taking the Duke of *Meckelburg* into his protection, and putting himself anew into the field with ten thousand Horse and twenty four thousand Foot, besieged *Blechede* upon the *Elb*. But *Tilli*, who had for his fore-runner the fame of so many happy successes, scorning an Encounter with the Marquess of *Dowlack*, who endeavoured to amuse him, arriving for its relief at the time that the place being taken, the Castle, more from the valour of the Commander than the force of the Garrison, yet held out, obliges him to retire in so much confusion and disorder, that he left behind

behind him his Cannon and much of his military Provisions. The King thinking himself not secure in *Butzenberg* whither he retired, because the *Croats* by beating Parties and intercepting Victuals molested him, retires with his weakened Army deeper into the Dutchy of *Meckelburg*. From thence he solicits the *Anseatick Towns* (so called from a certain Company anciently erected for Trade) and in particular the chiefest, which are *Hambourg* and *Lubeck*, to join themselves to the common Interest, whilst the Arms of the *Austrians* facing them by Sea, and guarding it with armed Ships, they lost their Liberty and Commerce. But the evil being so far advanced, with fear of worse, hindred the remedy of the present danger; whereupon the Cities not only denied the King assistance, but being intimidated and admonished by the Imperial Generals to furnish their Armies with Victuals, and give them passage, to grant them Ships, and discharge out of *Hambourg* the Ministers of *England* and *Holland*, they obeyed in all save in the contributing of Ships.

Tilli takes in *Lutemburg*, which gives name to a Dutchy, and *Wallestein* coming out of *Silesia*, after having recovered with little opposition all that which *Mansfelt* formerly held there, entred into the Territories of *Brandenburg* with Forces so powerful, that he obliges anew the Elector to receive the Law, to contribute Victuals and Money, to recall his Subjects from the Kings Service, and to admit Imperial Garrisons in *Francford* on the *Oder* and other places, nay in *Berlin*, the City of his Residence. The same yoke did the *Lower Saxony* receive from *Tilli*, his Garrisons being brought into *Wolfenbuttle* and other places of the greatest strength. There remained no more but to pursue the King, who leaving *Dowlack* in *Meckelburg*, was retired into his own Kingdom.

Wallestein, who from henceforward shall be called the Duke of *Fridlandt*, (for *Ferdinand* acknowledged his notable services with the recompence of that Title) coming into *Meckelburg*, puts the Marquess to retreat, and expelling those most ancient Dukes possessors of it, exacting from *Wisnar* and *Rostock*, Cities Imperial, vast sums for the maintainance of the Army. The States of *Denmark* despairing now to resist so much prosperity and so full a tide of the Catholick Arms, pressed the King to conclude a Peace, though upon hard terms, and he by means of the Duke of *Holfstein* demanded it, but the two Generals imposed upon him conditions so grievous, as differed not at all from servitude. They pretended, that laying down the Title of General of the *Lower Saxony* he should disband his Army, restore all he had taken in the Empire, should leave the Bishopsricks into which he had thrust his Sons, should deliver up *Gluchstadt* upon the *Elb*, should pay the charges and losses, renounce all Treaties against the Empire or the House of *Austria*, make no Innovations in the *Sundt*, and in sum, give caution for the observance of all things agreed. The King not assenting to such conditions, saw *Holfstein* invaded by two puissant Armies. Where that Peninsula is narrowest, *Tilli* enters with one on the left side, and *Wallestein* with the other on the right. To the first *Benneburg*, and to the latter

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steinberg were rendred without much difficulty, the King not defending himself but by retiring deeper into the Country, and burning the Country he abandoned, the Peasants over and above cutting the Dikes, and leaving themselves in prey to the waters to save their houses and goods from their Enemies.

But *Tilli*, to oppose the *Hollanders* which had sent considerable Forces into the Territory of *Bremen*, yielded the enterprize upon *Denmark* to *Wallestein*, who quickly taking the places of greatest importance, made himself Master before the end of Winter, not only of *Holstein*, but of the Countries of *Sleswich*, *Jutland*, and *Ditmars*, notwithstanding the strength of the situations and the inconvenience of the Ice and Climate. *Dowrlach* withdrawn into a little Island near to the Continent, was by the Count *de Slich*, who had first defeated certain Companies, and gained eighteen pieces of Ordnance, so closely besieged, that having no Barks to save his Troops, was himself hardly able to get away alone in a small Boat, leaving the Souldiers to shift for themselves, who took Service under the Imperial Colours. The King having a Navy of sixty Ships, guarded the Islands, and scoured the Coasts, and although eight of them fell into the hands of the Imperialists, he was nevertheless Master at Sea.

The *Austrians* by entering with a naval Army into the *Baltick*, projected a great design to pierce into the bowels of the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and at the same time to bridle *Swede*, subject the free Cities, and to seize upon the Trade and Commerce of the North, to the exclusion of all else, and in particular the *Hollanders*, who besides great riches draw from thence Corn to feed their people, and Wood for the Fabrick of their great Ships. All those that were concerned were much alarmed, and the *Anseatick* Towns were more especially disturbed at it, who taking courage from the extremity of the danger, did not only deny *Ferdinand* their own Ships, but diverted the providing them elsewhere. The *Spaniards* notwithstanding talked of sending a Squadron of their Ships to joyn with some gotten of the City of *Dantzick* with the will and consent of the King of *Poland*, who enamoured with such a pleasing thought, in hope that the King of *Swede* would be obliged to retire for the defence of his own Country, breaks the Treaty of Peace, which he had almost concluded with him. But the Ships of *Dantzick* not being sufficient for the necessity, and those of *Spain* not appearing, the design was rather published than performed.

In this interim another Stratagem no whit less was put in practice by force of Arms; *Ferdinand* promoting, under the pretext of Religion, the Grandeur of his House and Sons. Settling upon his Eldest the Hereditary Crowns and the Succession of the Patrimonial Lands, he provided *Leopold William* the Second with Ecclesiastical Benefices of a large Dominion; for the Archduke *Leopold of Infbruck* being married with *Clandia de Medici*, Widow of *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Urbis*, had resigned to his Nephew, though very young, the Bishopricks of *Strasburg* and of *Possa*, with other rich Benefices of the Church, and now having overcome the reluctance of the

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Chanoines by frights or promises, the Emperour had got him chosen Bishop of *Halverstat*, a Principality rich in Revenue, and important for its situation, in the Centre of many Towns of the Protestants, and which enjoyed by them, and particularly by the House of *Saxony* for a long time, had for Coadjutor at that time one of the Sons of the King of *Denmark*. The Abby also of *Hirschevelt*, which is a Principality of the Empire, usurped long ago by the *Landgraves* of *Hessen*, was conferred upon him by the Pope, and he was to recover it with Arms. The same was thought on for *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*, by which was formed for largeness, dignity, and riches a vast State in the heart of *Germany*, which extended the Power and Authority of the *Austrians*, and which at last passing from hand to hand, would be perpetuated in their House.

The Princes of the Empire were sufficiently jealous of it, and in particular the Elector of *Bavaria*, who by secret Envoyes solicited the Kings of *France* and *England* to reflect upon the oppression of the liberty of *Germany*. Nevertheless he could not separate himself from *Ferdinand*, because the Interest of the *Palatinate* did closely unite him, of which, by the reconciliation with *Frederick*, the *Austrians* might, upon all occasions, be able to deprive him. And just at this time was held an Assembly in *Colmar*, wherein, by the interposing of the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Wirtemberg*, some terms of adjustment were debated, *Frederick* being contented not to have the Country and Vote restored but to his Sons after the death of *Maximilian*; but not assenting that the Catholick Religion, introduced by *Bavaria*, should be continued there, the Negotiation was broken off. That which made more noise, though it came to nothing, was a Conference of the Electors, who, moved at the universal oppression of the Empire, by the excess of Contributions, the licentiousness of the Souldiery, and the arbitrary Power of the Generals, met at *Milhausen* in *Thuringia*, some in Person, and some by their Deputies, to confer of the means to preserve Peace, and to remedy the present evils. The Count of *Stralendorff* assisted there for the Emperour, whither the King of *Denmark* and *Frederick* being willing to send their Ministers, they were not admitted. In the diversity of Interests, which some had, and the fear, that all were in, of the Forces of *Ferdinand*, several things were projected; but no one concluded. *Saxony*, who could not consent to deprive himself of so great riches, opposed those that would have the Church-lands restored. And he that desired to bridle the Authority of *Ferdinand*, was dissuaded by the apprehension of his powerful Armies; whereupon he perceiving the thoughts of some, and particularly of *Bavaria*, to restrain by a Decree of the Diet that absolute Power which he assumed in the Affairs of the Empire, sending numerous Troops into *Swedia* and *Francony*, curbs the Catholick League and the Elector himself in such sort, that there was not any that had the boldness to express or maintain his own sense. Thus the Power of the Emperour runs on uncontrouled, all things succeeding to him with such prosperity, that Fortune seemed espoused to his desires. But the playing the

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Adulterers, at last made her self quickly to be known, then chiefly to lye in wait to deceive when she is most kind; for in the bosom of so great felicity, from the jealousies and suspicions of others was begotten the worm which corrupted it with unhappy and calamitous accidents.

At the above-mentioned Diet of the Electors was there for the Crown of France, *Monseigneur de Marscheville*, who visiting many Princes of Germany, and penetrating into the secretest of their troubled minds and disgults, had exhorted some to patience till better times, stirring up others to oppose themselves against the vast designs of the Austrians, by Treaties, if not by Arms; and beginning a Negotiation with the Elector of Trier, to bring him under the protection of France, had in many sowed seeds of various hopes and thoughts; for *Richelieu* foreseeing to what height the power of the Austrians would mount, if no resistance were opposed, endeavoured to dispose things so, that being at liberty from domestick affairs, he might apply himself in time to foreign interests. For that present, the Concert greatly diverted him, wherein appeared so many Princes ingaged against that Crown, and he had discovered it by the Imprisonment of *Monseigneur Montaignu* as he was going into Lorrain; from whence the Managements and Treaties were not only made known to him, but he discovered the promises which the Austrians had made to the Duke of Lorrain, to assist them with the Forces of the Empire, together with the design which the Duke of Savoy had to surprize *Tholoun*, and the Intelligences which *Roban* held in *Mompel-lier*. Many of these designs with wit and prevention became frustrate; but the English Fleet which alarmed all the maritime Provinces, could not be resisted but with an equal strength. The Fleet it self, though considerable for number and quality, yet arrived not at the Puissance designed in the first agreement, being not strong enough to be divided into three parts, nor with proportionable Forces assault France with a triple Invasion. For this cause the Dukes of Lorrain and Savoy kept their motion in suspense, to see what issue the first landing would produce.

The French had disposed their defence longest the Sea-coast with a powerful Army under the Command of the Duke of Angoulesme; but whilst they guarded *Xaintonge* and the adjacent Country from disembarkings, the Islands remained exposed. These are very near to *Rochel*, and by consequence considerable for situation; he that hath them being able to command the Sea, and to disturb the opposite Provinces. *Buckingham* that commanded the English Fleet, boasting to make his way armed, and by force; where he had been denied a peaceable entry, chose them opportunely for his aims, encouraged by *Soubize*, who accompanied him, and hoped by his credit and artifice to make *Rochel* and all the body of the Huguenots declare in his favour. But the Cardinal had lost no time to send some of his Confidants into the Town, and to gain some of the chief, who sometimes with popular discourses among the Vulgar, and at others in their Assemblies interposing difficulties in their Councils, either opposed

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posed themselves to their debates, retarded their resolutions, or corrupted the execution of them: for in all Quarters of the Huguenots he had many that depended on him, who preferring peace and profit before the dangers accompanying their belief, by contradicting diverted the common Councils, or eluded their effect by the divulging of them.

Thus was *Rochel* wavering for a time; and *Buckingham* in that interim, not to be idle, lands upon the Isle of Ré. Some imputed to him an error in the choice of his design, for that the Isle of Oleron was less provided; but he chose that which was most important, there being a Citadel there, which as not finished, it was believed could not resist, and that taken, gave him means to secure himself in that Post, and maintain himself there. And therefore perhaps he deserved greater blame for not executing that with vigour which he had resolved not without reason. At one side of the Island lay by the Sea-side the Citadel of St. Martin, of a narrow circuit, with four Bastions not yet perfected, without any Out-works, ill provided within with Victuals, and with a small Garrison, the vertue only of *Monseigneur de Thoiras*, no less prudent than valiant, supplying all other defects. At the point, which looked towards the Land, lay the little Fort of La Prée, which served for no other use but as a door to let succours into the Island.

Buckingham lands there under the favour of the Cannon of the Fleet, which obliged *Thoiras* to give way to it. But neglecting the Fort, which he might have taken almost without dispute, nor hastening to the attacke of the Citadel, he employed many days to fortifie himself on the shore, though no man was there to disturb him. He was at last aware that every moment was lost which advanced not towards the place; for when he came near to St. Martin's, he found the Garrison had raised a Half-moon, the Mills intrenched, and the Fountain, which lay without the Fort, covered with several defences. He neglected besides to take care of the Haven, believing it was sufficient, to hinder relief, to have ordered the Ships to lye about it. He afterwards raised three Batteries against it, but weak and far off, gave some assaults, but without effect; whereupon resolves to gain that by hunger, which by force he could not do. The Garrison, to say truth, was in want, and *Thoiras* by frequent messages, sent by Water, gave *Angoulesme* knowledge of his necessities, but in the mean time deluded the English General with feigned Treaties; for sending frequently offers of Surrender, and still causing difficulties to arise in the conditions, obtained by means of those messages knowledge of the State of the Enemy, and together with the hopes of an accord, slackned the force and heat of the Siege. Barks were frequently sent by the French with some refreshment, some whereof got safe in, and others fell into the hands of the English.

But the general succours was much retarded, because King *Lewis* came out of Paris to be present in so urgent a necessity, falling dangerously sick at *Villeroi*, obliged not only the Cardinal to stay there,

but

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Buckingham, seeing that from the Citadel and from the Fort he might be assaulted from two sides, thought it fit to retire, but performed it with so great confusion, that being attacked by the French, he lost a great many Men, Cannons, and Colours. Some Prisoners were sent by King *Lewis* to London as a Present to his Sister, rather for a reproach than a bounty: But *Buckingham* being arrived home with his Ships torn and but few of his Souldiers, found the peoples hatred and the blame not less than had been his vanity and the expectation of the World; while the *Lorrainois* and *savoyards* stood observing the event of things, and from the infelicity of the success were admonished to more moderate counsels. The Duke of *Rohan* alone, after the landing of the English, found himself engaged in *Languedoc*, where having taken the field, he had caused some places to revolt, but being suppressed by a small body of an Army, all Engines were applied to besiege and maintain *Rochel*. That place at last at the instigation of *Soubise* and his Mother, who for that purpose entred into it, a Woman of a high spirit and of great authority, declaring it self in favour of the English, had furnished their Fleet with much Victuals, depriving it self by that unhappy counsel of the means to overcome hunger, the only force that could conquer it. It was boasted to be the Metropolis of Rebellion, the old Nest of Heresie, the Refuge of Male-contents, and the Forge of the most pernicious Councils. And, to say truth, as being the Head of a Republick within the Kingdom, with adherence to Strangers, with divided Interest, and their own Force, it always disputed or inglofied the Authority of the Monarch. The Kings respected it as impregnable, by reason of its situation, and invincible by Arms, the difficulty of the enterprize being authorized by the experience of several attempts in vain. On the Land side being environed with Salt-pits and Marshes, lofty Bastions and strong Works were its defence. Towards the Ocean, the Sea being narrowed, a large Bay opens it self within, which afterwards having its passage even to within the Walls, makes a Haven immured and secure from the attempts of Enemies, or violence of the Winds. Much Shipping belonged to it, for number of the Vessels, and skill of the Mariners considerable, and in the Town, as many people, so many Souldiers; for every one, even the weaker Sex, being brought up in an aversion to obedience, were obliged to take Arms for their own defence. If the *Huguenots* looked at it as the fixed residence of their refuge, Strangers considered it as the bridle of that most potent Kingdom. Nor were some of the Subjects themselves ill pleased that there should be ready a shelter to withdraw themselves in some cases out of

of the Kings power, and resist the favour of the Ministers. Sure it was, that some even in the Kings Council believing it impossible, drove on the undertaking, with hopes, in the ill success, to see the power of the Cardinal who promoted it, prejudiced and perhaps ruined. But he, in the vastness of his mind, greedily imbracing designs of importance, orders the place to be blocked up; and afterwards environed with a large Circumvallation of strong Trenches. But it could not be reduced by Famine, without taking away the Sea from it; and to do that, it was of necessity to overcome the Ocean, and find a resistance to its great weight and force. *Pompeo Targone*, an Italian Engineer, more famous for inventions than happy in their effects, spent a great deal of time in vain, wearying himself there with several Experiments.

At last the Cardinal, in imitation of the Ancients, who with unwearied labour, shut up Havens, and joyned Islands to the Continent, resolved without sparing of charge, since his own glory and the Fortune of the Kingdom now tempted him to it, to lay the foundation of a defence or Dike against the Sea, where that Arm thereof was narrow, and secure from the interruption and Cannon of the Town, by flinging into it stones of a vast bigness, and in an infinite number. Upon these, from each side of the Continent, were advanced Walls; in the middle there remained a gap for the Tide or impetuous ebbing and flowing of those waters, which from the sides Forts and Cannon defended; without, was the Fleet of great Ships; and within others, that were sunk narrowed the passage with some Steccadoes, and with the Guard of a good number of other Vessels disposed into several parts. The besieged beheld the beginning of this work with derision and scorn, making of it their pastime, as suggested from the Genius of the Cardinal, who loving to undertake actions of Fame, would quickly perceive, that the wit of man hath not the same strength to execute great things, as it hath capacity to design them; for the Sea, wont at certain times, when raised by great tempests, to bring in mountains of waters, and afterwards falling again as it were with a Precipice to discover the bottom, made it believed a rash attempt to contend with Nature, by fighting with the violence of so powerful an Element. Nevertheless, the work going on with infinite labour, it was easier for them to contemplate the wonder, than break it by force.

Princes had their attention fixed upon this great Undertaking, with various aims and thoughts; *Buckingham*, touched with the provocations of revenge and honour, made ready another powerful Fleet to repair the unhappiness of his attempts with better success; but the others, which were in concert with him, though greatly inclined to it, yet durst not perform the promised succours. The *Hollanders*, although the ruine of them was in question that were joyned to them by the likeness of Religion, yet obliged to France, and in necessity of their assistance, contributed secret wishes for the prosperity of their common Religion, but were bound by virtue of Treaties to send certain Ships for the Service of that Crown.

Spain

alone

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Olivares therefore careful to prolong it, put on a more strict confidence with *Richelieu*, nourished by Letters, by Embassies, and also by greater appearances: For that, to frighten the contrary Party, and to make a shew of putting in execution the secret Concerts and tacite Alliances contracted betwixt the two Crowns, *Frederick di Toledo* parts about the end of the year out of the Ports of *Spain* with a good number of Gallions, and in the sight of *Rochel* joyns with the *French* Fleet; but being but slenderly victualled and man'd, returned quickly into his own Country.

On the other side, the Princes of *Italy* foreseeing, by the succession of the States of *Mantua*, a storm at hand, and an imminent need of stranger succours, deplored, that King *Lewis* in person with the flower of his Forces was employed so far from them, and particularly the *Venetians*, stirring him up to reflections on the common Interest, solicited by most effectual endeavours, performed by *Giorgio Giorgio* and *Luigi Contarini*, their Ambassadors in *France* and at *London*, both the Kings to a Peace, and to sacrifice to the advantage of the Republick some relaxation from the fervency of their hatred and anger.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
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OF
VENICE.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

Would to God, that, as often as there is occasion to name the Interest of Princes and the Ambition of their Ministers, Justice, humane Reason, and Divine Law might go along with them. But the World being tossed to and fro by those two Furies, which with equal provocations, though for the most part different issues, do not leave great Princes contented, nor the lesser ones in quiet, it is no wonder, if from thence proceed events lamentable, and such cruel calamities. While some are flattered with hopes; and others thrust on by fear; all are at last in a continual disturbance from emulations, jealousies, hatreds, and the greediness of Dominion. And for this cause quiet cannot last long, nor the tranquillity of Peace be enjoyed, especially in *Italy*, which being subject to many, some very powerful, others more weak, remains by consequence more exposed to various passions, and experiences most commonly greater commotions; whence Wars, like waves of the Sea, always fluctuating, either by the motion of the winds, or the remainder of past storms, rise up one after another. So the Arms taken up for the Affairs of the *Valteline*, were scarce laid down but there appeared new jealousies, by reason of the succession of *Mantua*, and a War brake forth, both sad and memorable for the quality of the motives and the variety of successes.

Many Princes took part in it, and upon it followed plagues and universal

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universal calamities, which in the flood of mischiefs and blood have in a manner changed the face of Europe, ruining the powerful, and raising up Princes little less than unknown. The House of *Gonzagha*, which reigned in *Mantua*, was now considered, without issue Male, and without hopes of having any, as it were a dead Carcass of Fortune, neither could *Ferdinand* and *Vincenzo* leave after them other than the young Princess *Mary* their Niece, who as a Woman excluded from the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Mantua*, had some reason, though doubtful, to pretend to that of *Monferrat*. In her Marriage therefore seeming lodged the pledge of Peace, or the seeds of great contention, many believed it expedient to marry her to *Charles* Duke of *Rhetel*, Son of *Charles* Duke of *Nevers*, the nearest and lawful Heir. This branch transplanted into a foreign soil, sprang nevertheless from the same root, coming from *Lodowick Gonzagha*, Son of *Frederick*, the first Duke of *Mantua*, who not contented with his lot, that by reason of his age his other Brothers should be preferred before him in the succession to his Father's Estates, sought in *France*, and by Marriage met with a better Fortune; whence his Heirs enjoyed with plentiful Revenues three large Dukedoms, of *Nevers*, of *Rhetel*, and of *Maine*. But for that this House was in a manner naturalized in *France*, the *Spaniards*, who, as soon as *Mary* was born, had endeavoured to get her into their power, expressly to divert the danger of such a Succession, abhorred him above all, to the end not to introduce the *French* into the heart of *Italy*, and into two Countries which have the *Milanese* in the middle. They therefore promoted the pretensions of *Ferrant*, Prince of *Gualstalla*, a branch also of the House of *Gonzagha*, but who derived his Pedigree further off, coming from the second Son of *Franceſco*, Marquis of *Mantua*, Father of *Frederick* the first Duke. But as much as they favoured him in the Imperial Court with benefits, and every where else with declarations, so much was *France* the more earnest to strengthen the Rights of *Nevers*. Whereupon at the time *Monsieur de Chasteauneuf* went from *Venice*, as he passed by *Mantua*, he had insinuated the Marriage of *Mary* with *Rhetel*, and the *Venetians* concurring in the same opinion, put the Duke in mind of establishing the Succession in his life time, and with it the Peace of *Italy*. But *Ferdinand* apprehending troubles, or hoping for a longer life, or considering his Brother *Vincenzo*, who by secret love engaged in the Marriage of *Isabella di Buzzolo*, and now satiated with those passions, and by reason of her sterility sought to be separated from her, deferred so long, that death in the end of the year past seized him. *Vincenzo* was his Successor, who by sending to *Venice*, as Ambassador Extraordinary, the Marquis *Paulo Emilio Gonzagha*, gave knowledge of it to the Senate, confiding to them his thoughts to break his Marriage and espouse the Niece: But though he were young enough in years, yet the constitution of his body being spent and decaying, and the right of the Sacrament justly prevailing with the Pope before the politick reasons, the *Venetians* solicited him to prevent so remote and uncertain hopes by the Marriage of his Niece

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to *Rhetel*. He delaying to resolve, let the danger approach nearer, every one now concluding that that Line of the Dukes would in a short time fail without Issue, who wholly given over to lusts and luxury, were looked at as punished with sterility by God for their fraudulent Marriages, Adulteries, and Lewdness, with which they had stained their name, and defiled their lives.

Amongst all, none watched on this business with a more attentive eye than *Carlo Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, who by the death of *Vincenzo* thought to revive his pretended Rights on *Monferrat*, and to colour it with the Marriage of *Mary* to his Son *Maurice*. In order to this, he protested to the Duke of *Mantua* against the disposing of their common Niece without his consent; and joyned practices with the Court of *Spain* and the Governour of *Milan*, to obtain it by force, if Treaties should not suffice. Nor had he any difficulty to possess *Olivares*, who usually calculated designs and successes by his own opinion and hopes, with the behavours of excluding *Nevers*, and keeping the *French* far off from *Italy*, and withal of the opportunity to take *Casale* and a good part of *Monferrat*, he for his part shewing himself contented only with *Trin*, and a portion of the open Country. Though in truth reason did not consent, yet the conjuncture sharpened the persuasions of the Duke, and invited the *Spaniards* to the undertaking; for *France* being engaged before *Rochel*, the *English* in War, the Protestants every where beaten, and the *Hollanders*, by reason of the affairs of *Germany*, distracted by great apprehensions, they could not well discern who could be capable to disturb them. They well knew that *Italy* would be in a commotion; but with what Forces? As for the Pope, although he loved not their greatness, they were not deceived in believing, that he would proceed with great wariness, and far from engaging in Arms. The *Venetians*, not wont to declare themselves so easily, would be apt rather by complaints and endeavours to stir up others than move War alone. The *Grand Duke* under the Government of a Mother of the *Austrian* blood, did not as yet discern his own interest; and to the rest of the Princes, together with Forces hearts were wanting. On the contrary, the Power of *Spain* saw it self at the height of prosperity, with store of Treasure and puissant Armies, and by its Councils and Money, directing with an absolute Arbitrement the Interests and Forces of the Emperour, disposed with no less Authority, as well of *Germany*, as of *Spain* and its other vast Kingdoms.

Certainly it was not advantageous for *Carlo* to greaten the *Spaniards* upon his own Borders; but being accustomed to aim only at the enlargement of his Territories, he proposed to make use of them to make some conquest; and turn himself afterwards to the friendship of the *French* to preserve it, and by engaging the two Crowns in discord and Wars, sell his adherence at a dearer rate, as necessary (however unfaithful) to one and the other.

Nevers had no support, besides the protection of *France*, but the justice of his cause, which he saw much considered by all, and in particular

An.Dom. 1627. particular by the Pope and the Venetians; but right prevailing little without force, he attempted by all sorts of humiliation and promises of submission and dependence to pacify the Austrians, but all in vain; because interest lying thwart, and looking at him born in France, and brought up there, with Goods, Countries, and Governments, they could never be persuaded, that he would sincerely separate himself from that Crown.

King Lewis declared himself, that he would maintain him in his Right with all his Forces and with his own Person, if it were necessary to go into Italy; but finding himself engaged with the Huguenots and the English, such a report served only for an appearance, and the King, well knowing it, made trial of the way of a Treaty, having sent Monsieur de Saint Simon to the Duke of Mantua, to the end he might dispose him to strengthen the Rights of Nevers by the Marriage formerly proposed. The Ambassador found the Duke still deluded with the hopes he should live long; so that he obtained nothing else but the gaining of the Marquess Striggio, upon whose counsels Vincenzo mostly relied, to promote the cause and advantages of Nevers, when the occasion should be presented. He returns then into France; but the designs of the Savoyards discovering themselves to advance, in proportion as the dissolution of the Marriage was scrupled at Rome, and the indispositions of the Duke increased in Mantua, he was sent back to Carlo Emanuel to offer him Revenues and Lands in Monferrat, in exchange of his pretensions, and withal to demonstrate to him; *How much it was better for him rather to preserve Peace in Italy, than give nourishment to the Potency of Spain, against which he having in other times made his breast a defence, he ought not to obscure the Glory of it by new Maxims, foreign to his own advantage and his ancient practices.* But the Duke so much the more high and lofty, as he was smoothed and sought to, not thinking the advantages proposed equal to his hopes, pretended a great Party of the Monferrat, not only on the score of his old Rights, but as a kind of revenge, that Ferdinand had not performed the agreement, some few years before concluded, and turning the state of affairs and times to his own advantage, considered, that Spain remaining resolute to hinder, that a Prince protected by, or rather subject to France, should have Sovereignty in Italy, it was best for him to make use of his own connivence and force for the possessing of Monferrat, rather than leave it in prey to the more powerful. Whilst he had his thoughts bent upon this in Turin, greater inducements fell out in Mantua, where the Duke, by the craziness he had contracted, fallen very sick, gave occasion for many treacheries and designs. Cesar, Son of the Prince of Guastalla, was then in Milan to promote the interest of his Family, or rather to have his Name made use of by the Spaniards, who, laying hold of any pretext, armed powerfully, and ordered many contrivances and preparations to prevent the attempts, which Nevers might make; and, sending four thousand Foot and one thousand Horse to the Confines of Mantua, under the Count de Guerrara, waited only till the Duke should expire, to enter and

and take possession of it. But Vincenzo, by the persuasions of Striggio, had in great secrecy called to him Rhetel, that he might marry the Princess, and be in the City at the time of his death, the better to secure to himself the Succession and Principality; and he with a seasonable diligence being arrived there unlooked for, dissipated a great storm before it brake forth; for many of the chief persons being averse to the very name of the French, abhorred to have Nevers their Sovereign, and entertained Treaties and Intelligences, to raise as soon as the Duke should be dead and before, some commotion in favour of Guastalla and of Spain; for which purpose Francesco Rota Serjeant Major, had been corrupted, and many Arms were gathered together in the house of Frederick Gonzagha.

But, so soon as Rhetel was arrived, the Duke immediately made him Lieutenant General, and the better to corroborate his Right, by a solemn Testament declares him Heir. To perfect the Marriage, nothing was wanting, but the Dispensation of the Pope, by reason of the Kindred. St. Simon was come to Mantua to sollicite it, and the Count of Serbellone was dispatched from Milan by his endeavours and protestations to hinder it, and from the Duke of Savoy the Bishop of Mondovi; but they came too late: For the disservice from Rome seasonably arriving at the instant that the night after Christmas-day the Duke dyed, the Marriage was consummated that very hour, the Corps of Vincenzo being yet warm, who, it was given out, had by his last words ordained it. The day following the Bridegroom, together with mourning, assumes the Title of Prince of Mantua, and having in his power the Garrison and the Citadel called Porto, requires from the people the Oath of Fidelity in the Name of his Father. Guastalla publishes a Patent of the Emperours Commissary, secretly afterwards obtained by the favour of the Spanish Ministers, in which Ferdinand enjoyns to him to take possession in the Emperours Name of the Country of Mantua, till the right should be declared, without innovating any thing, requiring Cordua, that now governed Milan, to maintain the Decree by force, if need required. He had thoughts of going himself to Mantua; but seeing the passage stoppt by the anticipations of Rhetel, he sends the Count Mandelli to Casale to cooperate in practices, which Cordua had set on foot there, and to alienate the minds of that people from acknowledging the new Prince. But all in vain, because the name of Nevers, by the endeavours chiefly of Trajano Viscardi, great Chancellor, was by those of Casale and the Monferrins with universal applause cried up.

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The Interests of Princes being now discovered, and the secrets unveiled, Reason or Justice were no longer debated in the Cause of Mantua, but calculations made of force, opportunity, and advantage; so that it was like a fluctuant Sea, from which proceeded, and whither tended the affections of Princes, as they were more or less inclined

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inclined to the one or other Party. At *Venice* they were all agreed to maintain the liberty of *Italy* and their own safety, which was understood to be in danger, by the oppression of a neighbour State, but they were as much differing about the means; some with offices alone desiring to divert the dangers, others by open declarations not declining to oppose the designs of the *Austrians*. There wanted not inclinations to enter into Alliance with *France*; but others calling to mind the late proceedings of that Crown in the Affairs of the *Valseline*, and esteeming the assistance of Strangers little less disadvantageous to this Country, than the injuries of War, preferred a League with the Pope and other Princes of *Italy*, with whom forming a middle Party, they believed it eaiser to protect the Justice of *Nevers* by Negotiation, and defend themselves on all occasions against violence. This opinion was represented by the Senate to *Urban*, who no whit perplexed, was wavering amidst divers considerations, not desiring to be engaged against the power and rage of the *Austrians*, nor seeing willingly the power of the *Spaniards* to be increased in *Italy*, or the Authority and Name of the Emperour, greatly suspicious to the Popes, to be awakened. He not only approved the remonstrance of the *Venetians*; but in a manner promoted it, frequently complaining to their Ambassadour of the iniquity of the times, in which from a cause most unjust the ambition of Princes was going to subvert the repose of *Italy*, scarce yet settled. He offered his interposition with powerful offices; but added, *What can be promised from reason without Arms, in dealing with him who places Reason and Justice in nothing but Arms? The excess of power in Princes makes little account of the Popes prayers, and their Mediation is reduced almost to nothing else but to adorn the Frontispice of Treaties with their name. It is meet, since offices do no good, to apply to other remedies more powerful: To improve the thought of uniting the Princes of Italy in their own and the common Interest. But besides his own Forces and those of the Republick, of whom was there any account to be made? The Duke of Savoy renouncing the ancient Glory of maintaining the Liberty of Italy, unmindful of his age, and of a Grave at hand, contrives new Stratagems. The Government of Tuscany was inclined to the advantages of the Austrians. In the others power was wanting or will. The Senate therefore was seriously to consider, if the Force alone of the Church and theirs would be a sufficient defence against the approaching evils, and to maintain the Cause of Mantua, threatened in, may be said, oppressed by the prosperity of the Emperour and the Potency of Spain. That he was ready with counsels and action to run the common Fate of Italy, but that it was also a common Interest to lean to the more powerful for the upholding of themselves and friends. That he thought application to France was necessary, whose friendship, though by its inconsistency it seemed dangerous, by its power made it self seasonable. That he was disposed with his intentions, offices, and endeavours to second the resolutions of that Crown and the Common-wealth.*

The aims of *Urban* were not in truth conformable to his expressions. He desired to maintain *Nevers* in the succession of *Mantua*; but

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but abhorred to ingage himself so far, as to be obliged to come to a Declaration or taking up of Arms. He encouraged the *Venetians*, to the end he might enjoy their support in whatsoever should happen, and flattered the *French* with hopes of adhering to their Party; for if he had the luck to bring him into *Italy* in favour of *Nevers*, he doubted not but things would proceed with such a ballance, that he might reserve to himself the glory of the mediation, and the merit of making the Peace. Frequent advertisements were then sent from *Venice* and from *Rome* to King *Lewis* of the State of *Italy*, disquieted by great apprehensions, and threatened by greater dangers, soliciting him to employ Authority, Negotiation, and Force for the saving of the Country and the Princes his Friends.

France in effect, was greatly sensible, and the principal Ministers confessed the Reputation and Honour of the Crown ruined, if it failed to assist *Nevers*. But the Ingagement before *Rochel* was equally important; whereupon they turn their counsels anew to prevail upon the mind of the Duke of *Savoy*, because he, it seemed, was the Arbitrer of the Peace or of the War; whilst, if it could be brought about to separate him from the *Spaniards*, their taking Arms would be diverted, or at least weakened.

The center therefore of the business lay in *Turin*; the *Venetians* on the one side assailing him with reasons and persuasions, and the *French* on the other tempting him with promises and advantages. *St. Simon*, besides the ceding of so much Land in *Monferrat* as should amount to twelve thousand Crowns of yearly Revenue, proposes to him secret and great hopes, that *France* with a more powerful assistance should joyn in promoting his undertakings against the *Genouese*, the differences with whom, assumed by the Crowns with the title of an authoritative mediation, remained yet undecided. But the Duke, mindful of former accidents, relinquished not, for the uncertainty of things to come, the designs of present advantages. Clogging the Treaty therefore by the demand of *Trin*, a place of most important situation, because it was opposite to *Casal*, and drawing it into length, he no less precipitated the resolutions and getting into Arms. Upon the news of the death of Duke *Vincenzo*, and what had happened in *Mantua*, the Bishop of *Mondovi*, and *Serbellone* were returned back to relate it to the Duke and to *Cordua*, who agreeing in their aims, aggravated also with uniform dissatisfactions; That the young Princess, Niece of the Catholick King, and also of the Duke, was, without their knowledge, forced rather, upon the dead body of the deceased Duke, amidst sobs and tears, than married by her own free consent.

Then *Cordua* charges *Rhetel* with the contempt of having intruded himself into a State in contest, contrary to the Commissions & Patents of the Emperour, Sovereign and Judge of the Parties, to whom being required to refer the cognizance of the cause and the penalty of the boldness, he refused the Letters, which he had written to him concerning the Title assumed of Prince of *Mantua*. The eyes of all men were, to say truth, turned towards *Ferdinand*, some sheltering them-

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selves

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 1628. the first, were the Princes of *Gualalla*, whose interest served not
 but for a bounded prospect, and stalking Horse for the Arms of *Spain*;
 and *Margaret*, Dutchess of *Lorrain*, who, as eldest Sister of the last
 Dukes deceased, pretended, that the Males of the other Branch be-
 ing excluded, the Succession belonged to her; but her Rights being
 very little considered, they could amount to no more but to usher
 in those of *Leonora* the Empress, her younger Sister. Whilst the de-
 cision was like to proceed with great length of time, the new Duke
 of *Mantua* and the Princes that adhered to him, apprehended the
 Emperours Forces, jealously observing an Army of sixteen thousand
 men, under a Count of *Mansfeld*, in *suaben*, kept on foot there un-
 der pretext of bridling the motions of the Marquess of *Courlach* and
 the Protestants; but in effect, as a body of reserve for the Affairs
 of *Italy*, at the disposition of the Crown of *Spain*, the which, not
 only by benefits and pensions, held dependent on it the Emperours
 chief Ministers, but upbraided to himself the holding the Imperial
 Dignity as but the fruit of their counsels and assistance.

Since therefore *Ferdinand* was obliged to depend on anothers
 will, the pressing instances of the Popes Ministers and the *Venetians*
 availed little, who perswaded him not to interest himself but with
 his Authority in favour of the cause, which should appear most just,
 and to prefer Negotiation before a Rupture. Nevertheless, to co-
 ver the designs, which were resolved on long before, the Imperia-
 lists made shew of an outward inclination to quiet, and to amuse
 the Common-wealth, who appeared to be more alarmed than any
 body else; the Count of *Verdenberg*, Chancellor of the Hereditary
 Provinces, entertained *Pietro Vico*, their Resident, with frequent dis-
 courses of breaking into a War with the *Turk*, now *Germany* being
 re-united did almost all acknowledge the Religion of Christ and
 the Laws of the Emperour; stirring up the Republick to be willing
 by a close union to participate of the Victories and Triumphs, which
 were destined from Heaven for the Piety and Greatness of *Ferdi-*
nand.

The Senate, from such generous conceptions, fitly drew stronger
 motives to exhort to Peace, and remove Jealousies from *Italy*, to the
 end, that with a cheerful heart and open Arms, Christendom might
 once deliver it self from the unworthy shackles of the *Ottoman* Bar-
 barism. But pretence and dissembling could no longer have place;
 for Signor *Agnelli*, Bishop of *Mantua*, sent Ambassadour Extraordi-
 nary by the Duke, so soon as by secret ways he was come into *Ita-*
ly, being arrived at *Vienna* to demand the Investiture, and offer his
 duty and obedience to the Emperour, was not received, his abode
 at Court as a Prelate and private person being hardly obtained.
St. Simon at *Turin* leaves the Court, having discovered, that the
 Duke, too closely joyned with the *Spaniards*, minded no more
 whatsoever proposition was made him. At his parting, he intimates
 to certain *French* that were yet in the Dukes pay, to leave it, and
 put themselves into *Casal*, which proved a seasonable succours, and
 helped

helped much to maintain that place, exposed as the price and prey **An. Dom.**
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Carlo Emmanuel had contented himself to leave it in the division to
 the *Spaniards*, together with *Pontesura*, *Nizza*, *Aqui*, and all that
 Tract, which towards the Sea was near to the Plains; retaining for
 himself *Trino*, *Alba*, *St. Damiano*, with the parcel more commodious
 and contiguous to his States, on condition nevertheless, that, as he
 (to take away jealousy) should not fortifie his new conquests, so
 the *Spaniards* should reduce *Casal* to that weakness wherein it was
 in ancient times. Nor had the Contractors made any difficulty to
 promise the promotion of one anothers advantages, because each ho-
 ped that new accidents would afterwards disoblige them from the
 observance of the conditions; whereupon, although in *Milan* the
 Marquess of *Montenegro*, amongst others, dissented from it, and pro-
 gnosticated with great wisdom, (as it quickly fell out) that the mis-
 chiefs of so difficult and jealous a conquest would be more certain
 than the advantages; *Gonzales* nevertheless, greedy of renown and
 glory, and desirous above all to confirm himself in the Government
 of *Milan*, as a necessary Minister and confided in, colours the enter-
 prise to the Council of *Spain* as so easie and certain, that he had
 the hap to get their consent. He principally grounded himself upon
 the Intelligence which he held within *Casal*, and assured himself to
 be made Master of it before the design or motion towards it should
 be discovered; whence carried away with the Fame of the Action,
 and not minding the *French* Succours, he boasted, that in that place
Mantua would be taken also, nay all *Italy*, while no man would be
 able to withdraw himself from the yoke, if the Duke of *Savoy*, led
 to it chiefly by his Arts, whilst he framed it for others, laid it upon
 himself. *Olivares*, who making light of the consequences of haz-
 zards to come, was wont to embrace greedily the occasions of pre-
 sent profit, speeding the ratification of the Treaty into *Italy*, and
 causing a hundred thousand Crowns to be disbursed to the Duke to
 quicken the action, inflames him with Letters full of flatteries and
 Encomiums, to do himself once reason by Arms, and revenge him-
 self generously of the wrongs, which he pretended to have been at
 several times done him by the House of *Gonzagha*. The Governor
 had not in readiness above twelve thousand Foot and three thou-
 sand Horse, and of these one body lodged towards *Como*, to have
 an eye upon the passages of the *Switzers* and *Grisons*, and he sent
 another with the Marquess of *Montenegro* into the *Cremone*, not
 only to restrain the suspected resolutions of the *Venetians*, but to op-
 pose the Duke himself, who increasing his Forces by certain money
 drawn from his Goods in *France*, had, by the applause of his Name
 and the Novelty of the War, raised about ten thousand Souldiers;
 4000 whereof were in *Monferrat* and at *Casal*, and the rest he kept
 about himself at *Mantua*. *Cordua* therefore could not have advanced
 in the attempt of *Monferrat* but with weak Forces, if those of the
Genouese had not strengthened him, who, after having stipulated, in
 contemplation of the *Spanish* Ministers, a Truce for six months with
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the Duke of Savoy, not being able yet to rescue themselves from the dependence on that Crown, nor renounce the memory of fresh benefits, although they had a due apprehension of the War at hand, sent to the Governour of Milan a good body of their Souldiers, who, when they were come into the Territory of Alexandria, put up immediately the Spanish Colours. To facilitate the enterprise for him, he made Edicts his fore-runners, full of bitter threatnings against whomsoever should resist, and of large promises to those, who without expecting Force would render themselves.

On the other side, doubtful, lest the Troops sent to the Confines of the Venetians should serve rather to provoke than check them, he sent to the Senate to amuse them, till Casal should be taken, Paulus Rho, who declared, *The intention of the King to be only to take possession of those Countries, which were fallen to the judgment of the Emperor, and in his Name to keep them till the Rights of the Pretenders being known, they might be restored to their lawful Lord.* He ascribed to the goodness of the King himself, and to the prudence of his Ministers in Italy, that foreseeing disturbances imminent, they interposed authority with zeal to keep it from Tumults. He then by a large circumference of words let them understand, that the alone suspicion, lest the French, under the name of Nevers, should nestle themselves upon the Borders of the Milanese, had moved the Governour to this prevention and attack. By the Senate, who knew his ends, was gravely answered, *That the dissatisfaction of the Republick could not at all be concealed, whilst the Peace of Italy was ready to be split, which they taking to heart above any other motive, could not but be fervent in the desires, and insist earnestly on the remonstrances of Peace, believing that in that did consist the Glory of the King himself, the happiness of his States, and the moderation of his Ministers.* But amidst the motions and furies of Arms, thrust by the Governor into the field, all reasons and offices were to no purpose.

The Venetians therefore were put upon difficult counsels, and the Senate being assembled to debate the matter, Simeon Contarini, Knight and Procurator, spake thus: *With the Straights of the present time God joyn the constancy of the Republick and the wisdom of them that govern it. These are not the first difficulties with which the Country hath been exercised, but observing the memorable Acts of our Ancestors, we ought to confess, that if Nature give the snake an instinct to find the straightness of stones, where leaving his old skin, he re-acquires youthful vigour, God imparts to men prudence, which amidst the most disastrous and difficult Encounters sharpens it self, and subduing adverse Fortune, gets the Victory at last, and perpetuates the felicity of Countries.* But it is not needful, O Fathers, that we here go out of the path beaten by the wise Counsels of those that have transmitted to us for an Inheritance together with liberty this Empire. I would say, that the most violent resolutions and the most headlong courses are not the Arts of our Fathers, or the Maxims of our Government. Time holding prudence, by the hand, hath lead us often out of the darkest Labyrinths, and the Republick preserving Veneration to its Councils, respect to its Arms, and Treasures

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Treasures and Forces for opportunities, hath maintained it self in safety, assisted its friends, and preserved Italy. Now I deny not but that the present attempts of the Spanish Armies, and the threatnings of future designs envenom to the quick the health of this unhappy Country, and confound mens minds and our own very interests. But let us examine carefully the remedy before we apply it, and reflecting upon the violence of the evil, let us ballance the strength of the medicine. Until this strong Torrent overflow, it is sufficient to stand within the Banks, and be contented that the course bend another way, and carry the Tide thither; for if the violence of men be opposed to the Justice of God, as it comes not to be endured by the Constitution of the World, so it must needs be short, and within a little while, where it was exalted in pride, it will be seen humbled and brought low. Great is that Power of the Autritians, which without obstacle runs swelling, as may be said, over the flourishing field of liberty and the dignity of so many oppressed Princes. But he that will oppose himself with protests, threatnings, and Arms, let him shew me also a force equal to that which ought to be suppressed. My meaning is, that resolutions should be suspended, that the tendency of affairs should be observed, that under the shadow of moderation and prudence this storm of ill Fortune should be let pass. The ruines, caused by a Thunderbolt, are for the most part repaired with little trouble, but to the violence of its flames what humane force is there that can resist? I confess it, I am much afraid of the issue of the present Affairs; but yet I despair not. I see Cordua, I see the Duke of Savoy united to invade the Monferrat, to swallow that Country, and take Casale; I feel the weight of the Chains of the Servitude of Italy; I fear the Counterblow of Mantua in our own very Bowels. But who knows? Some Politick Counsels, which invite with a fair Prospective, are not ordinarily practised without difficulty, and end not but with misfortune. The Enterprize on Casal will not perhaps be so easie, as it is supposed. Carlo Emanuel is not so tenacious in his Alliances, but that he may be altered; the Forces of the Governour of Milan are not so powerful as to be able to oppress Italy in a moment. Where are those Ensigns, those Armies so much feared of the Emperours? It seems to me, that there is great hopes that they are not so easily to descend into Italy; because those vast Provinces of Germany, kept under by Ferdinand with a foot of Iron, will quickly lift up their head, being rather oppressed than overcome. We ought also to believe, that France will quickly be disengaged from the Sea-coast. Will then that warlike Nation, that magnanimous King, and that prudent Minister possibly suffer a Prince to be excluded from his Inheritance and from his Patrimony, for no other fault but being born under the Climate of France; and if they should set at nought Justice, Honour, and Interest, ought the Republick always to take upon it self alone the burden of being the Defender, not only of just Causes, but of the weaker sides? On the other side, if, as reason requires, the French shall resolve to take part in it, what avails it to torment our selves with unseasonable afflictions, and dishearten our selves with sad Divinations, whilst the Affairs now under debate will counsel the Senate to reserve themselves for the occasion, and to preserve their strength and Treasure

An.Dom. 1628. *Treasure for the accidents of time. Will the Republick otherwise be possibly able to contend alone with the vast Power of the House of Austria? and with the dreaded Force of the Empire? Foreseeing then ruine, shall we foretell destruction, and in the vain support of the Duke of Mantua sink down our selves, even before the danger and season comes, over and above the losses of the Publick and our own? Much, as to former successes, is Italy indebted to us, and I think it needful to speak it, our present weakness is but a remainder of the excess of former Forces. Behold when we were persuaded, that with so much treasure and so many benefits we had inseparably bound the Duke of Savoy to our friendship, we see him, united to the Crown of Spain, turn himself against the good of Italy. Behold our Engagements in the Valteline, where with money and blood we have maintained the common Interest and the honour of the Confederates, degenerated into most prejudicial agreements betwixt the Crowns. That benefit is too dear, which, together with ingratitude, produces damage. Wherefore taught from past experiences, my judgment is, that placing our safeguard in Prudence rather than in Fortune, we should maintain the defence of our selves with powerful Forces; but I approve not of Declarations, Engagements, and Wars, to the end we may not heedlessly expose to hazard the Government with the liberty of the Country.*

Great was the attention to this discourse, but it was interrupted by *Dominico Molino* with a contrary sense to this purpose: Neither desires nor hopes can divert our dangers, against which were fear a sufficient defence, I should believe our affairs secure, because I confess, that I am afraid. I am not alone incumbered with the tempestuous apprehensions of the present state of things; but in the interests and dangers of the Duke of Mantua, Italy both fears and trembles. It is true, that the treacherous lethargie which oppresses him, takes away from some Princes the sense of the common evils, and that others in an apparent Delirium extravagate from that path of their own and universal interest, which they have walked in with glory. But behold, let us see also in this Republick, where at last is lodged the heart of the safety of Italy, the vital spirits of liberty and honour beat. Let us hearken to the language of the Pope, who abhors the immoderate machinations of Spain, who invites the French, and solicites to get Companions. Things then are not deplorable to that degree, that we should despair of a remedy, if we shall be willing to apply it in the beginning; but if the disease shall go on, fomented by our negligence, such will be the increase of it, that the recovery will be made more difficult than can be repented of. There are, O Fathers, in cases of importance, three Springs, whence all disasters plentifully flow, which point by point in the contrary opinion I have thoroughly noted: false security, careless delay, and a covetous fear of charge. Let us consider the Duke of Mantua as a new Prince, a stranger (as may be said) to the Customs and to the Language, encompassed with Subjects unknown, with a Militia that must be intreated, oppressed with necessity, staggering under the weight of a State shaken by the Arms of so powerful Enemies, that who sees him not ready to fall? Let us suppose Casal almost without other Garrison than the Inhabitants; deprived of all succour,

An.Dom. 1628. *cour, assailed by the forces and skill of the Governour of Milan, and by the designs and contrivements of Savoy, so that who expects it not almost as soon rendered as attempted? Now in this condition let us weigh our own dangers, and in the consideration of them more than of the necessities of the Duke, let us resolve, if we can satisfy our own minds to deny him speedy succours. It may possibly be believed, that Casal may hold out, that Savoy may revolt, that the Germans may stay their march, and that the French may pass the Alps? But if such hopes do but flatter us, of what then shall we be afraid to declare our selves in favour of the Duke? O Fathers, these are Hobgoblins, and, give me leave to say so, false Visions, represented from weakness and the fear accompanying too many Counsels. From the Precepts of our Ancestors, and the Examples of all Princes, may sufficiently be learnt, that by assisting the weak ones, Power is either preserved or increased. The Republick hath always had this belief, that the fruit of their quiet, and I will say of their parsimony was in a manner due to their friends. Those Treasures have been well spent, those Cares happy, and Counsels wise, which in former times have preserved this Country in safety, the Princes in their dignity, and our selves in our liberty. Let us not blush here to speak it. Our assistances have been given out to usury, with the manifold gain of our own tranquillity and glory. All the good which with vain flatteries and uncertain hopes is proposed to us from Chance, we may reap from our own generous and wise deliberations; for the Duke, not abandoned of assistance, will take courage and strength; his Subjects will get vigour; Casal being succoured, will defend it self, and by holding out, will divert blows far from Mantua, and keep dangers remote from our confines. France in this interim disengaged from Rochel, will joyn to make a seasonable Counterpoise; but if standing negligently idle, we shall behold the destruction of our Neighbours, what may we expect but to be abandoned by all, even in their own ruine? If to the French be objected the Rampiers of the Alps, which may shall we open them a passage, if, when we shall have passed the Mountains, Casal being lost, they shall find the door shut? That Prince is reduced to a too lamentable condition, that expects favour for himself alone from him that is an Enemy to all. Can we possibly hope to find in the Austrians moderation and respect towards us? I, for my part, prefer security before hopes; because we live in times in which Ambition bears rule, the Conjunction is a pretext; Interest is the Idol of Princes, and the Corner-stone of States. I cannot frame to my self reasons more strong, nor justice more apparent, how to indemnify and save the Commonwealth, than that which appears on the side of the Duke of Mantua; and if he be invaded, I fear the example; and if he be overcome, I apprehend, lest Fortune should justify the lust of Dominion. The will and a fit Conjunction to break is enough for Princes to find abundant matter for occasions and pretexts. Let us at least resolve upon that, which necessity, then which no eloquence is more powerful or more compendious, persuades us; because having once with a generous constancy blunted the edge of the pride of Strangers in Italy, Glory and Peace will for a long time reside amongst us. But let us be mindful here, Fathers, that while we are consulting, Casal is*

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Amidst these contrary opinions, the minds of the Senators were wavering, because, besides the weight of the reasons of both the Parties, a certain discreet and experienced prudence produced great credit to the Author of the first, and the conceit of a great sufficiency in Politick matters did no less for the second. At last, as it often happens, that in extremes equally difficult, middle counsels prevail, a third opinion was followed, which consisted in arming and strongly fortifying themselves in all kinds, to sollicite *France* to maintain the Cause of the Duke, and when *France* should ingage it self, and send an Army on this side the Mountains, to joyn to it that of the Republick for the defence of *Mantua*, which could no more without difficulty receive succours from elsewhere. The Senate also were willing, particularly in *Spain*, to repeat their most effectual offices for Peace, not because they hoped, the Armies being so far advanced, to divert them, but at least to justifie the resolutions to which they saw themselves constrained. And, to say truth, their remonstrances were rather made known to, than considered by the *Conde* Duke; whereupon, all being reduced to extremes, solicitations were turned again towards *France*.

But above that affair there arose great divisions in the Kings Council, in which, according to the nature of the Nation, opinions degenerating into Factions, and in them passions and interests ingrafting themselves, both Ministers and business were confounded. The Queen-mother had by nature a certain propension to the *Spaniards*, and nourished a great aversion against *Nevers*, ever since, during her Regency, he joyned himself several times to the male-contents. But now there were added causes more urgent; for the Duke of *Orleans* (for so we will henceforward call the Kings Brother) his first Wife being dead, earnestly desired to take in second Marriage *Mary*, the Daughter of the same *Nevers*, a Princess of exquisite Beauties; on the other side, the Mother abhorring to see the Daughter of her Enemy, her Daughter-in-law, preferred *Anna de Medici*, Sister of *Ferdinand*, great Duke of *Tuscany*, or *Nichola de Loraine*, Daughter of *Henry*, both allied to her in blood. And because she doubted, that the Cardinal inclined to *Gonzagha*, she began from this suspicion to convert her favour into hatred, and their discord had so many things to nourish it, as will hereafter render her passions as much more famous, as her life and death equally unhappy. She began then to inveigh against *Richelieu*, that, to play the Merchant at his pleasure with the Royal Authority, he became prodigal of the Kings health, keeping him, as having him in a manner a Prisoner far from his Wife and Mother, amongst Armies and the Marshes of *Rochel*, exposed to dangers and in an unwholesom Air. She, besides this, dissented openly to have any thing to do with the Affairs of *Italy*, towards which she discovered the Cardinal inclined, and aggravated, that he for his vain passions having stirred up a War with the *English*, now to satiate his revenge, would break also with *Savoy* and

and with *Spain*, persecuting every where the Princelless of the Royal Family, and exposing the Kingdom in prey to the sword and fire, to the end that he alone with his Friends and Kindred might triumph over the publick Calamities, and advance his ambition and avarice upon the common Ruine. By effectual Letters the dissuades the King from him, and publicly exclaims against him in *Paris*, seconded by many with whispers and discourses in the Court and in the Country; for hatred and envy advanced as much against *Richelieu* as his own merit increased, and the favour of the King appeared more and more partial to him. The Cardinal *Berule* and *Monsieur de Marillac* were the chief that in the Council sided with her opinions; and to dishearten the Ministers of the Pope and of the Republick, who with frequent endeavours moved the King to serious reflections and seasonable resolutions, they divulged freely, and gave the Ministers themselves openly to understand, that *France* by Religion and Interest being strictly obliged to its own occasions, could not be diverted elsewhere, nor attend to what happened beyond the Mountains. But *Richelieu*, who with a profound judgment fathomed aims and designs, as well domestick as foreign, entertaining them with better hopes; to repair that opinion, which after the Peace of *Monzon* he knew cooled in his old friends and the Princes of *Italy*, comforted them with ample promises, that the King would not be wanting in protection and assistance to the House of *Mantua*, and exhorted principally the *Venetians*, so much interested and so nearly joyned, to support the Duke with powerful Aids, till, the Ingagement before *Rochel* being at an end, and the differences with *England* in some measure composed, the Crown might turn all its Authority and Forces towards *Italy*.

The Senate wisely weighing past events, and the dangers imminent remained constant in the settled Maxims, not to declare themselves but conjoynly with the Crown of *France*; and therefore solicited with earnest prayers the happy success of the enterprise of *Rochel*, and with urgent mediation promoted the Peace with *England*, which seemed much facilitated by various accidents; for another Fleet being sailed out of those parts, formidable for number and quality of Ships, manned with choice Souldiers, and furnished with all sorts of Provisions, having scarce shewed it self to the besieged, and attempted the relief in vain, was returned to the Coast of *England*, and *Buckingham*, the Incendiary of the discord, stabbed with a Knife in his Chamber by one *Felton* for private causes, was dead.

In the mean time *Cordua* finding no resistance in the field, advances towards *Casale*, hoping, according to the concert agreed with *spadino de Novara*, Serjeant Major in the Towa, that a Port should presently have been delivered to him. But the Marquess of *Canossa*, a *Veronese*, Governour of *Monferrat*, and *Rivara a Monferrin*, who commanded the Citadel, discovering the Plot, as it was almost ready to be put in execution, gave out Orders presently for the defence, by preventing the Treachery and resisting the Force:

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An.Dom. 1628. *spadino* saving himself from punishment by flight, meets the Governour of *Milan* with the Army near to *Casale*, who, though touched to the quick, that his best and speedy hope was vanished, nevertheless putting it to a venture, and engaging his honour upon the relations of the Traitor, that the Garrison, though consisting of about four thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, yet all for the most part of the Country, and having want of many things, would, together with the Inhabitants, be little inclined to suffer for a Prince, they knew not, to ruine and extremities, resolves to undertake the Siege. To flatter the Citizens, he made as if he would respite the Country round about, keeping for some days the Militia in such Discipline, that it almost looked as if he would rather preserve than force the place. And the effect, though contrary to his intent, proved to be so; for the provisions, spared by the *spaniards* in the Country, were in the interim brought into the Town. At the first appearance of the Enemy, the Garrison made a round Sally; but, being easily beat back, *Cordua* orders Trenches to be opened, and Batteries to be raised, but with as many failings and errors as they made steps in the attempt.

Casale is situate upon the right side of the *Po*, where a little Hill lock begins to decline and enlarge it self into a Plain, in which the Town is placed, being of a large circuit, but of an irregular inclosure, inhabited by many noble Families and a numerous well-accommodated Commonalty. A Castle with Walls and Towers served formerly for its defence; but the old Duke *Vincenzo* placed there for state and defence a Citadel of a great compass, with six well ordered Bastions, which with two ranks of Walls were joyned to the City. Against one of these directly towards the *Po*, which at that time had its course a little distant, but afterwards, changing its Channel, came nearer to the Wall, *Gonzales* directs his attacks and batteries but weak and slow; so that the besieged were able to cover with Half-moons and Batteries the Wall, the Mills, and the Flank of the Town, the most exposed on that side. He could not, by reason he had so few men, begirt the place, and for the same defect deferred for divers days to take in the Castles on the Hill, by means whereof Provisions in abundance were frequently brought into the Town, and even when he went about it, *Frederico Enriquez*, sent with a few Souldiers to make his way into *Rossignano* by a Petard, being partly deceived by his Spies, who brought him thither when it was broad day light, and partly repulsed by the cragginess of the situation, for it stood upon a Rock, received there a great blow. The *Savoyards* proceeded with greater success. The Duke was no sooner in the field but he possessed in a breath *Alba*, *St. Damiano*, with all that which belonged to him by the Treaty; and although *Trino* resisted some days, yet upon the loss of a Half-moon it was forced to surrender. Being thus disengaged, it gave great jealousy to the Governour of *Milan*, lest having obtained his own design, he should neglect, or rather hinder the success of the *spaniards*. And knowing him fixed in this, that short Wars, frequent Treaties, and continual

change of Parties was that which pleased him, he was greatly feared lest he should joyn with the *French*, fomenting that doubt by various events; for the Duke, contrary to the agreement, fortified *Trino* with all diligence, having taken *Moncalao*, though it were not of his division, kept it for himself, and *Pontefara*, which he had possessed in the sight almost of the *spanish* Camp, though he delivered it to them, yet it was after delays so full of pride and contempt, that it favoured rather of reproach and injury than of confidence and assistance.

But above all, the things which happened afterwards at *Genova* troubled him. That Government discovered, that *Julio Cesare Vachero*, a man of the Commonalty, with other wicked Villains of his condition, had designed to kill the principal men, and change the form of Government, hoping in the confusions, the Authority of the Laws being captivated, and good men exposed to violence, they might with impunity enjoy great spoils. From him, who was imprisoned, and other his Complices, who having retired themselves into the *Milanese* were by the Governour sent back to *Genova*, it came to be known that the Conspiracy passed in concert with the Duke, who without dissembling the matter, avowed that he had consented to the Treason, before the Truce was made, to be executed when it should be ended; and shewed himself so thoroughly moved at the danger his Partisans were in, that he protested to the *Genovesi* to revenge the punishments of those that were guilty upon certain of their Nobles, which he had Prisoners since the last War; and with no less industry induced the Governour to send to *Genova Alvares di Lusara* with no less threatenings than instances for the pardon and liberty of those malicious Knaves. The Government moved at the atrocity of the offence and the anger for such a demand, resenting it to the quick, that they must be forced in complacence to their Enemy, or at anothers will to let Rebellion go unpunished, having in a middle way betwixt Slavery and Justice condemned some to punishment, let for that time the business fall into silence. But the Duke not being satisfied, although he used no cruelty against the *Genovesi* Prisoners, shewed himself wroth both against the Republick and against the Governour of *Milan*, who apprehending not to get *Casale*, and to expose the *Milanese* to irreparable hazards, whensoever the Duke should bend towards *France*, endeavoured by all sort of satisfaction and pliancy to pacifie him. And for that cause denied to deliver to the *Genovesi* others of the Conspirators, and gave security to some in the *Milanese*, making shew of so great rancour and disgusts against that Republick, that the state of things being represented at the Court of *Spain*, there also, to keep the Duke to his first designs and hopes, Propositions were treated of, to assault the State of *Genova* with united Forces, divide it, and leave *Carlo* as large a part as he should have a mind to. This, although it was against the true intentions of him that offered it, nevertheless coming to be known by the *Genovesi*, stirred up jealousy in their minds, and a hatred so furious, in particular, when the Count de

An.Dom. 1628. *Monterey* passing from *Spain* as Ambassadour towards *Rome*, stayed some time in *Genoua*, making a shew of a certain kind of Superiority, and as if he would take upon him to reform the Government, that the wonted partiality towards that Monarchy began to be cooled, and the veneration of it soon after declining in *Italy*, they went on to such resolutions and decrees as did greatly raise the Splendor and Decorum of that Common-wealth.

But in *Monferrat*, through the difficulty of the enterprise the fast of the Governour of *Milan* being abated, it looked as if hopes appeared of some adjustment, the Emperour giving the Ministers of the Pope and of the *Venetians* to understand, That his intention was not to meddle in the Cause of *Mantua* otherwise than by Negotiation, whilst the Governour of *Milan* having put himself into action without his knowledge and consent, he found himself disengaged from assisting his intentions with Arms. But within a while the Authority of the *Spanish* Ministers prevailing above the others Reasons, the Army of *Suevia* was observed to draw near to *Helvetia*, to the great jealousy of the *Cantons*, who thereupon assembled frequent Diets; and it was understood, that Count *John of Nassau* was sent by the Emperour with Title of Commissioner, to take possession of *Mantua* and *Monferrat* with all the appurtenances, assigning only to the Duke a meet Pension to maintain him and some Lodgings in the Palace. This was interpreted as a certain Herald for War; because the Duke not being able to do other than dissent and oppose it, the engagement of the Name and Authority of the Emperour drew necessarily after it the motion of Arms.

And now *Montenegro* over-running the Country of *Mantua*, had attempted, though in vain, *Caneto*, and put a Garrison into *Castiglione* to molest the Duke and threaten the Republick. And the Duke sends his Troops by a generous and hasty Inroad to plunder in the *Cremonese*; but afterwards by better counsel, knowing it a vain thing to provoke with an appearance whom he could not suppress with force, recalls them, and causes the Booty to be restored. He was now put to difficult and afflicting Councils; the Catholick Army was at his doors; the Imperial were near at hand, and succours far off. Whereupon dispatching *Giovanni Francesco Gonzagha*, his Ambassadour Extraordinary, to *Venice*, he instantly desires counsel and assistance. The Senate encouraged him to resist with constancy all his troubles, and to comfort himself with hopes of better. They pleaded his Cause in every Court with reasons, and did him all the service they could, and till under the countenance of *France* they might declare themselves, permitted all advantages to his Country, giving him passage for Men, Arms, and Victuals at a time that a great dearth, foretelling calamities to come, universally afflicted *Italy*; but the Duke found himself molested with new and always greater cares: For *Nassau* being now arrived, requires him to deliver the Citadels of *Casale* and *Mantua*, that he might put Imperial Garrisons into them, and keep them together with the rest, according to his Commission; neither availed it, that *Carlo* endeavoured with answers

swers of submission and obedience to excuse himself, offering also in token of greater respect to admit the Emperours Garrison into some place of lesser moment; whereupon the Commissary, excluding every thing, and denying the term of twelve days, which the Duke desired to advise with himself, obliges him to publish his Appeal to the Emperour, when he should be better informed, and, if all passages were stopped there, to the Electors of the Empire. With this *Nassau* returns to *Milan*, sending from thence to *Mantua* frequent intimations and protests, sometimes avoided by the respect the Duke shewed, and then again pressed upon his Declaration to defend himself.

The Imperial Ban was nevertheless deferred by *Ferdinand* at the intreaty of his Wife, and by the offices of the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, who, but a Youth, having visited the Pope, and received noble entertainment at *Venice*, was gone to the Emperours Court. And it was indeed easier for the Duke to defend himself by Negotiation, than to maintain longer his Souldiers; for there having till now been maintained in the Territory of *Mantua* six thousand five hundred Foot and thirteen hundred Horse, pay at last failing, the Strangers disbanded, and those of the Country returned to their houses. He then by the means of *Ottaviano Vivaldini* desires money of the *Venetians* to keep his Troops on foot, and earnestly implores, that to his, they would joyn five thousand Foot and five hundred Horse of their own, offering himself with that strength to march to *Casale*, and having secured that place, and in it preserved *Mantua* also, to end the War with glory and expedition. Monsieur d'Avo and Monsieur de *Guron*, the one Ambassadour for *France* at *Venice*, and the other sent expressly into *Italy* for these Concerns, promised the entire assistance of the Crown, nay the person of the King himself, when the Siege of *Rochel* should be ended, and demonstrated withal, that if they in this interim, for want of assistance, should let the Dukes Affairs perish, and *Casale* were lost, all attempts and succours afterwards would be rendered vain.

But the Senate apprehending the old aim of the *French* Ministers to ingage the Republick in an open breach with *Spain*, to avoid that of their Crown, referred all resolution to the arrival of the Kings Colours into *Italy*, to which they continued their promises to joyn themselves. The Pope also concurred in the same opinion, to animate the *French* not to abandon *Italy*, and, in this interim sending to the Emperour and both the Kings Nuntio's Extraordinary to endeavour a Treaty of Peace, armed and fortified his Frontiers, planting in view of the *Modenese*, not without the complaints and jealousies of that Duke, a good Fort which was called by his Name *Urban*. The hopes of *Italy* being then referred to the issue of the one affair of *Rochel*, which seemed now near an end, it plainly appeared, that as much as the *Austrians* had been advantaged by that Engagement, so much the less were they to rejoice at the taking of it. And the *French* began already highly to complain of the novelties and turbulencies raised in *Italy*; and, to support the Duke of *Mantua* till

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till they could send him greater Forces, they permitted him Levies and Supplies, giving him connivence and encouragement; whereupon in his name and with money drawn from his Estate in that Kingdom were raised under the Marqueſs of *Uxelles* twelve thousand Foot and two thousand Horſe with ſix pieces of Cannon, to be transported from this ſide the Mountains to his aſſiſtance, ſeconded by ſome Troops of the Kings, commanded by the Mareſhal of *Crequi*, Governour of *Dauphiné*.

This Expedition, amplified alſo more than was neceſſary, according to the prompt diſpoſition of the Nation, wont to believe that done which ſeemed near to be executed, made them believe in *France* the Duke ready ſuccoured; and in *Italy* with great expectation fear was confounded with hope: for at the report, that that Army was drawing near, *Gonzales* imbarked his Cannon, and kept all ready to raiſe the Siege from *Cafale*; but at the ſame time, to divert the ſtorm from him, uſes all ſorts of ſubmiſſions and promiſes to the Duke of *Savoy*; and now *Carlo* believed himſelf arrived at that Poſt, which he had long propoſed to make himſelf Arbitrer of the War and Peace of *Italy*: For the *French* alſo demanded paſſage of him with greater flatteries and ample offers of all ſorts of advantages, the Liberty and Wealth of the *Genoſe* being the price, which to ſtrives was offered him by both the Crowns. But mindful of the offences done to *Richelieu*, and now fearful of his revenge, taking time to answer, the better to fortiſie himſelf after having garriſoned his places, and obtained four thouſand Foot of the Governour of *Milan*, reſuſes it. The *French* notwithstanding reſolve by the way of *Caſtel Delphino* to attempt it; but the Duke being moved with his Army into the Valley of *St. Pieter*, and having cauſed the Prince *Vittorio* to advance, encountering the Vantguard in the Straights of thoſe Mountains, beats them and drives them back. All the Army then of *Uxelles* retreats, and being come into *Dauphiné*, quickly diſbands; for a coolneſs ordinarily following the *French* fury, Victuals were wanting, and the money, both managed with covetouſneſs and waſted with negligence, ſufficed not to ſupply it. In the beginning alſo of this Action, the *Venetians* being requested to permit paſſage to certain Cavalry of the Duke of *Mantua's*, that croſſing the *Milaneſe*, they might move forward to joyn the *French*, reſuſed it, becauſe in the difficulty to execute it, they could not diſcern ought but the wonted intentions to draw them unſeaſonably to Declarations and Engagements. But the ſtraights of that Prince being now brought to that paſs, that he could no longer maintain his Court and Family, much leſs keep up his Army, they being requeſted in his Name by the Marqueſs of *Pomar* with expreſſions of pity rather than aſſiſtance, diſburſed to him twenty thouſand Ducats, and before the end of the year they ſupplied him with other and greater ſums for the maintaining of his Garriſons alſo. *Carlo Emanuel* having repulſed the *French*, triumphed greatly, and the Governour of *Milan* was much more encouraged, who believing already the gain of *Cafal* ſecure, jealous leſt the Duke ſhould yet

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take in ſome part of *Monferrat*, which belonged to the King, ſends *Nizza* with four thouſand Foot the Count *John ſerbellone*, who took it in fifteen days, after having ſo frightened the Inhabitants with the ſpringing of a Mine, that they forced the Count of *Agremont*, a *French* man, who defended it with twenty four of his Nation and ſome *Monferrins*, to capitulate and leave it. Of this diſtraction of Forces, which retarded the Siege, thoſe within *Cafale* made uſe to great advantage, reaping the harveſt, and bringing it into the Town, where was come in *Monſieur de Guron*, to animate in the Name of King *Lewis* the Inhabitants and Garriſon.

The *Nuntio's*, ſent from the Pope, being come to the Camp, projected in the miſt of theſe actions a ſuſpenſion of Arms for fifteen days, in which ſpace the *Infanta Marguerita* entering into *Cafale*, ſome Propoſition of agreement might be concerted. But the Governour jealous of ſome artifice of the *Savoyards*, to prolong his conqueſt by pretending, that together with his, there ſhould be put into it a Garriſon of the Emperours, diſſolves the Treaty. And the *Grand Duke* being returned from the Imperial Court had ſpeech in *Maderno*, a place of pleaſure upon the *Lago di Garda*, with the Prince of *Mantua*, and propoſed to him a change of thoſe States, ſince that the *Monferrat*, expoſed to the greedy deſires of the moſt powerful, occaſioned ſo great diſagreements; but the *Spaniards* not willing to offer an equivalent, that diſcourſe came to nothing. The Negotiation then yielding to force, *Gonzales*, ſtrengthened with new Troops, ſtraightens *Cafale*, taking away at laſt the entry of Victuals and Succours by the poſſeſſing of *Ponzono*, *Roffignano*, *St. Giorgio*, and other Poſts on the Hill. The place nevertheleſs defended it ſelf with brave and frequent Sallies, in one of which *Monſieur de Beuron*, a *French* man, being come in as a Volunter, and having given proof of ſingular courage, was killed, and in another the Serjeant Major *Lutzago*, a *Breſcian*, ſeeing amongſt the Enemy the Traitor *ſpadino*, ingaged himſelf ſo far to take off his head, that he there loſt his life. The Marqueſs *Rivara* obſerving, relief would be difficult and tedious, and fearing that the conſumption of the Victuals in the Town would at laſt bring it to extremity, got ſtore into the Citadel, to maintain himſelf the longer there, exhorting the Inhabitants to ſtint Victuals; as they did with great proof of their conſtancy and fidelity. Nor did the beſiegers experience little leſs neceſſity; for *Italy*, overflowed this year by the Rivers, had given ſuch a ſlender harveſt of Corn, that Famine was an affliction every where, and eſpecially in the *Milaneſe*, whence that which could be taken ſerving for nourishment, though very ſcanty, to the Army, the people in the City of *Milan* periſhed. In *Provence* the *French* had reſtrained the liberty of tranſport.

The Duke of *Mantua* ſhut up the paſſage of the *Po*; and the *Venetians*, who alſo ſuffered very much, were careful that no grain ſhould paſs into the *Milaneſe*. So that the people being famiſhed, brake out into a kind of Tumult, which conſtrained the Governour to go thither and quiet it, and muſt have raiſed the Siege, if in that

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instant, from *Sicily* and elsewhere some Vessels arriving in the River of *Genoua*, there had not been a supply seasonable to the necessity. In the Imperial Court, to divert the Imperial Ban and the vigorous consequences, which it uses to carry with it, it was proposed by the Bishop of *Mantua*, that in token of the Emperours Authority, to content *Gualtalla*, some place of the *Mantuan* should be delivered to him, and a suspension of Arms be in the mean time in *Monferrat*, to treat some Accord with the *Savoyards*. But the *Spanish* Ministers accepting of no Propositions, perswaded *Ferdinand* to new intimations, carried to *Mantua* by Doctor *Foppis*, a Counsellor of the Court, that the Duke, within the space of a month was to yield obedience to the Commissary. He always, to gain time and commiseration, sends the Prince his Eldest Son to *Vienna*, to shew his Duty to *Ferdinand*, and to offer also, upon the obtaining the Investiture of *Mantua*, to deposit *Casal* and the *Monferrat* into the hand of some Prince of confidence, to be kept in the Name and by a Garrison of the Emperours for a certain time, within which the cause should be decided; provided notwithstanding that the *Spaniards* and *Savoyards* should do the same in what they possessed. The Prince instead of being well received, which the *Spanish* Ambassadors opposed even to protests, was scarce privately admitted; but although he carried back little advantage by the Journey, the Duke nevertheless got himself great applause by it, shewing, that having on his side omitted nothing of his bounden duty towards the Emperour, on the other side was discovered the desire and intention of the others; for it was answered, *That Casal being in the Emperours Name put into the Custody of the Germans, which served under the Ensigns of Spain, the Emperours will was, that the Governour should keep what he possessed on the account of the pretensions of Gualtalla; and that the Savoyards should keep what they held, in consideration of their own Rights, till an Agreement or Sentence should be declared, and then there should be a suspension in the Mantuan.* From which was plainly discovered the design to put the *Spaniards* in possession of *Casal*, and deprive the Duke of *Mantua* of *Monferrat*; whereupon the Prince, denying to have power concerning that, departs; though the Empress had first given him counsel to lay the whole Concern at the Emperours foot, and receive Law from that Authority which he had no power to resist. Yet to give time to the *French*, that they might apply themselves to the Affairs of *Italy*, the Duke not wholly breaking off the Negotiation, shews himself inclined to some kind of Exchange; and a Meeting in *Piacenza* to adjust it was negotiated by the Nuntio *Scappi*; but *Cordua* dissents from it, alledging to have no power but to reduce *Carlo* to acknowledge respect due to the Emperour: at the same time notwithstanding secretly proposes to him great advantages, if he would deliver *Casal* to himself.

The Duke, to let it be known, that the actions of the Governour had had no other thing in aim but the zeal for the Emperours Authority, sends to the besieged some Ensigns with Eagles in them, that being set up in the Castle, Citadel, and the City, they might procure

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procure respect to the Emperours Colours; but the Governour getting notice of it, suffered them not to go in. Amidst these Negotiations, *Casal* holding out, though there being daily gained on the Duke of *Mantua*'s side, if not advantages, at least hopes, arrives the news, which was so much longed for in *Italy*, that *Rochel* was at last taken.

The King of *England*, to maintain it, had not failed to use his utmost force, though, *Buckingham* being dead, much of that heat was quenched which inflamed the War; for having sent a third Float under the Earl of *Denby* to its assistance, it made a new attempt to bring it in, but the *French* Ships making a brave opposition, the Dike was maintained against all attempts. The Sea afterwards swelling with a great tempest, dispersed and disordered the *English* Ships, and on the other side had such respect to the Dike, as if it had conspired to the overthrow of the one and the glory of the other; the Tides, which in the month of *July* and about the Equinox were wont to be more than ordinarily violent and forcible, passed that year so calmly, that they did no hurt. *Denby* perceiving that he could not compass his purpose, making a Truce for a few days, to the end to retire with greater security, goes his way, and the *Rochelais* having spent their Victuals, and the uncleanest things now failing to satisfy hunger, seeing all hope of succours and safety vanished, rendered themselves at discretion upon the 29. of *October*. The place, to say truth, suffered during the Siege all that which by humane patience could be endured, or which in any former times may have been suggested by despair. The streets covered with dead Carcasses, made a shew rather of a Church-yard of bones unburied than of a City of living men; and those few that were found alive, either languished like men or almost like Skeletons, seemed no less to represent the Funerals of that proud City, than to signalize the Triumph of the Conquerours. The King causing it for two days to be cleaned of the dead and sick, made his solemn Entry the first of *November*, restoring the Divine Worship, and giving life and liberty to all, except the Mother and Sister of *Rohan*, who by perswasions and example having prolonged the Surrender, he commanded to be kept in Arrest, not so much for punishment as to have the means to bring the Duke more easily to obedience. He dis-infranchised the City, demolished the Walls, except on the side towards the Sea, leaving *Rochel* little else remarkable, but the memory of a strong place, and the renown of a memorable Siege.

True it is, that it was much contested in the Kings Council, whether *Rochel*, thus reduced, ought not to be kept with a strong Garrison, as a bridle to the *Huguenots* and the repelling of Strangers, and the Cardinal did not disapprove it, as he aspired to take the direction and government of it; but discovering that the King, with whom he did not yet enjoy that absolute power, which length of time and happiness of success afterwards gave him, had secretly promised it to *Monsieur de Thoiras*, he chose rather to see the place seized to the ground than in the hands of another. Whereupon

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The season far advanced, furnished therefore those of the Queen-mothers Faction, with pretexts considerable to reprove the thought of succouring *Casal*, and in particular the Kings going into *Italy*. The discourses in the Council were; *That the Army was wearied out, and the souldiers in disorder from the sufferings in so long a Siege; That an unreasonable Voyage was now proposed, to traverse the whole Kingdom, and to pass over the narrow and steep passages of the Alps, subject to Treacheries, and disputed by the Enemies Forces; That Winter was coming on; and how an Army could march, and the Cannon pass through the Snow and over the Ice? The nature of those craggie situations had at other times been overcome by Art, but now by the rigour of the season Art it self was overcome by Nature. The Forts, Arms, and Strengths of the Savoyards were to be considered, who, if with a handful of men, they repulsed Uxelles in the Summer, how will they not shut the passage at present when all things contribute to their advantage? The Countries near to Italy were found to be infected with the plague. In Italy it self the people perish for want of bread. To what purpose then expose to hazard the Army that conquered Rochel, or rather the remainder of them that beat the English, not only to military Factions, but to Plague and Famine? That souldiers who had overcome the Sea, repulsed the Enemy, and chastised the Rebels, deserved other rewards, than to be carried beyond the Mountains to a Grave as the scraps of glory, and no less of obedience. That it was uncertain, whether *Casal* could endure the length of such a March, and if it should yield to necessity whilst the Alps were forcing, and the Army was getting into Italy, what way remained there more open for going forward, than that of a dishonourable return? That it was therefore judged the most warrantable counsel, since the season necessitated the delay, to except the issue of things, sound the minds of the Princes, and after resolve upon the way either of Treaty or Arms.*

To these considerations were added the complaints and tears of both the Queens; for *Enric* having a feeling of some little indisposition, they exclaimed, that *Richelieu*, not content to have kept the King in the Marshes of *Rochel* and the unwholesom Air of the Sea, would

would now expose him to the colds and inconveniencies of the sharpness of the Alps. Many were of opinion, that before engaging the Forces elsewhere, it was fit to conclude a Peace with *England*, knowing also, that *Rohan* had an Army in *Languedoc* and some Towns, and that the Duke of *Savoy*, to encourage him, offered to enter into *Dauphiné*, and assistances were promised from the *Spaniards*; and to adjust them in the Name of *Rohan* himself, *Monsieur de Clausel* going with the Abbot *de Scaglia* to *Madrid*, had made an agreement with *Olivares*, that money being furnished him by that Crown, he, together with his Party, should continue the War in *France*. And therefore *Richelieu* having often experienced, that in the attempt of great things Fortune made them succeed above expectation greater, insinuated to the King the just motive to shew the *Spaniards* his resentment of former injuries and the offences of a later date, by justly revenging himself for the assistance they had promised to the *Huguenots*, by maintaining the just cause of a Prince in his own Kingdom, and by redeeming *Italy* from present oppressions, and thereby satisfying the persuasions of the Pope and the instances of the *Venetians*. His considerations were, *That the difficulties which opposed the succours, were the Mountains, the Season, and the Enemy; but that nothing was invincible to the courage of the Nation, nothing impossible to the power, to the greatness, and felicity of a King so pious. That when he had once set foot in Italy, the affections and partialities of several Princes would be stirred up, and those who under the yoke, for present fear, bemoan silently their condition, would be the first that with greediness would breathe liberty again and shake off the Chains: That the Forces of Carlo Emanuel were weak to make resistance in so many situations and parts as there are passages, leading to the Mountains; and if the Spaniards would joyn to make opposition at the foot of the Alps, they would be forced to rise from before Casal. So that Fame and Glory being the fore-runners, the Victory would be without hazard, without blood, and without contest: But that nothing could be achieved without the Royal Presence, by reason of the Genius of the Nation, which, though it undertakes with heat, yet quickly grows cool, when the eye of the King does not quicken and inflame it: That it drew along with it the Guards, a People inured to War, and faithful, it attracted the flourishing and valiant Gentry, preserved Obedience and Discipline, made difficulties and wants be born, dangers be overcome, battels won, and impossibility it self conquered, where the Person of the King distinguished courage from baseness, and as a Companion in sufferings and hazards, crowned true virtue with praise and reward. That the Peace with *England* was in great forwardness, nor could the *Huguenots* be better bridled, but by drawing the Army near to Italy, that is to say, towards *Languedoc*, where is their greatest strength, and towards those Provinces upon which the *Spaniards* and *Savoyards* together have their present designs. In sum, so many conveniencies and advantages concurred with it, as now forced a necessity to second the counsels of reason.*

The King assented fully to the enterprise, and to attempt it in person; for having now tasted the glory of good success, he aspired

En. Dom. to greater Triumphs, and had naturally a great aversion to the *Spaniards*, and a greater desire to keep them under. But the Cardinal not believing affairs yet in such a condition, as to be able to come advantageously to an open breach with them, inclined nevertheless to the resolution of going into *Italy*, provoked by a violent desire to revenge himself of *Carlo Emanuel*, and by interest to remove the King from *Paris*, the proper Seat for the Intrigues of the Court, and particularly of the Queens and their Faction, which could not be better extinguished or weakened, but by keeping the King from thence, and amidst the exercises of War have him under his sole eye and hand. To notify the action, *Monsieur de la Salodie*, as a fore-runner, was dispatched into *Italy*, to incite the Princes to declare and unite themselves, now the King was come near to the *Alps* with a puissant Army. Being arrived at *Venice*, he found in the Senate the readiness he had always offered; extolling therefore the Generosity of the King and the Prudence of his chief Minister, with an applause equal to the desire with which they had solicited it, they with a happy passage of the *Alps*, which being, they assure they will concur in the common designs, with the third part of those Forces which the King should judge necessary for the Action. The Duke of *Savoy* employed several Arts to divert this agreement, suggesting by the most secret means to *France*, that the Republick aimed at nothing but to engage it, and afterwards leave it alone in War with the *Austrians*: And to the *Venetians*, that they should remember what had passed in the *Palteline*, and the old design of the *French* to bring them to a Rupture with *Spain*, without caring to second it.

But all attempts proving vain, *Cordua* was greatly perplexed: For if those of *Casal*, taking courage from the hopes of succours near hand, shewed more than ever an obstinate resistance, his weakened Army did not admit of a joyned opposition with the *Savoyards* at the *Alps*, and to continue the Siege also. Besides this, he knew and considered the present state of things; the *Milanese* exposed, the Subjects discontented, the Places unprovided, Victuals scarce, Provisions consumed, and Money wanting; for just in this year the *Holland* Fleet under the Command of *Peter Hein* Admiral, advancing with a noble boldness into the *American* Seas, had near the Island of *Cuba* taken the Fleet composed of twenty Ships, which transported into *Spain* the Treasures drawn from those rich Kingdoms. Whereupon, after a Meeting in *Pavia* with *Nassau* and *Monterey*, he had dispatched Couriers in great diligence to *Madrid* for Orders and Supplies, and to *Vienna* for assistance and re-inforcement.

From *Spain* nothing could arrive but slowly, and therefore his greatest hopes were placed in *Germany*, where the power and good success of *Ferdinand* greatly increasing daily, there remained nothing for him to desire more of Fortune. In this year *Tilly* had taken in *Verden* and *Stade*; nor was there found ought else which could resist, except some certain Islands secured by the Sea, or some few Towns, which having Ports, kept a way open for succours. Whereupon *Ferdinand* taking courage to attempt higher matters, inclines

inclines to make a restitution of Ecclesiastical Goods, and particularly to get for the Archduke his Son the Archbishoprick of *Magdeburg*, which had been conferred on *Augustus*, second Son of the Elector of *Saxe*. But *Ferdinand* upholding his purpose with force, pretended, that the Cannons themselves being fallen from their power, as having run themselves into the delict of Treason by adhering to the Enemy, their Votes were illegitimate, and therefore the Election void.

Frizland was designed to have passed into the Islands of *Denmark*, if that Winter the freezing of the Sea, as is usual, had afforded him a passage, or if Ships could have been provided for him, which, though he assumed the Title of General of the Sea, he had not been able to get, nor by any means to procure; and that in *Lubeck* the Count of *Swartzenburg* for the Emperour, and *Gabriel le Roy* for the *Spaniards*, laboured all they could to persuade those maritime Towns to have furnished them. But he, desirous at least to possess himself of Ports, exercised the patience of the Duke of *Pomerania* with all sort of offences, to the end to bring him to some desperate resolution, which might give him a pretext to deprive him of his Country. But that not succeeding, he besieges *Rostock* and *Wismar*, *Anseatick* and Imperial Towns, with very considerable Havens, and having taken them without much ado, passing also into the Island of *Rughen*, prepares to straighten *Stralsund*.

The King of *Denmark*, to divert him, had possessed the Island of *Usdom* and the City of *Wolgast* in *Pomerania*. But *Fridlandt*, hasting thither with his wonted good Fortune, gave the King such a defeat, as forced him to re-imbark and leave the City itself as a prey to him. During this absence of his, those of *Stralsund* making a Sally upon a Fort placed over against their Town, took and demolished it; wherewith provoked, he begins it with a more straight Siege, in such sort that being almost reduced to extremity, they capitulated, by means of the Duke of *Pomerania*, to render it, when *Fridlandt*, secure of the event, goes his way to take possession of the Dukedom of *Mechelburg*, which, the Emperour having deprived those Princes for having taken part with *Denmark*, had given him, leaving the care to the Duke of *Pomerania* himself to receive the Surrender, and put a Garrison into it.

But the King of *Sweden*, who with happy success made War in *Livonia* and *Prussia* with the *Polacks*, understanding the extremity, in which for want of powder the City was, doubting, lest having taken the Ports of the *Baltick*, the Imperialists might not only subdue *Denmark*, but render themselves terrible to himself and his Dominions, sends an abundant Relief into it, with promise of greater assistance; whereupon the Inhabitants taking courage, breaking the Capitulation, persisted in their defence, which so much enraged *Walstein*, that, if it were his custom to make War with great cruelty, he now protested to make use of his Victory with all the excess of it. But in the brightness of so many prosperities, from *Stralsund* arises that little Cloud, which far out at Sea is wont, when it scarce appears, to burst

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burst out suddenly into dreadful storms. But the World, that discerns not things to come, adored the Fortune of *Ferdinand* as perpetual, and *Italy* in particular ballanced the hopes of the *French* succours with the fears of an Inundation of the *Germans*.

Besides these important cares, the *Venetians* not neglecting the Affairs of the Sea, infested by many Pirates, had armed two great Gallions under the Command of *Giovanni Paulo Gradenigo*, which in Company of two Gallies, whereof *Antonio Cappello*, called *Terzo*, was Captain, arrived at *Alessandretta*. There rode there at Anchor five *French* Ships, when as many *English* Pirates, coming in on a sudden, set upon them with assured hopes to make them their prey. The *Venetians*, not being able in view of their own Colours to suffer the insult, taking into protection the *French*, who were the weaker, after a hard Encounter made the *English* to be gone. The *Turks* were pleased with the defence of the Port, and the *French* with the safety of their Ships; the complaints which the *English* made, being with reason quickly stilled. In *Venice* happened, afterwards some distraction of minds for private interests, which, because unusual, deserve to be taken notice of. They drew their original from disputes betwixt two *Patrician* Families, to wit, that of *Cornaro*, of *Giovanni* that was Duke, and that of *Zeno di Renieri* Cavalier. This last, a man of a haughty spirit, had in several occasions inveighed against the other, and being one of the three Heads of the Council of Ten, had made use of the Authority of that Tribunal, to rebuke the Duke himself for suffering his Sons to run out into divers and dissolute liberties. At which *Giorgio*, on whom, it seemed, these reproaches reflected, falling into great fury, without his Fathers knowledge, a Prince of singular piety and highest moderation, not far from the publick Palace sets upon *Zeno*, when by night coming out of the Council of Ten he was come down the Stairs, and attempts with blows of Hatchets, followed by other Murderers, to kill him. Wounded in several parts, he was nevertheless preserved alive; but the dignity of the Publick, the Council, esteemed in the Commonwealth sacred, and the liberty it self of the Government remained violated.

Cornaro by a quick Sentence was banished by the Council of Ten with capital and grievous penalties, the Character of his Gentility was cancelled, and in the place of the offence a Memorial in Marble erected in execration of the Fact. Whereupon Justice being rather satisfied than mens minds quieted, *Zeno* being recovered, continued to inveigh often in publick Harangues against all the Family, and many adhering to the one and to the other, either for affection or kindred, it was evident, that mens minds grew imbittered in the discourses of Assemblies and the Walks of the Market-place. Passing then from private affections to publick affairs also, a desire waxed big in many, that to the Authority of the Council of Ten, which is one of the supremest in the Republick, there might be some seasonable regulation made; whereupon in the Election of persons, whereof it is composed, wont to be renewed in the month

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of *August*, almost all those who were proposed in the great Council met with exclusion. The most experienced Citizens apprehended danger from novelty, always prejudicial, when under the pretext of reformation change makes a forcible entry; the worst of Moths, which if not killed at first, quickly destroys and corrodes the best ordered Governments. Nevertheless, it being necessary to give equal contentment to the major part, by the great Council were elected *Niccolo Contarini*, *Antonio da Ponte*, *Pietro Bonduini*, *Baptista Nani*, and *Zacharia Sagredo* as Reformers, to the end, that concerning the Authority of the Councils, and principally of that of Ten, they should within a little time propound the Rules judged needful or convenient. There followed with full Votes for the Election of Secretaries, for the granting of safe Conduits, and doing other things of no great moment, several Consultations, amongst which the chief was the abolition of the Authority, which by the ancient Laws were given it, to revoke the Decrees of the great Council it self, where, as is usual in things most important, they were not bound up to particular Conditions and the strictness of Votes. There was also proposed by the Reformers the Confirmation of the Authority which belonged to the Council of Ten, with the enumeration of many cases, and with the power to be the sole Judge of the *Patricians* in criminal Causes active and passive, with a choice nevertheless to commit to other Magistrates those which were of lesser moment. The contest hereupon was very fore, because it was the very thing wherein many desired an alteration, it appearing too strange, that even in the most trivial cases, the Nobles alone should be subject to the most severe Judicature, where the way of proceeding is by Inquisition, with secrecy and a certain rigour which they call the Custom. But our wise Ancestors knowing, that the chief bond of *Aristocracy* is the chastity and moderation of that part which governs, have been willing to put a bridle upon it, because from betwixt Rule and Licence there would be too short a distance, if the Authority of the Laws and the severity of Judgments did not interpose.

The first day it was proposed, no Decree passed in the Great Council, but the Votes and Inclinations fully tended to reject it. Being taken into debate, another day it was sharply spoken against by *Renieri Zeno* Cavalier, and defended by *Niccolo Contarini*; but *Francesco Contarini*, Head of the Council of the *Quaranta Criminali*, replying for the opposite Party with an eloquent discourse, so moved the minds of the major part, that many not keeping silence, prevented the Votes with their cries, when *Baptista Nani* beginning to speak, making silence by the authority of what he was going to say, and by his gray hairs and the gravity of his behaviour giving credit to his reason and discourse, thus spake; *It is no new thing to me, that he is more applauded and acceptable, who speaks to the liking of others, than for the publick Good: But liberty in Councils, truth in judging, and courage in difficulties shall never abandon me. The itch of insatiable Ambition disquiets me not; the common hope of Honours disturbs*

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An.Dom. 1628. me not; nor am I moved with the desire of applause. Constant in the adversity of my Country, I fear nothing; moderate in its prosperity, I gain nothing. I look up to no other Pole, nor have other scope than that which hath been prescribed by our Ancestors, always venerable from the duration of the Country. We are all strictly bound to this duty, to transmit unviolable and unextinguished that light of Glory and Liberty, which our Fathers have so many Ages ago consigned to us. I know, that man hath no office sweeter more of Divinity than that of governing others; but it is a thing of great difficulty, and if such be the government over inferiours, how much more hard will it be to command over equals? But this is our glory, that Majesty and Obedience take their turns; that we are equally capable to govern and to be governed, that to the ambitious dignity of Command is associated the virtuous moderation of a private life and the most easy yoke of the Laws. So that our Republick is ordered like the Heaven, in which the Citizens, in resemblance to the Stars, have, by office in the universal felicity, influence and light, but with various Situations, divers aspects, and different Motions, enjoying sometimes a fulness of light, lending it often to others, and then themselves suffering an Eclipse. Ought we then to accuse the Divine Providence, because it hath not distributed to all the same offices and stations? Shall we then also in our Country where Ten make a supreme Council, which by annual change give place to the merits of others, stir our selves up to envy and anger, because we all cannot be capable of it at once? I dread to think, that there is any that detests the rigour of Justice, the severity of the Laws, and the Authority of the Council of Ten. Let us in this case then suppose our selves guilty from our selves, and to offend without punishment; will we quite abolish Justice and Government it self? Let us, I pray, turn these invectives against the offences, let us abhor the Delinquents, let us make Decrees against faults, and on the contrary, let us venerate that Ray of Divinity, which, though it strike the wicked with Thunder, is a guide to the innocent. I account the antiquity of such a Council always venerable, and the Ages by which its Authority hath been established; a Council chosen by our selves, composed of our selves, is the Maintainer of the Laws, the Protection of Liberty, and the Bridle of Subjects. But what shall become of us and our Posterity, if wanting the sacred refuge of our defence, we shall think to offend without punishment, and be audaciously despised? What protects the Dignity of Persons and of Families, the security of quiet and civil living, the liberty it self of the Government, but the Council of Ten alone, which sharply punishing offences, restrains with their Name and Authority the thoughts also of attempting them. We by weakening it and exposing it to contempt, think by it to diminish punishment, and by it provoke injuries. Do any perhaps, under the pretext of regulating abuses, go about to abate the Power of the Government? A sad design, which betrays to himself and his posterity the hopes of those rewards, which the Country with considerable dignity largely imparts. Let such go out from amongst us, let them not be esteemed worthy to be sons of so great a Common-wealth, and he that would withdraw himself from the Laws and from punishments, contriving rather to make himself a Criminal,

minimal, than aspiring to be a Judge, like a Monster of Vice, let him be separated from us and cut off. In our Republick this is the just equality not to do and not to suffer wrongs. Away with such conceits, that those in Power ought to have a greater liberty, and that punishments on Delinquents can be either too heavy, or judgments too severe. This is the bond of our quiet and the quiet of our Subjects. Some Law givers have omitted to mention punishments for certain outrageous faults, believing that they could never happen in a well ordered Government. Our Ancestors on the other side have been willing even in small matters to assign a more severe judgment, to the end that not so much as the least offences should give encouragement of coming near to discompose the good order and integrity of the Common-wealth. Happy the Country, most happy the People, and the Government to be admired, which hath for its Foundation Law, and for its Crown Liberty; where those of the better sort excel in example, where he finds more restraint that enjoys greater authority. Fathers, in point of Renown we have no cause to envy any of the ancient States or modern Sovereignities. In the largeness of our Dominion, we have wherewithal to content the moderation of our minds. In the duration of liberty we surpass any Common-wealth whatsoever. But the deliberation of this day is to overcome our selves; therein we give comfort to our Subjects, example to Strangers, and occasion for a good Report. Let the Venetian Nobility, all in a body, in the most majestic and authoritative of their Assemblies unanimously determine, that if Empire and liberty at one and the same birth be acknowledged from God, they willingly consecrate themselves to Justice, and will govern the people with such moderation and sweetness, that for the prevention of offences, they make choice for their Court of Justice, of the gravest, for Laws, the severest, and for punishments, the heaviest. Upon these or like words, delivered with gravity, and received with great attention, opinions and minds were so changed, that many blushing that they had thought otherwise, the Decree with a great number of Votes was willingly embraced, and two days after followed the Election of Persons proposed, for the new Council of Ten, amongst which with great applause Nani was received; and what had passed was registred in the publick Records with an honourable memory of his Name.

A N N O M. DC. XXIX.

Italy expecting succours from the Alps, and by succours safety, Lewis arrives there with thirty thousand men, having left his Mother Regent at Paris. But before the King moved, Luigi Contarini, the Ambassadour of Venice, had gotten a promise from the King of England, that he would not interrupt the enterprise; and a while after the Peace was concluded, which, by the death of Buckingham the private passions of Favourities being extinguished, consisted in few Articles; To renew the ancient Treaties, restore Commerce, silence reciprocally pretensions about Reprisals, prevent them for the future, and perform the Conditions of the Marriage, if any difficulty should intervene amicably to agree it. Each King reserved himself the liberty to assist

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An. Dom. 1629. his Allies without breach of the Peace. The Copies of the Treaty, till the Ratification, were deposited in the hands of the Ministers of the Republick, who by the Mediation had gotten great reputation, especially *Contarini*, who within a while passed to the Embassy in Ordinary of *France*. The King then freed from that distraction marches towards *Italy*, having first sent to *Mantua* Monsieur de *Landel*, to carry the News of it to the Duke, at a time very seasonable, when the Governour of *Milan* assaulted him with secret promises, and *Nassau* pinched hard upon him, who, being gone against *Mantua*, and requiring a positive declaration of obedience or resistance, while the Duke, fenced with general conceptions, denounced to him War and Force. To the noise hereof, the effects afterwards following, the Emperour orders, to please the *spaniards* greatly troubled at the march of the *French*, that his Army should descend into *Italy*. The Duke hereupon in trouble betwixt the hopes of succours and the fear of dangers, equally near, sending *Pomar* again to *Venice*, solicites, together with the *French* Ministers, the Republick to declare it self and assist him with a body of their men, that, while the King forced the *Alps*, and the Duke of *Guise* with the Fleet would endeavour landing, so to send succours to *Casal*, they might pass into, or attacke the *Milanesè* from this other side, for the assistance of one another either by diversion or conjunction of Forces. It appearing to the Senate, that the strength of the Army by Sea did not answer the same of it, and many difficulties discovering themselves, which might be met with at the *Alps*, the Council thought it more wise to stay till the King should be in *Piedmont*. But to the end the Duke might be able to maintain his Troops, they furnish him with seventy thousand Ducats, and, to have all in readiness to second the Kings undertaking, order General *Erizzo* to dispose of the Army into such Quarters, that it might be quickly drawn together to give countenance to the Duke, and jealousy to the *Milanesè*, when the occasion should require it. Nine thousand Foot and a thousand Horse being thus distributed on the Frontiers, gave great jealousy to the Governour, who, to send a body to that side, so weakened himself in the Camp, that he was scarce able to supply wherewith to keep his Posts and Guards in the Trenches.

The Duke of *Mantua* kept together five thousand Souldiers in pay, but with great difficulty, by reason of the continual want wherein he was of money; so that, to please them with some advantage, and entertain them with booty, he sent them into the *Cremonesè* against *Casal Maggiore*, a Town rich and great, kept by eight hundred men of the Country, who frighted at the approach of the *Mantuanis*, left it them in prey, scarce saving the Cannon by Water. It was thereupon exposed to Pillage, and afterwards abandoned. *Sabioneda*, as hath been said elsewhere, was possessed by a Princess of the House of *Stigliana*, who not believing it secure from the Forces of the Borderers, had trusted it to the Duke of *Parma*, who kept it with a great Garrison and exceeding much care, as a pledge recommended to his trust by all *Italy*. The *spaniard* had several times

in this Conjunction desired of him to permit the entrance of a body of their men, to trouble the Duke of *Mantua* and the Neighbours. But finding no forwardness in the Duke, they applied themselves to *Craft*, couling *Nassau* to enter into it, admitted by the Marquess of *St. Vitale*, the Governour, out of respect to the Imperial Name of the Emperour; and at the same time they perswaded the Prince *Buzzolo*, who had great pretensions upon the place, to draw near to it, giving him hopes that the Gates, by means of the Imperial Commissary, should be opened to him. But the Governour perceiving the design, the Prince found the defence in such sort ordered, that without other attempt he retires, and *Nassau* thought it best to be gone. It was moreover believed, that the advertisement to the Duke of *Parma* of the design of *Buzzolo* came from the *spaniards* themselves, to induce him with the apprehensions of so many dangers to call them to a part of the custody and defence of it. But he rather strengthens it, and *Buzzolo*, having recourse to the *Venetians*, that they might give him means to attempt the surprise of it, was dissuaded by them, both by the difficulty which would arise in exploiting of it, and by the unseasonableness to draw stirrs into those parts.

King *Lewis*, to facilitate his passage of the Mountains, made a new attempt to overcome the mind of *Carlo Emanuel*, offering to add to twelve, other thirty thousand Crowns of yearly Rent for his pretensions of *Monferrat*, and inviting him to the enterprise of *Genoua* with the flatteries of greater advantages. Whereupon the Duke taking a measure of the Genius of the Cardinal, whom from the desire of revenge he judged to be brought in so cold a season towards *Italy*, thought it too dangerous to draw under the title of Friendship so brave an Army into the bowels of *Piedmont*, with the presence of the King and of a Minister maliciously affected. He had his confidence in the season of the Winter, in the nature of the Situations, in his own Forces, in the Succours of *Spain*, and in the Motions of the *Huguenots*; whence he doubted not of Courage to promote the good, and Art to extricate himself out of ill Fortune. He was become crafty above any other in selling himself at a dear rate at a time of need, and was wont always, even to his Friends, to make shew of necessity; but at this very time, to keep all right, he received from the Governour all that he devised to ask. He resolved to send him three thousand Souldiers, which was the most he could do, not having been willing to weaken his Forces on the Confinnes of the *Venetians*, or be diverted from strengthening the maritime Garrisons for fear of the Army by Sea, though it appeared not, because the Souldiers appointed for it were called to greatness that by Land. So that he remained before *Casal* with only two thousand Souldiers in pay, and four thousand of the Country; whereupon he solicites the Princes obliged to send their Proportions for the defence of the *Milanesè*, but they all excused themselves, it seeming that in some, at the appearing of the *French* Army, the ancient respect to *Spain* vanished together with the present fear. On the other side the *French* pressed, that the Princes of *Italy* would now be assisting to their

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own safety, by joyning themselves to their Crown.

But the Pope perceiving the intention to oppose the *Austrians*, now he saw the *French* Colours on the Border of *Italy*, refused to depart from Neutrality, and had appointed for Legate à Latere the Cardinal *Antonio*, his Nephew, for the negotiating of a Peace. The *Venetians* judging, that the coming of the King did not sufficiently remedy the necessity, by reason of the coming down of the *Germans*, and that *Mantua* was so begirt, that it could not receive succours from *France*, consented to under-write a League with *France* and with the Duke of *Mantua*, which being to last for seven years for the removing of present dangers, and establishing Peace, obliged the Confederates to succour one another reciprocally in case of Invasion; The King with twenty thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, the Republick with twelve thousand of the one and a thousand and two hundred of the other, and the Duke with five thousand of the first and five hundred of the last. In proportion to the Forces the Conquests were to be divided, if from the defensive they should be forced to attack. Jealousies were not wanting, even when it was ready to be signed: For the Voyage of *Monsieur de Botru*, a Confident of the Cardinals, to the Court of *Spain*, under a pretext to propose Expedients for the Affairs of *Italy*, but in truth to discover the intentions of *Olivares* and the Treaties which he had with the *Huguenots*, kept the *Venetians* a while in suspense; but the suspicions quickly vanishing, they sent *Girolamo Soranzo* Cavalier, Procurator, Ambassadour Extraordinary, that he might congratulate the Kings Arrival in *Italy*, move him to advance, and assure him of their constant adhering to the Interests of that Crown. Being forced to take a long way about, (for that the passages were almost all shut) the Secretary *Girolamo Cavazza* went before by the way of *Genova* and of the Sea, though in passing near *Monaco* he was by a Brigantine of that Prince arrested Prisoner, and in the Town brought to the Marquets of *Castagneda*, Spanish Ambassadour in *Genova*, who was accidentally there; but being known for a Minister of the Republick, and no Dispatches found, which he had torn and flung into the Sea, he was released. The King being come to *Orso*, an inconsiderable Village at the foot of the *Alps*, filled *Italy* with the Name and Glory of his Arms. But the Pass thereabout was stopped by the *Savoyards* with three Barriadoes; and three Redoubts together with the Fort of *Gelasse*, placed on a Rock, battered the way. A little further, where the Valley opens it self, which points out to Strangers the broadest way to descend into *Italy*, stands *Susa*, fortified with a good Citadel, and a little forwards, those steep Mountains declining into Hillocks, lies *Avigliana*, as the Guard of the adjacent Plain, and which at that time was provided with a numerous Garrison. The three thousand men of the *Spaniards*, commanded by *Marco Antonio Belloni*, *Piedmontese*, had the Guard of the places most advanced and exposed. The Duke had not been able to stop the *French* Army, though he sent to the King the Prince *Vittorio*, who as a Kinsman might carry

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him the testimonies of a greater confidence; for the King reterring all to the Cardinal, and he, shewing an insuperable constancy in not admitting any proffer, which carried not a secure Warranty of faithful dealing, frustrated all attempts and endeavours. Treaty then being at an end, the *French*, (the King present) attacke the Barriadoes with that force of theirs which hath no resistance, and possessed them with the Forts and Redoubts, lodging all at once in *Susa*, and investing the Citadel. The Duke greatly perplexed at this blow, dispatches again his Son with more ample powers and secret instructions to conclude upon any Terms. The *French* had not a mind, altogether free from the cares of the Kingdom, nor had at this time other aim but to mortifie the Duke and preserve *Casal*.

Whereupon *Richelieu* having in part obtained his purpose, concluded in *Susa* with the Prince; That for the Kings Troops, in their going to *Casal* and return thence, Victuals and Quarters should be furnished by the Duke; that at the Charge of *France*, but with Corn of *Piedmont*, the Town should be provided by the Duke himself; that in Hostage the Citadel of *Susa* and the Fort of *Galassé* should be delivered, to be kept by a Garrison of *Switzers*; and if afterwards *Cordua* should voluntarily raise the Siege, the King consented, that *Nizza* should by *Switzers*, in the Name of the Emperour, be kept for a month, after which time it should be delivered to the Duke of *Mantua*, although he were not yet invested by *Ferdinand*. Certain weeks were assigned the *Spaniards* to ratifie the Treaty, and not accepting it, the Duke promised to join his Troops to the Kings, to invade the *Milanese*, in retribution whereof, and upon the account of his pretensions, there were to be given him, together with *Trino*, a Revenue of fifteen thousand Crowns in *Monferrat*.

The Duke approves every thing, and to ratifie the Treaty with pledges of greater confidence, comes to *Susa* much satisfied, to preserve for the present his Country from an Inundation, and perhaps also to hinder the *Spaniards* from taking *Casal*, with assured hopes, that such accidents must quickly happen, which would not only prove favourable to him to retain what he possessed, but to recover *Susa*, and carry on his advantages yet further. The Cardinal on the other side rejoiced, he had obliged *Cordua* to rise at the Name and Reputation only of the *French* Arms, succouring without any hazard and engagement the place besieged. It appearing besides to him, as if he had flattered the vanity and inconstancy of the Duke, his further thoughts were to make use of these Forces and of the Conjunction to give the *Huguenots* the last shake, before that from the *Spaniards* or elsewhere they could receive assistance. In effect, the two Contractors had no other aim but to gain time, little intending to perform the things promised. But *Italy* not understanding so soon what was before them, the unlooked for News of the Agreement of *Susa* brought great amazement.

The *Venetians* were now ready to invade the *Milanese*; for having understood, the King had forced the passage of the Mountains, they had at the solicitation of the *French* Ministers ordered their General to join the Duke of *Mantua*, to attempt diversions and such

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enterprises, as they according to the occasion should find fit. *Erizzo* then having spoken with the Duke in *Villa Franca*, and knowing it impossible to pass to *Casal* through the *Milanese*, with a Journey of more than a hundred miles, amidst so many Towns and with so many Rivers between, resolves, leaving *Candales* with a body of men about *Crema* to alarm the *Spanish* Confiners, to join the Duke in *Ostiano*, and from thence to invade the *Cremone* with eight thousand & five hundred Foot and fifteen hundred Horse of the Republicks, and with five thousand five hundred Foot and twelve hundred Horse of the Dukes. The Army just marching was obliged to halt, by the advice which was come to *Milan* of the Treaty of *Susa*. It was believed, that the *Spaniards* themselves had under-hand contrived it to be brought to *Pietro Antonio Marioni* Resident for the Republick, expressly to divert Invasion on that side, which by reason of the small Forces which they had there was an exceeding trouble to them. But concerning the Treaty, the *Venetians* remained discontented to extremity, not so much because *Monsieur d'Avo*, to persuade them to the march, had assured them of the contrary, as because *Casal* seemed not preserved but for a short time; whence foreseeing, that when the King should be retired, and the Army diminished, the attempts would be re-allumed by the *Spaniards*, and the evil being prolonged rather than cured, time was given to the *Germans* to come into *Italy*.

The Duke of *Mantua* complained also, that under the favour of an Army so powerful, instead of the Succours he hoped for, he was to receive the greatest damage, whilst *Trin* and a great part of *Monferrat* was given to *Savoy*. The *French* alledged the preservation of *Casal* as meritorious, and the necessity of not retarding the Succours as an excuse, understanding the place was reduced to such extremity, that the Army would not have been able to arrive in time, if they must have been forced to make their way with the Sword. In effect, *Gonzales* drew off from the Siege so soon as he heard of the Treaty, and with the Troops first advanced to *Frassinetto* retired afterwards into *Alexandria*, raging openly, that a certain prey had been taken out of his hand by the Duke of *Savoy*; but rejoiced in his heart, that if the Capitulation of *Susa* saved *Casal*, it preserved also the *Milanese*, at that time exposed by the weakness of Forces; if it had been invaded, to a most certain ruine. *Casal* was presently provided with fifteen thousand Sacks of Corn, brought in by the *French*, and by others furnished by the Duke of *Mantua*, to whom the *Venetians* gave for that purpose thirty thousand Ducats, besides another sum, to keep his Souldiers in order with some small pay. Into the Town were put a good number of *French* under *Monsieur de Theiras*, *Maréchal de Camp*, taking their passage through *Piedmont*, and some were brought into *Aqui* and *Nizza*, whence the *Spaniards* were gone out. The displeasure at their being brought in, more than the shame for the retreat, vexed extremely *Gonzales*, the *French* arriving happily there, whence with so much noise of Councils and Arms the *Spaniards* had endeavoured to keep them far off, and his jealousy

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was so much the more increased, when he understood, that Father *An. Dom.* *Joseph*, a Capucin, most confident with the Cardinal, was going to *Mantua* to propose amidst many pretexts to the Duke, that, to spare care and troubles, he would yield *Monferrat* to the Crown, which should give him a Sovereignty in exchange near to the Estate he possessed in the Kingdom.

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Carlo from these dealings had occasion to know, that the succours of great Princes are seldom done without respect to their own advantage, and understanding at what the *French* aimed, he thought it good counsel, if he could possibly bring it to pass, to disengage himself as soon as he could, by assenting to the Treaty of *Susa*, as well from the assistance of the one, as the Hostility of the other Crown. Dextrously therefore rejecting the Propositions of the Capucin, he sends the Marquess *Striggio* to give the King thanks for his succours, and together with ample powers to execute the Treaty. But although there was a Meeting upon it of Deputies in *Buzzolino*, a Town near to *Susa*, and that the *Mantuan*s offered to the *Savoyards* the choice of Lordships divided into four Ranks; yet *Carlo Emanuel*, who thought of any thing but observing the accord, first by several excuses, and after by the supervening of new accidents, frustrates the business. The Ambassadour *Soranzo* being arrived at *Susa*, and finding the Agreement concluded, though he could not divert the prejudices which were apprehended by the Republick, endeavoured at last, that the execution might be warily provided for, by deferring the departure of the King and the Army till Ratifications should arrive from *Spain*. His considerations to the King and Cardinal were; That Peace was not well grounded upon words alone and promises, in an Age, in which fraud passes for expedience, and infidelity is reckoned amongst advantages; but that security consisted in fulfilling and effectuating Agreements. That fear of that unconquered Army had extorted from the Duke of *Savoy* a Consent. Fame, the forerunner of the Glory of so generous a Monarch, had forced the Governour of *Milan* from *Casal*. But that agreements dictated from necessity, as by an unjust and violent Minister, have always been observed to be of short continuance. If that troublesome and inconstant spirit of the Duke be thought to be sufficiently fixed, it were but reason to loosen the bond of Force. If the will of *Gonzales* be thought changed, or the Maxims of the Councils of *Spain* moderated, he for his part consented that the thought of Arms should be laid aside. But if in the one, from the provocation of the affront, an ambitious heart be discovered, and in the other, vexed to the purpose with shame, a haughty mind, and in both the gnawing desire of Ambition and Empire be invited from difficulty; a false security would delude the mind of so great a King, and scorn the counsel of his wise Minister. That Glory was a Plant, which endured load and weight upon it self; but if abandoned to the offences of time, and the injuries of men, naked and torn, though at first adored, within a while it would be despised. That from the Alps the prosperous name of the Crown of *France* resounded through *Italy*; but if so soon as arrived it disappears, its friends would within a while seek for protection

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two Archbishopsricks, twelve Bishopsricks, and a great number of Abbies and rich Monasteries, to the so great commotion of the Hereticks, that *saxe* with all his Party highly complained of it, and denied that such Authority was due to the Emperour alone without a Diet and the consent of the States of the Empire. But flattered with a crafty promise, that the restitution should not be pressed but in a judiciary and civil way, he within a while perceives that the Generals of the Armies were deputed for the execution of it, who confounding the doubtful with the certain, filled the Empire with alteration, and the Princes with losses and complaints. The contrivance seemed of moment, because the best Pieces and the Churches which had Principalities annexed, were to be incorporated into the Sons and Family; the rest, to promote the Reformation of Religion, were with vast riches to be given by the Emperour to the Jesuits now exalted, and believed the Authors of this Decree, which, considering the condition of the times, even to the most zealous seemed unreasonable.

Designs stopping not here, he sends General *Arnheim* into *Prussia* with an Army in favour of the *Polacks*, not so much in a thankful retribution of the succours in the greatest pressure of his necessities, obtained from King *Sigismund*, as to keep the King of *Sweden* intangled in those parts. But the effect was very differing from the counsel; for the *Polacks*, having a natural distrust of Strangers, and in particular detesting the *Germans*, so soon as under the warmth of this assistance they began to breathe with some prosperity, obliged their King to make a Truce for six years. Whereupon *Gustavus* began to ruminate in his vast mind upon vast thoughts, and provoked, or desirous to prevent the injuries he feared, lent his ear to many invitations, which in the name of Princes discontented and enviers of the *Austrians* were brought to him; and to lay the grounds of some Intelligences and Agreement, he sent secretly to divers Princes *Wolmar* Count of *Faremsback*. But in *Holland*, *England*, and *France*, he found as then rather a hearing than reflecting upon this Proposition of moving Arms against *Ferdinand*, whilst the late Wars in *Poland*, with the felicity of successes, had rather gotten the King the reputation of wise and valiant, than renown to the Kingdom, believed by all no less poor than remote, and by consequence too weak to grapple with the Fortune and Power of the *Austrians*, now grown to a full age and well rooted.

Nevertheless *Richelieu*, who despised nought that was profitable and great, resolves to send secretly Ministers to sound better the Genius and Power of the King and the disposition of the Princes of the Empire. *Faremsback*, being by by-ways got into *Italy*, and come to *Mantua* about the time of the Arrival of the *Germans*, observed the Dukes great fear, and offered him diversign in *Germany*, when with ready money he should give motion and means to the good disposition of his King, richer in Courage and Iron than in Strength and Gold. At last discovering the Duke in a condition rather to receive than give assistance, he passes to *Venice* with Letters Credentia; but demands nothing but the convenience of a Galley to go into

into *Dalmatia*, his way lying to *Euda*, and from thence into *Transylvania* to *Ragotzi*, succeeded to *Gabor* deceased, to settle a friendship, and also to concert on that side more sensible and more than any other important moving of Arms against *Ferdinand*. Such was the beginning, little regarded by some, and derided by others, of that boisterous storm, which was seen soon after to over-turn *Germany* in its greatest prosperity.

Ferdinand's cares were now divided betwixt *Italy* and *Holland*, to retribute to the *spaniards* the Treasure so liberally spent, the Succours given, and the Advantages procured him by so many Forces through the whole occurrences of the Empire. The States of the *United Provinces* with a powerful Army of twenty four thousand Foot and five thousand Horse held *Boisleduc* besieged, a Town which with its Territory forms a principal part of *Brabant*; and which being formerly attempted, but by its moorish situation defended, had frustrated both Art and Force. *Orange* having now disposed his Quarters within a large Circumvallation, and strengthened it with Works to be wondred at, inclosed it so strongly, that having shut out all sorts of succours, and where the Earth permitted advancing his approaches, rendered all other attempts useless to the *spaniards* but that of a diversion. And to this they applied themselves but late, Competition being risen amongst the Commanders; because the Commission of *Generalissimo* being by the King conferred on Count *Henry of Berg*, native of the Provinces of *Flanders*, the Strangers, and particularly the *spaniards*, accustomed to command, refused to obey him. The dispute at last adjusted, they resolved to carry their Army through *Frise* into *Holland* to oblige *Orange* not only to raise the Siege, but to give the States such a blow, that putting the Country into disorder and confusion, Tumults might be raised and some important Conquests also made. *Wesel* then upon the *Rhine* being appointed for the place of Arms, *Berg* arrives there with thirty thousand Foot, seventy Companies of Horse, and forty pieces of Cannon, and after having scattered jealousies in several places and feigned divers attacks, passes that River on a sudden, and surprising a Pass upon the *Isel*, esteemed the strongest defence in those parts, advancing into the *velaw*, whence without much contest the way opened it self to *Amsterdam*.

At the same time, according to resolutions agreed on at *Vienna*, the Count *Montecuculi* with ten thousand Imperialists arrives, Count *John of Nassau* with eight thousand more being not far off, sent on purpose, that with the applause of the Family and name he might divide the people, and put *Oranges* party into confusion. *Amersfort* was rendered with little ado to *Berg*; *Hem* fell into the hands of *Montecuculi*, the *Croats* in particular with the terror of their Fame and Fortune pillaging to the Walls of *Utrecht*, filling every thing with fear and slaughter. The *spaniards* then apply themselves to the Siege of *Huttem*, placed in a situation, which, besides that it cut off correspondence with some Provinces and places of importance, was of marvellous use for the Armies wintering in the *velaw*, which is

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An.Dom. 1629. the heart of the Country. The place was not over strong, nor the Garrison sufficient to defend it; yet it held out for certain days. The belief in *Holland* was, that for so many losses there was no safety but in *Orange*, who was thereupon solicited by the Council of State to abandon *Boisleduc*, and come to the assistance of the Country in that extremity of dangers. He, either holding, as the *Spaniards* believed, secret Correspondence with *Berg*, or desirous to reap the fruit and glory of *Boisleduc*, now reduced to extremity, sends Count *Ernest Casimir* with some Troops, that, animating and assembling the Militia of the Country, he should entertain and in the best manner he could for some days oppose the Enemy.

But chance now brought a speedy and more secure redress to the affairs of those Provinces. The Governour of *Emrick*, a *Hollander*, knowing that the Garrison in *Wesel* was weakened, and that in the Wall, for the heightning of a Bastion there was a place inclosed only with Palisadoes, attempts to surprize it there, and luckily carries it, being favoured by some of the Inhabitants, most averse by reason of Religion to the *Spaniards*. *Berg* and *Montecunli* greatly astonished at this unexpected blow, seeing the way of their retreat and the passage for their Victuals cut off by the *Hollanders*, not to lose their Armies and remain buried in the dirt and ditches of that low Country, thought best, abandoning *Amersford* and the Siege of *Hattem* to withdraw themselves speedily and with safety into their own Provinces. Only *Nassau* remained in those parts to see what occasion would bring forth: But *Boisleduc* in this interim being rendred to *Orange*, he was also constrained to be gone.

The *Spaniards*, by reason of their applications wholly intent upon *Italy*, where they hoped for great advantages, did not resent losses elsewhere, but instead of revenging themselves, made a new offer to the United Provinces of a Truce, which by some, now weary of the War, being hearkened to with applause, was at last by the major part rejected, after long contestations, upon the persuasions of the Ministers of *Venice* and *France*, who by their diligent cooperation diverted them from it, doubting, lest to that great diversion a stop coming to be put, the full tide of their Armies might overflow *Italy*. And they had just occasion for it, because notwithstanding their engagements elsewhere, they saw draw near to their Confines a brave Army of *Ferdinands*: Who sent Letters before to the *Cantons* of *Helvetia*, by which he demanded passage for his Armies through their Country, and besides that for the accommodation and security of his Ensigns he might be permitted to keep the passages with his own Souldiers.

The Imperialists by such a motion aimed rather to amuse the *Grisons* and their Confederates, to the end to take them unprovided, than to obtain what they demanded of the *Cantons*; nor did their aim deceive them: for whilst with wonted slowness the *Switzers* assemble themselves in *Baden*, and that the minds of all, with the endeavours of the Princes interested, were with great trouble turned that way; the form of denying the Pass, and the means to oppose it being

An.Dom. 1629. being under consideration in the Diet, the Imperial Troops joyning at *Memmingen* in *Swabe*, advanced with great expedition to *Constance*, and receiving a months pay at *Uberling*, marched on to surprize the *steich*, the strongest Pass of *Rhetia*. Nor was it difficult to possess it, being unprovided, and through the whole Country in the place of defence confusion and fear prevailing, *Majnsfelt* in the very brunt ran the same Fortune with *Coira*, where *Monsieur de Mennin*, the French Ambassadour, who was then there, was taken and kept Prisoner. The Count *John de Merode* led this party of men as a Vanguard consisting of ten thousand Foot and fifteen hundred Horse. At this violence offered to *Rhetia*, *Italy* justly trembled, seeing yet greater dangers imminent. The Ambassadour of *Spain* and the Resident of the Emperour, to provoke them to greater suspicions, or to make trial of them in this Conjunction of their great apprehensions, communicated to the *Venetians* the march of these Troops as intended only to maintain the Rights of the Empire in *Italy*, to which the Catholick King also, so nearly joyned in blood and interest to *Ferdinand*, could not deny him his assistance. And therefore invited the Republick to second the design, and adhere to their party, approved by the occasion and by Heaven, because in their friendship they would find quiet and advantage.

The Senate always accustomed in the greatest hazards to shew themselves more resolute and constant, in short and grave words complying with their duty, applied themselves to their own defence, making Levies and providing the chief Cities and places with Money, Victuals, and every other thing necessary. It was given out, that the War would fall to be in *Friuli*, though every body believed, that *Mantua* was to receive the first blow; in regard that that State, as a *Peninsula*, being interwoven within that of the Republick, its danger concerned it equally with their own. Wherefore after having dispatched *Marco Antonio Businello*, Secretary, to reside in *Mantua*, they sent the Duke a great sum of Money, Ammunition, and Cannon, with Matroses and Engeniers, that he might make provision of Corn, and be before hand with his Fortifications. In *France* pressing instances were made for diversions and succours. But the King, though for the insult upon the *Grisons* and the arrest of his Ambassadour he shewed himself grievously offended; nevertheless instead of coming back to *Susa*, returns to *Paris*, *Richelieu* with the Court following him. This retreat, which afflicted *Italy* and struck the *Venetians* with great dislike, had not so much its impulse from the Kings apprehension, who saw many of the Gentry dye and sick in the Camp, as from the Plots which were working against *Richelieu* by the Queens in *Paris*, and from the retreat of the Duke of *Orleans* in disgust, that the Queen-mother fearing, lest he should with violence take away the Princess *Mary* to marry her, had caused her to be kept in a manner Prisoner in the *Bois de Vincennes*. The King indeed had caused her to be set at liberty, but with order to his Brother, betwixt themselves, not to marry her without the Mothers consent; whereupon against the Cardinal, believed the Author of this contrivance,

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trivance, was equally stirred the hatred of the Queen and of the Duke. The one therefore sets her self to work his destruction, whilst the other, retired into *Lorrain* and well received by the Duke, being greedy to involve *France* in a civil Combustion, published a Manifest, in which concealing the causes of the amorous flames, those of hatred against the Cardinal were sufficiently vented, arraigning the form of the present Government.

The burden then of the War of *Italy* rested upon the *Venetians*, and *France* persuaded them to undergo it without fear, with promises of greater assistance, when invaded in their own Dominion; it seeming, that the *Mantuan*, whither the Arms of that Crown could not reach, was in all respects to rest upon the care of the Republick. *Monsieur de Razilier* was nevertheless dispatched by the King to *Crequi*, with orders that he should press *Savoy* to the execution of the Accord; and thence passing to *Mantua*, should encourage that Duke, and sollicit the *Venetians* to take into their possession the passages of the *Valtelline*, to stop the *Germans* way; but difficulties too great opposed themselves, the Imperialists having now *Rhetia* in their power, and being able by other ways to go into the *Milanese*; whence the *French* saw it necessary to change design and resist by more powerful means the prejudices feared from that side. Whereupon a Council being held at *Paris*, where was present the Ambassadour *Soranzo*, who consenting that the Republick should come in for a third part, it was agreed, that at a common Charge four thousand *Switzers* should be levied, to which joyning four thousand *French* Foot and five hundred Horse, the recovery of the Passes by force should be attempted. The counsel was seasonable to hinder the *Spaniards* from Succours in future, and to keep the Imperialists distracted or engaged amidst those Mountains, if to the warmth of the resolution there had followed an effect of suitable expedition. But whilst the *Marshal de Bassompierre* was designed for the command of these men and the direction of the enterprise, and that he knowing the Cardinal ill affected towards him, feared, lest in the heat of the business he should abandon him and ruine him, and whilst that *Coevre* was substituted into his place, (who for the future shall be called the *Marshal d'Etré*) and whom the *Switzers* and *Grisons*, mindful of things happened formerly in the *Valtelline*, openly opposed; the opportunity and the season vanished: so that when *Bassompierre*, accepting at last the Charge, went amongst the *Cantons*, he effected nothing but the Levy of a Body of that Nation to re-inforce the Kings Army which returned into *Italy*; *Richelieu* excusing to *Soranzo* the mutation of Councils by the change of times, because the plague infected *Rhetia*, the Snow shut up the passages, and above all the *Switzers* on several considerations refused to carry their Arms in open Hostility against the Colours of *Ferdinand*.

Carlo Emanuel, that had stirred up the Emperour to send his Armies into *Italy*, and with specious offers had presented himself for his Captain General, solicited the *French* to render to him the Town of *Susa*, alledging that by the retiring of *Cordua*, the Corn

brought


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
brought into *Casal*, and the giving passage to their Troops to garrison it, he had on his side fulfilled the Accord. But he at the same time fortifying *Avegiana*, and more and more closing in confidence with the *Austrians*, gave clear arguments of an irreconcilable and hostile mind; whereupon *Richelieu* lets him know, that the Crown would keep that Pass of the *Alps*, till the Emperour should restore those of *Rhetia* to the *Grisons*. *Ferdinand* on the other side, renewing the respect of that people by giving liberty to the Ambassadour *Memin*, quits not the possession of the Passes, nor gives the Investiture to the Duke of *Mantua*, though in order to the Treaty of *Susa*, King *Lewis*, by the means of *Monsieur de Sabran*, instantly required it; but rather refuses every thing until the Crown of *France* should ingage it self in *Italy*, and take part in that cause, the decision whereof belonged to his Authority.

The *Spaniards* also, alledging the introducing of the *French* into *Monferrat*, refused to ratifie the said Treaty of *Susa*; but to justify the delay, or rather to try mens minds, and keep the Armies in suspense, dispatch to *Paris* the Secretary *Navazza* with the President *Monfalcon*, Ambassadour of *Savoy*, to offer, that *France* withdrawing the Garrisons out of *Monferrat* and *Piedmont*, they on their side would forbear troubling of *Nevers*, and remove jealousies from the other Confederates of that Crown. By this it was perceived, that they had no other aim but to exclude all defence from *Italy*, that so the Imperial Troops, entering thereupon and changing name or pretext, it might relapse under scourges and plagues yet more cruel. Advertisements of it came already from all parts, and the signs of it seemed clear; for that other nine thousand Foot and fifteen hundred Imperial Horse were near their arrival, and other Troops followed them under Count *Rambald Colalto*, a Vassal of the Republick, and honoured with the Character of a *Patrician*; but being bred in the Wars of *Germany* from his younger years, and enriched with an Estate and Honours served *Ferdinand* in this Expedition in the Charge of Commander in chief. But the Emperour desiring that terror might make plain the way for his Army, to divert by fear the *Princes* from declaring in favour of the Duke of *Mantua*, had answered to the Popes Ministers, who persuaded him to send Commissioners to try the way of an amicable agreement, that *Fridland* with the suit of fifty thousand Souldiers should be his Commissioner, whose name as much as it was famous by his Fortune, so much was it rendered terrible by his cruelty.

But although in the straightness and amidst the wants of *Rhetia*, the *German* Troops could not long subsist, nevertheless being supplied with Money and Victuals by the Governour of *Milan*, it was requisite to stay there for some days; for, although the march was undertaken at the instigation of the *Spaniards*, yet the Seat of the Monarchy and of the Councils being far remote, and the Genius of that Nation slow, Correspondencies on their side could not be speeded in a readiness suitable to the resolutions. *Spinola* especially was expected in *Italy*, destined thither with great reputation and

vast

An. Dom. 1629.  vast hopes, that he would correct *Cordua's* errors, and restore the Lustre of Arms; but the scantness of pay being not sufficient for the greatness of the preparations, he prolonged his imbarking for some months. In this interim thirty Gallions, come out of the Ocean, were his fore-runners to scour the *Mediterranean*, and to oppose the attempts of the *French Fleet*, which, as said, was by way of the Sea to bring men and succours into *Italy*; and a report was added, that they were already advanced into the *Adriatick*; whereupon the *Venetians*, accustomed to consider all where there was question of much, gave command that the Fleet should be strengthened with ten Gallies of *Dalmatia* and *Candia* to be presently armed, and greater preparations were put into an order, if there should be occasion. At Land, watchful with the greatest diligence, they ordered the assembling of ten thousand Souldiers, their Subjects, and agreed for numerous Levies of *French*, which were to pass out of *Provence* by Sea, under the Duke of *Candale*, the Chevalier de la *Valletta*, and the Duke of *Rohan*, who, to quiet the Jealousies of the Court of *France*, was come to *Venice*; and they sent to *Mantua*, discovering as danger approached the faith of that people to be wavering, four thousand men for the preservation of the place, and three hundred *Albanese* to arm a Galliot and some Barks in the *Lake*, disbursing money, that the Duke under his own Colours might levy four thousand men more. But *Spinola*, dis-embarcking at last in *Genova* with many Souldiers and with seven hundred Cases of Pieces of Eight, came to *Milan*, and brought the money into the Castle with Pomp, with money and fame recruiting the Army in a moment. And now the *Germans*, who, *Colalto* being joyned, amounted to thirty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, marched, and being arrived in the *Milanese*, extended their Quarters, longst the Rivers *Adda* and *Oglio*, to the Confines of the *Venetians*. On this side of the said Rivers coasted upon them *Mirco Justiniano* Provider Extraordinary in the *Bergamasco*, with Colonel *Milander* and a Squadron volant of betwixt three and four thousand choice men, to repress any insult, which the insolence of that Army might make; but miserably afflicting the Towns of the *Milanese*, they contained themselves towards those of the *Venetians* in great discipline. Continuing afterwards their march towards *Mantua*, amidst the confusions, which the fury of Arms brought with it, Treachery was also discovered; whereupon in *Viadana* was arrested a *French Officer*, who by means of the Prince of *Guaftalla* plotted to deliver that place to the Governour of *Milan*; and in *Mantua* was made publick a Conspiracy framed against the life of the Prince. It happened at this very time, that the Duke of *Main*, Son of *Carlo*, in his passage to *Casal*, was at *Pergola* on the Borders of the *Piacentino* taken Prisoner by the Marquis *Malespina*, with the loss of certain Jewels and some money; but delivering him to a Company of Horse to guard him to *Milan*, the Duke made his escape and got safely into *Casal*. Amidst so great disturbances, *Spinola* secretly exhorts the Duke of *Mantua* to humble himself, by lodging of Souldiers, depositing his States,

States, and referring himself without exception to the clemency of An. Dom. 1629.  *Ferdinand* and the piety of *Philip*. *Julio Mazurino*, who, as substituted to *Panciroli*, the Popes Nuntio, begins now to appear in business, as a thin Vapour that became afterwards the brightest Star of *Europe*, carried to the Duke himself a project in the name of *Spinola* for a Cessation of Arms. But that being not to be practised without depositing of places and giving Quarters to Troops; and *Colalto* denying that he had a power to conclude a Truce, the Duke, shewing himself resolute in the most perilous courses, declares, that being under the protection of the Crown of *France*, it behoved him to communicate to that Court every Proposition of Accord.

The mischiefs of the War being now not to be restrained longer, and the Siege of *Mantua* seeming to be near, the Republick resolves to maintain it with all their power; for which purpose the General *Erizzo*, after having spoken with the Duke, incamps the Army, which consisted of about eighteen thousand Foot and Horse in *Valenza*, a place which covering *Verona* and *Reschiera*, was made commodious for its own defence, and convenient to send succours to *Mantua*. *Colalto* publishing an Edict in *Milan*, by which in the name of the Emperour he commanded the people to withdraw their obedience from the Duke, requires of the Prince of *Bozzolo* the delivery of *Ostiano*, and at the same time, without expecting an answer, caused the Count de *Soragna* to surprise it. Casting a Bridge there over the *Oglio*, and fortifying the Banks on each side with a Garrison of fifteen hundred men, the Army halts there for some days, either by reason of the Rains which fell in the Autumn, or the Fever, which having seized *Colalto* obliged him to stay in *Cremona*. The Army at last marching again, the first places of the *Mantuan*, that suffered, (which may be called rather desolation than spoil) were *Vogezzo*, *Cigognera*, and *Volongo*. Thence four thousand men took their Post at *Isola*, and fifteen Companies at *Piadene*. *Viadana*, a great place, was presently invested, and the Town being not able to resist, *la Rocca* also, a very weak one, after some shot of Cannon was yielded. The Duke had not placed his hopes in their defence; but thinking by cutting the Banks to have drowned the *Germans* in the *Po*, the blow succeeded not; for that *Balduino del Monte*, to whom the care was committed, had executed the order out of time. By another body of the Imperialists was possessed *Caneto*, abandoned at their first appearance, because it was a place not to be kept, by *Angelo Corraro*, a noble *Venetian*, who, banished out of his Country, had taken Service under the Duke. There being no Town capable to resist, nor Army which could dispute their progress in the field, the *Germans* ravaged over all, desolating and burning every thing with so much slaughter, that sacred things being violated by the military impiety, and this using yet more cruelty against the prophane, with unheard of arrogance of burnings, killings, and rapines, that unhappy Country, heretofore amongst the pleasantest of *Italy*, was left for a long time a hideous field, where posterity shall for a great while behold the most outrageous marks of barbarism. Nor did the Con-

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1629. lines of the Republick scape wholly free, after the Imperialists had possessed in the *Mantuan* the Towns of *Ostia* and *Pontemolino*; but there being disposed into several places Horse-Guards of *Cappelletti*, by them and the Peasants the *Germans* were often repulsed and sometimes beaten. Some hoped, that the *seraglio* might amuse the Army for some days. This is an inclosure a few miles out of *Mantua*, made up partly by moorish grounds, and partly by certain Works of Earth of a great circuit and difficult to be kept; nevertheless some were of opinion that it should be defended, because Winter being near, and the Enemy suffering by many inconveniences and great disbandings, the gain of certain days was reckoned for no little advantage. The Duke doubting with reason, left in so great a compass, it being not possible to keep it every where, the *Germans* should break in upon some one part, and cut off the way of retreat for his men into *Mantua*, abandons it. The force then of the attack and the care of the defence was to be reduced to about the City alone.

Mantua is by nature of a very strong situation; the River which at its source is called *Sarga*, issuing out of the famous Lake *di Garda*, takes the name of the *Mincio*, and passing through the midst of *Peschiera*, a little below enters into the Borders of *Mantua*. There where the City is placed it flows into a Lake, formed by Art in those times that the principal Cities of *Italy*, torn by intestine discords, groaned under the Tyranny of particular Lords. So that *Mantua* is environed with waters in the midst of many moorish grounds. Certain Bridges joyn it to the Continent; the two longest do end, the one *al Porto*, which is a Citadel with regular Bastions, the other at the Suburbs of *St. Giorgio*, composed of many houses, but of little defence. Near to this Bridge lies the Castle, joyned to the City by an ancient Building, and part of the most ample Palace of the Dukes. Where it came nearest to the *Terra firma*, three other little Bridges called *della Pradella*, *di Pusterla*, and *del Thé*, served to as many Ports, with a certain little Island between; kept for the pleasure of the Prince. The place therefore was not thought easy to be won, the Artillery being not able to batter the Walls but from far; the approaches being not to be joyned to the Wall; nor the largeness of the Lake suffering so straight a Circumvallation, but there would remain many ways open for Succours. The circumference it self of the Walls had been very much fortified with new Works, and the Dukes Souldiers being almost mouldered to nothing, the Garrison was increased by the *Venetians*, besides the four thousand Foot formerly sent, with one thousand Foot more and five hundred Horse. The City was now believed in a condition able to consume the Enemy, and give time for Succours, which was alone expected from *France*. Great doubt only arose from the courage of the Inhabitants inclining to the *Austrians*; because under the Government of a great Prince, some imagining they should have peace, and others fancying to themselves advantages, all abhorring the present evils and imminent calamities, detested their new Master, as

who

who seemed the occasion of them. As to other places of the Country, it was agreed, by the means of *Giovanni Martinengo*, Superintendent of the Artillery, sent by *Erizzo* to *Mantua* to view the Fortifications, that the Duke with his men should keep *Governolo*, where the Water-luces served to overflow the moorish grounds of the Lake, and that by the Garrison of the Republick should be defended *Castel Gisse* and *Goito* together, which standing on the Banks of the *Mincio*, betwixt *Mantua* and *Peschiera*, might be greatly useful to help in Succours. But *Governolo*, abandoned with weak resistance by the *Mantuan*s, fell into the *Germans* power, as also *Gazzolo*, whence some few *Venetians* withdrew, who neither for the place nor for the number were able to defend it. Amidst the flames of the *Mantuan* were heard also the tears and cries of the *Monferrins*; for *Spinola* sending *Philip* his Son to *Valenza*, had commanded *Ferrante Guevara* with four thousand Foot and five hundred Horse to possess that part of the *Monferrat*, which is called the Lower. The gross of the *Spanish* Army intrenched it self at *St. Salvador* and other Posts about *Casal*, in which *Thoiras*, having abandoned all places else except *Rosignano* and *Pontestura*, was with three thousand and five hundred Foot. *Spinola* therefore had not yet a mind to engage himself in the Siege of the place, but only environ it at large and incommode it, not so much because the Winter season was coming on, as to keep the Army free, to oppose the *French*, if they should return anew into *Italy*, and that the *Germans* in the mean time might make themselves Masters of *Mantua*: Which place taken, *Casal* was after to be attacked by the *Spaniards*, and the Imperial Army to be in a readines to hinder Succours.

These designs were made known in *France*, together with the progress of their Arms to the prejudice of the Duke of *Mantua* and the danger of the *Venetians*, who incessantly put the King and Cardinal in mind of the Word, Faith, Interest, and Honour of the Crown, with those incitements that might provoke the warlike Nation, the magnanimous King, and his most generous Minister. But nothing was obtained but hopes and promises, *Richelieu* protesting, that neither *Italy* nor the Republick should receive the least prejudice; and so the motion of the *French* was retarded till towards the end of the year, either by the agitations of Court not yet fully quieted, or because, believing it difficult in the concurrence of so many Forces in *Italy* to maintain, with a felicity of success equal to the expectation of the World, the Grandeur and Glory of that Crown, they had a mind that the storm should vent it self, and the Armies of the *Austrians* consuming themselves in the mean time, to come upon them afterwards with fresh Troops of greater strength, to give Law more easily to their consumed Enemies and wearied Friends. At last, mischiefs drawing to extremity, it was resolved at *Paris*, that the Cardinal with Title of *Generalissimo* should move towards *Italy*, and that, to draw to Court during his absence *Oleaus*, who shewed an abhorrence to him, the King should go near to receive him on the Confines of *Lorraine*, and should, to content him with something

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of

An.Dom. of appearance, put under his Command a small body of an Army in
1629. *Champaigne* for the defence of the Frontiers. The Cardinal goes
out of *Paris* with great applause, carrying in his hand the Authority
of the King and the Forces of the Kingdom, but not with a mind free
from many cares, which his long absence from Court gave him, and
the Orders, as precise as deep, of the Queen-mother, which charged
him, upon severe protestations of disgrace, not to break openly with
Spain. Whilst he was ordering his march in *France*, *Mantua* suffer
ed bitterly in the Siege.

The *Germans*, to say truth, declined quickly in their strength, be-
cause, besides the evils of the season and the Climate, being accusto-
med in the wide Provinces of *Germany*, where instead of pay they
have recourse to military licence, they were in want, in the narrow-
ness of the *Mantuan*, wasted already by Sword and Fire, not only
of prey, but also of food. So that many died, some languished with
sickness, and others sought their escape by running away. Never-
theless the Army drawing near the City, threatened the *Borough* of *St. Giorgio*,
believing it as weak to resist as convenient to lodge in. The
Prince de *Buzzolo* going into *Mantua*, endeavoured to persuade the
Duke, from dangers and accidents something disturbed and in dis-
order, to deliver it up, to shew some kind of respect to the Emperors
Colours, to give occasion for a Treaty, and to stop the proceedings of
the Army, which being weakened and in want of many things, had no
pretence but to preserve the Emperours honour with some seeming
appearance. *Durant*, a Colonel of the *Venetians*, opposed that coun-
sel, offering to maintain the *Burg* with his men, and for some days
weary and hold the Enemy play, gaining by that vigour those ad-
vantages, which could hardly be hoped for from a shewing of weak-
ness. But the Duke, too warily preferring the deceitful before the
reasonable, sends to the Marquis *Frederick Gonzagha* to deliver it
to *Aldringher*, who in the place of *Colalto*, yet indisposed, had
the Command of the Army. The *Germans* ascribing all to necessity,
and not to respect, were so far from consenting to a suspension
of Arms, hoped for by the Duke, that they rather required to put
a Garrison into the Citadel of *Mantua*, and to have the keeping of
a Gate. They then put by the hopes of obtaining it, because the
Duke incensed shewed himself resolute to hold out and defend
himself, planted several Batteries in the *Burg*, and particularly in the
Church-yard, which stands there in a situation something eminent.
Against the *Cereso* they raised others to gain that Post, by which
they opened an entry into the Island of the *Thé*, and might better
than elsewhere approach to the Walls of the City. But finding
stout resistance, and being several times with great loss repulsed,
they betook themselves to Art, making a Truce with the Garrison
for three hours only, during which, digging secretly a covered way,
they surprised the Post, the Souldiers that kept it, upon such an un-
looked for assault, taking the flight, leaving their Ammunition and
Arms behind them. *Durant*, by reason of the importance of the
place, not being able to suffer the loss and mischief by it, a while
after

after making a Sally, drives them out of it with great bravery, to-
tallying himself there in such sort, as rendered all the Enemies attempts
afterwards without effect.

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1629. On the other side, the *Germans* under the favour of their Batte-
ries were advanced even to the middle of the Bridge of *St. Giorgio*,
when being assaulted by a strong and numerous Sally, they gave
way, leaving their Arms and Gabions in the power of the Duke. The
Citadel of *Porto* with its Cannon made their approach to it diffi-
cult; when they, craftily sending a Trumpet to that side, whilst he
went softly on, and the Garrison intermitted shooting to expect what
Message he should bring, they planted one Gabion, and, under covert
of that, ranging others with what haste they could, covered them-
selves by flinging up earth. Those within were quit with them in
another place, driving the Enemy out of an Inn they had fortified,
which gave them great annoyance. But if attacks were success-
ful, hunger in the Camp advanced, the *Venetians* having stopped all
passages for bringing Victuals to them, and Corn, for want of which
all *Italy* miserably suffered. The Army having wanted bread for some
days, were ready to withdraw, when Corn being abundantly sup-
plied out of the Popes Dominions by a Contract made with the *Co-
stagnoli* Merchants in *Ferrara*, under the name whereof it was said,
that the Popes Kindred by buying and selling made great profit. The
Venetians were offended at it, complaining and concealing it not,
that for the price of that Corn was sold the liberty and safety of *Italy*.
No want of Victuals was as yet in *Mantua*, because the Republick
had plentifully provided it for a year but of the Souldiery in so many
occasions many were lost, and the Ammunition consumed; where-
upon it being needful to think of relief, a thousand Foot were sent
by *Erizzo*, with much Ammunition, convoyed by three thousand
other Foot and four hundred Horse, which without any ill rencoun-
ter coming to the Lake of *Mantua*, and, by error in the adjustment,
not finding Boats ready there to carry them into the Town, were
forced to retire. Nevertheless a little while after, Intelligence be-
ing better settled with the Duke, they got safe in, to the unspeakable
joy of the besieged. *Pietro Quirini* Proveditor of the Cavalry of
Croats and *Albanese*, and Colonel *Milander*, returning from the Con-
voy, meeting with seven hundred *German* Horse carrying away
some Booty, beat them, chasing them in such sort, that leaving, their
prey, they had no thoughts but to save themselves. *Aldringher*
made aware by this succour, of what importance the place of *Goito*
was, goes thither with three thousand Foot and twelve hundred
Horse; and was no sooner arrived but gave an assault upon it, but
was bravely repulsed by the Garrison. Bringing afterwards Cannon
and with a few shot making a breach in the Wall, not supported by
a Rampart, the Governour taking fright renders it against the will
of the Souldiers of the *Greek* Nation, who were of the opinion to
maintain it, and therefore so soon as he came into *Mantua* he was
publicly punished with infamy; whereupon a great entrance re-
maining shut for the relieving of *Mantua*, the *Venetians* endeavour-
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ed to keep open at least that of *Castel Ginfre*, whence *Erizzo* let in three Companies of Relief, and committed the Guard and Command of the Post to Colonel *Lunge*, a French man. And the Imperialists knowing now the importance of it, had their aim upon it; but by reason of the time of the year, and not to divide their Troops into too many parts, sparing force for the present, betook themselves to Art, causing *Giovanni Giacomo Pancirolo*, the Popes Nuntio, to tempt the Duke with wonted flatteries to deliver it to *Colalto*, that from redoubled testimonies of obedience to the Emperours Colours being satisfied, he might at last incline to some Accord; or at least to a suspension of Arms. The Duke, rendred more wary from what had happened at *St. Giorgio*, rejecting so pernicious Propositions, placed his safety now more in Defence than Treaty. He molested the Enemy with frequent Sallies, keeping him busied and distracted in several parts, and one night particularly surprized *la Vergiliana*, where the Germans, that were not killed or Prisoners, were drowned in the water by the breaking of a Bridge, by which they thought to make a running escape: Assents nevertheless at the endeavours of the Nuntio, that there should be a suspension of Arms for a month, but to no purpose; because *Colalto* pretended to have liberty in that interim to fortifie himself in his Posts, that no Victuals should be carried into *Mantua* but from Countries far off, and that *Carlo* should sign Duke of *Nevers*, refusing the Expedient; which, something to facilitate the business, he offered, to sign by the name of *Carlo*, or of *Carlo* the Duke, without expressing of what. Hostility then continuing, the Venetian General considering of a new supply, sends under Count *Bartolomeo Soardo*, *Bergamasco*, other five hundred Souldiers with Powder and Match, that were for the most part Greeks that were come out of *Goito*, the Nation desiring it, that by the proof of hazard the Surrender might be confirmed not to have happened by their default. They all got safe in, convoyed near to *Goito* by a Body of Horse which halted there to beat back whatsoever coming forth should disturb their way. With this Relief the besieged taking new courage, multiplied more and more their Sallies, and in one from the *Cereso* gave the Enemy a notable blow. The Germans now began to find that there was no hope either to famish the place or take it; but the thoughts of retiring vexed them not less, whilst the Dukes Sallies and the difficulty of the miry ways made it impossible to bring off the Cannon in safety. Applying themselves therefore to Artifice, they caused *Mazarine* to propose to the Duke a short suspension of Arms. He first rejects it in respect to the French Army, upon the way for his Relief, resolving not to make a step without the Kings knowledge. At last, overcome by *Mazarine* with the urgency and power of his words, he consents to abstain ten days from Sallies. It was enough for the Germans to free themselves and withdraw the Cannon, leaving nevertheless for haste in their Quarters certain Morter-pieces with some Ammunition. The Venetians would have wished, that Army might rather have consumed it self in the sufferings and factions

ctions about *Mantua*, than opportunity been given them to retire into more commodious Quarters, and were of opinion, that such Treaties served rather to retard than hasten the French Succours; nor did the Duke of *Savoy* fail to make use of it, sending immediately, to hinder *Richelieu*, the advice into France, that a suspension of Arms being settled, there was great hopes of an adjustment. But the Cardinal, knowing the deceit and what was aimed at, continues his March.

The Germans, though at a distance from *Mantua*, kept it nevertheless blocked with several Posts, placing the principal Quarters in several Fiefs of the Empire which are thereabouts, as *Nuvolara*, *Corregio*, and others, and taking it by force where Quarter was denied, as happened in the County of *Mirandola*, with a great blow to that little Country. The Duke of *Modena* freed himself by disbursing money, and receiving *Colalto*, yet indisposed, in *Reggio*, with his Guards. In *Castiglione* and in *Solferino*, by encouragement of the Venetians, who, in case of Force, promised their assistance, they were kept out by the Mothers of those Princes yet under Tutelage; and in *Solferino*, under the name of their own Fathers, the Princess, *Donna Marcella Malaspina* of *Verona*, brought some Souldiers of the Republick. The Duke, to enlarge himself and to open Commerce with the Camp at *Valezso*, recovers *Curtatone* and *Montanara*, and presenting the Cannon before *Marmirolo*, forced the Germans to leave it, though those of *Goito* attempted to bring succours into it, but were beat back by two thousand Foot and a thousand Horse of the Venetians, which under Prince *Luigi d'Este* countenanced the design.

In this manner ends this calamitous year; for with the entrance of the Germans into Italy was introduced all sort of miseries, and especially the plague, which, notwithstanding the cold season, spread it self not only in their Quarters, but in the Mantuan, the Milanese, and the *Valtelline*, with so much increase and mortality, that the wrath of God clearly seemed with the most cruel chastisements set to punish the luxuries and dissoluteness of Italy. About the end of this year dies in Venice *Giovanni Cornaro* Duke, laden with age and troubles no less for publick than private concerns, disgust being raised betwixt the Pope and the Republick, by occasion of the Cardinal his Son, Bishop of *Vincenza*, who, promoted by *Urban* to the Bishoprick of *Padua*, of a much more plentiful Revenue, was by the Laws of the Republick, elsewhere mentioned, therein opposed. For which cause the Senate denied him possession of the Temporalities; the Pope insisting that it should not be disposed of to any body else. The Cardinal himself supplicates him, but *Urban* excused himself with having hastily proposed it in the Consistory. *Cornaro* would have had the new Church renounced, but they being no less willing at *Rome* to admit of such an Expedient, the dispute lasted, till, after the Dukes death, *Giovanni Tiepolo*, Patriarch of *Venice* dying, the Senate (the Jus Patronatus being in the Republick) nominates the Cardinal to that Dignity, which was also approved by the Pope, who

An. Dom. 1629. who afterwards assigns the Bishoprick of Padua to Marc Antonio Cornaro, Primicerio of St. Mark, and the Cardinals own Brother. Yet this was not the sole difference which they had with the Court of Rome; for the Venetian Gallies, to preserve the Dominion of the Sea, had arrested some Ships of Ragusa, which trafficking at Ancona, passed by the Adriatick without paying the recognition usually exacted from all sorts of Vessels. Urban complained of it by reason of the prejudice that would thence result to the Port of Ancona; but the Senate did not release them, till upon the coming of Bernardo Giorgi, Ambassadour from those of Ragusa to Venice, to demand them of grace, they were contented to deliver them upon payment of the contribution which was due. But because in fulfilling of the Contract made by the Costaguti with the Germans, the Corn was carried by the Sacca di Goro to Ferrara, the Senate sent armed Barks and Gallies thither, which stopped certain Boats, and seconding it with great complaints, made by their Ambassadour Angelo Contarini Cavalier, represented to the Pope, how prejudicial it was, that having revolted from the first invitations to France, and the Republick, to be assitant to the Cause of Mantua and the publick Counsels, he should feed, to the hurt of others, that Army, whereof but a while ago himself was so much afraid of their neighbourhood and force.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

A N N O M. DC. XXX.

Nicolo Contarini being assumed in the beginning of this year to the Principality of Venice, the care of the Senate was busied about the defence of Mantua, whose preservation being to be ascribed to the Merit of the Republick, obliged for the future to a most vigilant minding of it. In order thereunto they brought into it a new Relief of Men and Provisions in abundance, repaired the Fortifications, paying the Garrison with their own money, and maintaining also the Dukes Court. Marmirolo, and Castiglione (called the Mantuan) were guarded by their Souldiers, the Duke having abandoned Curtarione and Montanara, not to distract his Forces into so many places. Frequent and bloody occasions happened with the German Garrisons of Castelluzzo, Gazzuolo, Borgoforte, Governolo, and Goito, with various Fortune. The Country was full of terrour and slaughter. The Campagna was made desolate, the Churches were pillaged, and the People were killed. The Inhabitants of some Towns taking Arms from despair, drove out the Enemies Garrisons; but not having a Force to defend themselves equal to their impatience, paid miserably the penalty with fire and blood; in particular Li Volta, a great place, suffered a chastisement so barbarous and cruel, that no sort of cruelty was there omitted.

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The Marshal d'Estré was Richelieu his fore-runner in Italy, appointed by the King to reside in Mantua in quality of Ambassadour Extraordinary. He being arrived at Venice, and followed a while after by Monsieur de Sabran, a Gentleman that was sent, passed together with D'Avauz Ambassadour in Ordinary, most effectual offices with the Senate; that they would send their Army into the Milanese, magnifying with such efficacy the Generosity of the King, the Prudence of the Cardinal, the Felicity of their Colours, the Strength of their Army, that Conquests seemed secure, and Spoils certain. Their considerations were; *That the Germans were weakened by what they had suffered, and were almost consumed by the plague; Spinola's Army diminished, and the Duke of Savoy constrained to submit to the Kings will, or necessitated, if he should resist, to draw the Army of the Austrians into the bosom of his Country, though Auxiliaries, yet little less than Enemies.* So that the Common-wealths danger was every way diminished, and the Enemy removed far off. When could that Chain ever be broken, which hath already held Italy so many years in Subjection, if a resolution were not taken to shake it off, now that Wills, Forces, and a Conjunction conspired for it? Let the Senate therefore happily resolve to be stirring with their Army; for that there remained no greater enemy to be overcome than the slowness of resolutions and hesitations of Councils. Let them bestow this unheard of benefit upon Italy, and procure glory to themselves, which carried with it quiet and increase, because the King liberally bestowing on his Confederates the Conquests, contented himself with his own Greatness and with the glorious Title of the Deliverer of Italy. The French were as much fixed in the resolution not to break with the Spaniards, as they effectually desired the Republick should do it. But the Republick, although it knew the present danger to be so great, that it was fit not to regard future hazards, persisted in their first counsels; offered to invade so soon as the Kings Army, having passed the Alps, should assault the King of Spains Country on the other side; alledged in excuse the consideration of being over-powered by the Germans, and the necessity of not esloignating the Army from Mantua. The Cardinal found himself engaged with the general expectation of the World, to make good with actions and counsels that great reputation, which Fame had cast upon his person; so that he diligently pursues his march, overcoming the difficulty of the season and the artifices of the Enemy, who by several propositions attempted to amuse him. At Ambrun he gave Audience to the Nuntio Pancirolo, and in the presence of the Ambassadour Soranzo gave him a Project, which contained the departure of the Germans out of Italy, the restitution of what they had taken, the Investiture to Carlo, and the liberty of the Grisons. But the Austrian Ministers, affirming to have no power to treat concerning the Grisons, insisted, that the French Garrisons should be removed out of Casal and out of Monferrat.

Peace then amidst such contrary propositions being despaired of, the Cardinal, by means of Monsieur Servient, turns his instances towards the Duke of Savoy to give passage to the Army, furnish it with

with Victuals, and joyn his Troops to the Royal Colours. He, to An.Dom.
1630. spend time, alledged sometimes excuses, then made difficulty about the way the Army was to take, and the means to provide it; at last he desired that the enterprise of Genoua might be resolved on, and that invading jointly the Milanese, Arms might not be laid down before it was wholly conquered. Nothing pressed the Cardinal more than to mortifie the Duke. Declaring therefore friendship with the Genouese, and publishing the carrying of Arms into Italy, to no other end but to advance and establish an honourable and secure Peace, firmly denies him that which he had formerly offered him; nay seeming doubtful, lest Carlo with scanty Victuals, inconvenient Quarters, and other tricks, might go about to destroy and consume that Army, he demands that Avigliana should be demolished, it being neither seemly to march under the view and Cannon of that place, nor safe to leave it behind. At last it was agreed after long contests, that the new Works being dismantled, three hundred Souldiers should be put into the old Fortress; but it was quickly discovered, that the one Party retaining disdain sought for pretexts, and the other meditating on revenge, was framing Treacheries. The French beginning their march, beheld not only the Fortifications still on foot, but the place guarded by the Duke in person with three thousand Horse and fifteen thousand Foot, the Militia of the Country, hastily assembled for a shew. The Cardinal was not ignorant of it; but shewing himself at the sight thereof bitterly enraged, was yet more moved when he saw the Duke with the gros of his Army flank his march on the other side of the Dora.

Some of the French Chiefs, provoked by their natural promptness, advised, that passing that little River, they should attack the Squadrons of the Savoyards, who had nothing of Souldiers but the appearance. But Richelieu, who had other things in design, stopped at Casale, complaining, that he found not the Provisions ready, and judging the intention of Carlo to be to make the French Army perish with hunger, and give time to the Austrians to come to his assistance. The Duke comes thither to him, partly excusing whatever was wanting by the universal scarcity, and partly accusing the hasty motion of the Army. But in this Conference nothing passing but mutual complaints, they separated with perfect hatred and greater suspicions. Amidst these eager contests the Ambassadour Soranzo goes to Turin to mediate, sent by the Cardinal to exhort the Duke to facilitate the passage and enter into the League, offering him in the Name of the King, to inveigle him, 'the entertainment of six thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, of those Troops, which for the Invasion of the Milanese he was bound to joyn to the Army of the Confederates.' The design of the Cardinal perhaps was, to send the Ambassadour farther from him, that by his importunate counsels, knowing that the Venetians would not like the engaging of the French Forces in Piedmont, he might not attempt to disturb the designs he intended; for Soranzo remaining yet in Turin, the Cardinal the 18. of March in the night suddenly recalling some

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Troops which were advanced, and repassing the *Dora*, sends two thousand Horse to *Rivoli*, a House of Pleasure in the Country, to surprize the Duke, and make him with his Son *Vittorio* Prisoners.

Carlo kept himself there, to make shew, as was his custom, of an unconcerned mind and generous heart, in delights and diversions amongst the greatest cares and in the midst of danger it self. But getting notice of it by a Confident he had in the *French* Camp, which was suspected to be the Duke *de Momorancy*, he could hardly get safe with his Son into *Turin*; where presently shutting the Gates, manning the Walls, imprisoning some *French*, which were come in to see the Citadel, and causing others, which served the Princes, to be put in custody, the defence was in a moment ordered, out of a belief, that the Cardinal would without delay invest the place. If the Duke, for this attempt of taking him Prisoner, flamed out publicly into rage, *Richelieu* was vexed at heart, that the design had failed him, and presently betaking himself to his wonted Arts, dispatches *Monsieur Servient* to *Turin* to speak with the Prince and the Ambassadour *Soranzo*. The Duke hindring him of access to the one and to the other, and to *Soranzo* himself, detesting the craft and cunning of the Cardinal, refuses, (giving him liberty to be gone) to hearken further to any overtures. And entring into suspicion, that he might have had a hand in this contrivance, or vexed that the Arms and endeavours of the Republick opposed his ends, he discharges also the ordinary Ambassadour *Francesco Cornaro*, who had order from the Senate to pass in that quality to the Court of *Spain*.

The Cardinal employing with equal dexterity the subtilties of Treaty and the Stratagems of War, makes as if he would attacke *Turin*, to draw defence and forces to the Metropolis. He afterwards bends towards *Pignerol*, causing it to be invested by *Crequi* with six thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, and the day after environs it with the whole Army. The Town is twelve miles distant from *Turin*, situate upon a height, where the *Alps* terminating, or rather intermitting, certain Vallies fall in, which worthily give it the name of a large and easie entrance into *Italy*. It being not strong, and one part of the Garrison being gone to the assistance of *Turin*, the Town held out but one day. Count *Urban di Schalenge*, the Governour, was retired into the Citadel, which is in the highest part of it. But seeing himself but with a few men, and environed by a potent Army, nay with an Enemy, that under the shelter of the Town at their first arrival fastened themselves to a Bulwark, renders it the 30. of *March*, which was *Easter*-day. All the adjacent places, Vallies, and certain Forts thereabouts, newly built by the *Savoyards*, followed without dispute, *Richelieu* triumphing at it, who presently orders, to inclose the Town with Royal Fortifications, as from that time designing it for the foundation of more vast designs. The Duke disturbed both for the loss and the insult, but unable to revenge himself, had in his mind most vexing and violent thoughts; for having from his younger years proposed to himself great Undertakings and Victories, with increase of State and Glory

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and now reduced to an unhappy old age, saw his Maxims ill grounded, and hopes defeated. He had in his bosom an Enemy implacable and a Conquerour, nor saw other refuge but a recourse to the assistance of the *Austrians*, though they would prove little less oppressive and burdensome, well understanding, that if the *French* Army had made passage into one Town, necessity obliged to set others wide open to the *Germans* and *Spaniards*. Whereupon, after wavering a while between various counsels, making his Country the Theater of War, despairing to pacifie the *French*, he resolves to cast himself into the arms of the *Austrians*. The Abbot *de Scaglia* was sent to the Governour of *Milan*, who rejoiced more at the engagement of the *French* than he was troubled at the Dukes losses. Nevertheless, that he might not be precipitated into a misbecoming accord, he sends two Regiments of Foot to his relief, and together with the Count *Colalto* goes to *Carmagnola* to confer with the Duke: where he requiring more vigorous assistance, *Spinola* refusing, in regard of his own designs, to dismember his Army, it was resolved to succour him with a Body of the *Germans*, seven thousand more being now arrived in *Italy*. These then coming into *Piedmont*, with the savage custom to exercise publick Robbery and the cruellest of Spoils, left it doubtful, whether they contributed to the defence or the desolation of the Duke's Countries.

Spinola now believing to have opposed a defence sufficient against the *French*, because the Army of the *Savoyards* amounted to twenty thousand Foot and six thousand Horse, and together with a Body of the *German*, under the title of Auxiliaries, to have chained up the Dukes inconstancy, resolves to attacke *Casal*, and what with hunger and force to take it. *Philip Spinola*, his Son, with four thousand Foot possessees *Pontestura*, twelve hundred *French*, after a short defence, marching out, on condition not to go into *Casal*, but to pass by way of the Sea into *Provence*. *Rossignano* was by the *French* Garrison abandoned, *Thoiras* judging it better to reduce the vigour of the defence to within that place. *Casal* was afterwards, in the month of *May*, environed with the whole Army, notwithstanding that the Ministers of the Pope wearied themselves with many endeavours to have diverted the thought of it, and that the Cardinal *Antonio*, Legate, went to *Alexandria*, thence to *Turin*, and to the *French* Camp: But in several Conferences with the Duke, with *Richelieu*, with the Imperial Ministers, and those of both the Crowns, finding jealousies exceeding, and hatreds not to be dealt with, he thought it best to return to *Rome*, leaving *Pancirolo* with *Mazarine* in *Piedmont* to prosecute a Treaty. The War then continues at the costs and losses of the *Savoyards*; for besides the Vallies about *Pignerol*, the Cardinal easily possessed himself also of the Marquisate of *Saluzzes*. The King on the other side, having received his Brother into favour, and being come into *Savoy*, had in four days taken *Chambery*, which is the Metropolis, and every place else, except *Momilian*, strong both by situation and Art. But leaving the Marquis *di Vignoles* to block it, went himself into the *Tarentasia*, where

An. Dom. 1630. where forcing the opposition of Prince *Thomas*, and passing the Mountain *St. Bernardo*, he lays the passage open every way. Upon this new irruption of the *French*, *Spinola* began truly to be in disorder; but unwilling to quit the Siege, was contented to lessen his Forces, by sending to the Duke five Companies of Horse and six thousand *German* Foot, newly come to the Service of the Crown.

The Cardinal, by reason of the diminution of his Army, concluding no further progress would be made worthy of his presence, and by the force of his favour longing to be with the King, goes to him, leaving the Army about *Pignerol*, which quickly wasted by several accidents, particularly the plague, which notwithstanding the *Austrians* and *Savoyards* remained at *Poncalieri* immovable, though weakened. For the same cause the further proceedings of the King were slackened; for through apprehensions of the plague being perwaded to return to *Lyons*, though a few days after he came again to the Army into the Valley of *Morienne*, nevertheless falling into a Fever, he was carried back to *Lyons*, where, contrary to his liking, both the Queens being arrived, under pretext to withdraw him from the hazards to which *Richelieu* exposed him, they tried all means to slacken, to the prejudice of the Duke of *Mantua*, the progress of the Army, and to sling the Cardinal out of his Ministry and Favour.

The Confidants of Queen-mother went to work with Art, and the Marquess of *Mirabel*, Ambassadors of *Spain*, with abundance of gold gained in a manner openly a Party in Court, in which the Regent her self had the chiefest place. Amidst these gusts of War and Court, *Mazarine* brought projects for Peace, all the secret workings of the *Austrians* consisting in excluding the *French* out of *Italy*. The Cardinal, in truth, held the Conquest of *Pignerol* for his dearly beloved; nevertheless, pressed by the Queen-mother, with earnest motives or rather precise commands, lets himself, to facilitate Peace, be perwaded to restore it; declaring to the Mediators, that other things being adjusted, the Peace should not remain interrupted for the cause of *Pignerol*.

But the *Savoyards*, not able to put off the distrust of the *French* Army, nor *Spinola* the hopes of conquering *Casal*, the Treaty for this time also falls to the ground. In the *Mantuan*, the pillaging of the Campagna, the burning of places, the rencounters of the Souldiery passed with indifferent successes. The worst was, that the plague from the Quarters of the *Germans* getting into the City, devoured every thing: So that as many Souldiers as were brought in by the *Venetians*, into whose Country that evil was now creeping; they served but to fill up Sepulchres; nevertheless succours were not neglected, so much the more necessary as that a worse enemy, which was the alienation of the people from the Duke and the inclination of the Nobility towards the Emperour, began to take great strength within. Some there were so much the more perfidious, as by how much the more secret, who feigning confidence, sometimes amused the Duke with false advertisements, then terrified him with

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An. Dom. 1630. vain fears, rendring him in counsels and resolutions always wavering and uncertain. Amongst the worst fruits thereof, it happened, that being deceived by feigned advertisements, he sent five hundred Foot of those of the Republick to *Rodigo*, an open Village, to surprize a great Convoy of Victuals, which he believed was to pass towards *Goito*, and hastily requires *Zacharia Sagredo*, who by the indisposition of *Erizzo* was succeeded into the Generalat of the *Venetians*, that on his side he would second him with a body of his men.

The Prince *d'Esté* with two thousand Foot and four hundred Horse goes as far as *Goito*, but finding no Intelligence from the Duke, nor advice of the Convoy, returned. *Matthias Galasso*, who stood watching the opportunity to give this blow as in ambush, with four thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse advances to invest *Rodigo*, constraining the Souldiers to render themselves, and making them all Prisoners; though with life liberty was also promised by the conditions. Things then thus fluctuating in the *Mantuan* and in *Piedmont*, the Republick solicited the *French*, that for encouragement of the Duke no less than for the defence of the City and the ruling of the people, they would send a good body of men by Sea, offering to convoy them with their Naval and Land-forces, and to bring them in safety into *Mantua*.

But the Cardinal referring to them the care of that defence, exhorted them also to resolve with an effort of their Arms to drive the *Germans* from those Posts, which incommoded the City, since *Colalto* with the greatest strength of the Imperial Troops were now busied in *Piedmont*. He caused this instance to be made with great fervency and with power; and it being therefore necessary to deliberate about it in the Senate, *Pietro Foscarini*, *Savio* of the Council, perwading to comply with it, spake thus; If the resolutions of Princes were inflexible, and that States were governed by everlasting Decrees, our discourse and the bringing reasons in the present case would be in vain; because rather than seek them by the light of prudence, which God kindles in mens minds, they would be found in the Memorials where Rules and Precepts are registered. But Empires are not governed by Principles; they are rather regulated by their Interests, which taking a Prospective from times and occasion, represent various Events with variety of Counsels. I deny not, but that hitherto the opinion, to cooperate for the common Liberty by auxiliary Arms, not to provoke the *Austrians*, to expect the *French* Succours to come nearer to us, hath been commended by the event; because the Dutch being harassed and wasted, *Mantua* maintained by seasonable Succours, time given to King *Lewis* to come to the Alps, the Republick hath deserved the just Title of the Defender and Protector of the Liberty of *Italy*. But it will be a too obstinate prudence to continue always in the same thoughts, and that wind will it last blow contrary, which hitherto hath conducted us favourably. The Rules of the Sea and of the Port are not the same. To enter into it, and enjoy a calm, it is necessary to change the order. Your constancy, O Fathers, hath merited much in shewing your selves the alone Maintainers of the Italian Generosity, in opposing and resisting the most powerful

An. Dom. powerful Princes, in assisting the Rights of the Duke of Mantua, upholding the Justice of his Cause, defending that City with your own money, with your own Garrisons, and I'll say more, with your own dangers. But this is the nature of Glory, that every little Cloud which is opposite to it defiles and eclipses it. I must needs say, much hath been done, but something yet is wanting; for though Mantua be preserved from the siege, it is not therefore freed from present damages and future dangers. So long as it remains begirt with the Enemies Posts, and that their Quarters remain about it, that Succours are disputed, that Plots and Intelligences are carrying on; I am afraid of open dangers, and much more of secret Treacheries. Who knows but that this very night while we sleep, and that a certain false security makes way for it, and flatters us with the just applause of great deserts for having maintained Mantua till now, it may not be surpris'd, and within the Walls thereof our own safety exposed to hazard? What will avail the blood spilt, the Treasures spent, the dangers run, if we be overcome by our own counsels and reserves? It is now become a necessity to remove the Enemy, to dislodge him, send him picking, and revenge, with the sacrilegious blood of those Soldiers, both Heaven and Earth equally violated and offended. It is marvellous to consider the Senate a little while ago so courageous, as to have made head against a numerous Army, come out of Germany, laden with Triumphs, animated with Fury, and ushered in by Fame, and that now, too many, they have respect to the miserable reliques of a few Garrisons, which remain as the shadows of the Fortune they have run, having outlived sufferings, plague, and penny. Let us herein, O Fathers, fix a resolution, that by the superiority of our Forces we shall beat them with safety, drive them away with glory, and shall then enjoy with quiet the fruit of past labours. What danger may we peradventure meet with? Are not these few Germans the miserable rests of that veteran Army, which we have forced to remove further of Mantua? Are they not the very same, that having every where lain in wait for our succours, have never been able to hinder them, much less durst attacke them? Are not those which ought to be assisted in their Posts, the very same who oftentimes come and look upon our Convoys? And if we make no doubt at all times to expose the choicest of our Forces to convoy our Succours, why should we fear, when a greater reward is in question, to put Fortune once to the trial? Let us suppose at worst Mantua lost, as certainly it will be, if we suffer it to be exposed to continual contingencies, can we believe our modesty will be respected by him, that hath ambition for his Guide, and the desire of Dominion for his Limits? Will the Austrians, do you think, make less of our past offences than of our present injuries? I cannot see any difference betwixt fighting with them from the Walls of Mantua, and assaulting them in their own Trenches. Let us not, I pray, trust Princes that have power, and are offended. We deceive our selves too much to believe the Austrians either satisfied with our past actions, or pacified with our present respect. But if we ought not to repent our selves of what we have done, why should we abstain from new attempts, so much the more just, as they have no further aim, but

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An. Dom. to deprive them of the means of offending us. Nay we perhaps apprehend that an Inundation of Germans will come upon us to revenge the blood of the first? But who warrants us, that they come not expressly upon us to blot out the shame for the ill success of their undertaking? Will they think of passing into Italy, that shall perceive no footsteps of their companions but Graves and Sepulchres? But how much more shall we be exposed to their injuries, when in our bowels, which the Mantuan may be said to be, they will keep footing in their Posts, and perhaps in the City, which must with the expence of time and blood be endeavour'd to be regained? But let other Troops come; who fears not but Piedmont will give them employment; that the Duke of Savoy calls for them, that the plague consumes them, that weariness and sufferings, so soon as arrived, disbands them? The Invasions of the French Army does at present take up their cares and their forces; and we also, when all is done, to a great King and Friend, that hath twice at our instance caused his most powerful Armies to pass the Alps upon the Ice, nay hath passed them himself in person, owe this gratitude to second his attacks with our Arms; otherwise I fear that the French Succours will quickly grow tired, when they perceive, they are made use of for a pretext and shadow to our sloth. I know that great deliberations are subject to uncertainty, that of War especially, which is the most peculiar Tribute of Fortune. But in things difficult, where by reason of danger counsel is not hearkned to, some steps must be left to Chance; for though through unthought of accidents the success should not fully justify the prudence and necessity of the resolution, it will at least absolve us from the blame and reproaches of a superfluous reservedness.

Many mens minds were carried away with this opinion; but others contradicting it, *Giovanni Nani*, *Savin* of the Council, spake for them to this purpose; In the Decrees of the Country I preface most happy events. But in the strange Revolutions of times, I cannot promise them other than what the condition of things permit, very full of anxiety, and uncertain. Sometimes hopes stirs us, and then again fear disturbs us. But prudence ought to be the sacred Anchor which should keep us constant and firm amidst the uncertainties of this afflicted Country. Great is the felicity of this Republick, which till now hath not known how to desire greater prudence in its Decrees, nor wish for better Fortune. Generosity hath gone hand in hand with the moderation of Councils, and if therein Courage hath not been wanting, success hath not defrauded Courage. Mantua is preserved to its lawful Prince; Italy is defended from more heavy Chains; our Confines and our Interests remain untouched, if not by threats and dangers, at least from Invasions. What avails it to provoke Fortune further, or attempt longer to make our selves famous. Some Germans remain for the custody of certain Posts; but if they be such as we think we may overcome with a discourse only, wherefore should we be so much afraid of them, why shall we suffer our selves to run into desperate Councils? I expressly call those Councils such, to which necessity persuades us not; those that not remedying present evils, hasten future calamities. Shall we attacke the Germans in their Posts, fortified, guarded, and provided? They will yield to us per-

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happens in number, but will have advantage from courage and necessity, because they have no refuge but to despair and their Arms. There is no reason to despise them, a people made Soldiers by years, fierce by sufferings, used to fight, wont to overcome, who, if they have blunted their fierceness against the Walls of Mantua, will in the field, where the German Nation uses to be invincible, repair with honour the losses they have suffered both of prey and glory. I have a regard for the Dutch even in their Quarters, and am also afraid to overcome them, lest fighting and possessing those Posts, and mingling our selves with the conquered, we should meet with a more cruel Enemy. The plague will infect our Army, and with the Army will in the conclusion infect and waste the Country. Let us call to mind, what cares, what time, what money the raising of this Army hath cost us, and upon those reflections let us consider, if they ought to be exposed to unprofitable hazards, or be preserved for more necessary Encounters. Let us, I pray, suffer our Enemies to consume themselves in wants and sickness, and let it not be thought our interest to procure their ruine with the danger of our own destruction. Heaven, made the Minister of our revenge, with the scourges of Nature punishes their wickedness. On the one side I confess I value the Enemies, and on the other I fear the casual accidents of War. I know not what we may therein possibly meet with. This I know for certain, that Fortune uses to delude the most adjusted counsels, and can overturn in a moment glory gotten, and the hope of better success. In that Army which lies incamped at Valezzo is placed our defence and the relief of Mantua. It is therefore needful to preserve it and keep it as the utmost bound of our own and the common safety. Let us take a right measure of the State, Times, and Forces. Can we possibly hope, with one Victory, or rather with one advantage, to terminate the War? It will rise again more powerful and more cruel when we turn our selves again to provoke it. May not the Germans perhaps come back out of Piedmont, and the Spaniards send a part of their Army, which upon our moving may re-inforce their Posts, or invade our Confiners? Does peradventure Germany, which is a Work-house so abounding with Warriors, want Soldiers and Armies, or will it be ignorant of the way to lead an Army to repair upon us their losses and affronts? We see at present a great number of fresh Troops descending the Mountains. We already hear, that Wallenstein offers himself to overwhelm Italy with Armies, and to come himself in person with his wonted Ministers, Ontrage and Cruelty. In Corinthia and Stiria we hear the Drums beat from our Confiners, and we see our selves every where environed with Armies and with threatnings, and shall we think to overcome the Austrians by driving them out of some Quarter? For my part I believe, that they have hitherto born respect to our Affairs and Confiners out of equity and necessity, which in our resolutions our Enemies themselves cannot deny. But if we shall assault or provoke them with offensive Arms, there is great appearance, that we stir up against us the resentments of two great Princes with strokes more dangerous. I speak not of the French Succours, because being engaged in Piedmont, there is no means to enjoy them nearer. Overturning then our Maxims, our Counsels, and all our Advantages, shall we declare

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our selves at present, and alone make War with the Austrians? In a deliberation so weighty, let us fully weigh the present with future dangers, and if Liberty be our Kingdom, let us put our selves in mind, that moderation and peace have always been its most faithful Guardians.

After some wavering in opinions, every one, as to the things spoken, having in his judgment motives for the one or other Party, the most generous counsels prevailed over the more wary, and in compliance to the French Ministers, it was referred to Sagredo, the General, to prepare for the march, and undertake those attempts to dislodge the Germans, which by concert with the Duke of Mantua and the Marshal d'Estré, should be judged fit. The said Marshal was come into Mantua in quality of Ambassadour Extraordinary from the Crown of France, and General of its Forces, to shew the protection which the King would take of those Interests, and had found the Duke much troubled and perplexed; because he being naturally inclined to discourse rather, and undertake great matters, than with constancy to perfect them, finding himself pierced to the quick with tormenting cares, seemed weighed down under the burden of his new Principality. He wanted not secret allurements from his Enemies, nor perverse counsels from feigned Servants; being as much encompassed with Treacheries as abandoned by sound discernings. All this displeasing him, which was working for his safety, he would not consent to what was concerted, and hastened, to others prejudice, his own ruine. In a Conference betwixt the Marshal and Sagredo, an attempt upon Goito being resolved on to be executed by the Army of the Republick, which was encamped at Valezzo, it was agreed, that part of the Garrison of Mantua, making a Sally, should alarm the rest of the Posts. But notwithstanding that they were the Republicks own men, and that they offered to augment them with five hundred other Foot and three hundred Horse, Carlo, alledging that he remained with the City ill provided, dissents so openly from it, that they were forced to change the resolution, and the two Generals to meet anew. During this suspense, Michael Priuli, Proveditor in the Veronese, drives the Germans out of Ponte Molino and out of Ostia. In this Town, which, by reason it was well inhabited and situated upon the Po, is of some moment, the people had formerly made an attempt to rid themselves of the Garrison, but in vain; because retiring into the Citadel, and Succours arriving from the neighbouring places, they were able to recover it again, though, to the encouragement of the Inhabitants, some Soldiers came to them from the State of the Venetians. Priuli now coming before it, better provided, brought to pass, that the Germans abandoned it, without making any defence. At Volta also Quirini, Proveditor of the Cavalry, takes Post, and leaves there for the defence of it Cosmo, one of the Marquesses del Monte. But the Enterprize on Goito, which consisted much in expedition, unhappily came to nothing, by reason of the delays. For the Germans having gotten notice of the design, recalled with great speed out of Piedmont a good body of men, and Gallas entred into Goito with twenty Co-

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Jours of Foot, intending to fortifie it. Nevertheless *d'Estre* and *Sagredo* judged, that taking Post at *Rivalta*, *Mantua* would be covered, and the taking of *Goito* made easie. No less by this attempt could the Dukes mind be overcome. Whereupon they were forced every day to change designs; and yet they were retarded, because *Monsieur de Sciabani*, who carried the Word betwixt the two Generals, falling into an ambush, happened to be Prisoner with the *Dutch*; so that they suspecting, that he might have discovered the designs, it was needful to change them, giving always more time to the *Germans* to strengthen themselves,

The resolution was at last fixed, that the Army of the Republick should pass from *Valezso* to *Marmirolo*, and to *Castiglione Mantuano*, Towns already garrisoned, but which now seemed fit to lodge the whole body, to the end to take counsel afterwards from the occasion, if *Goito* might be attacked, or some other Quarter of the *Germans* be assaulted, at least to divide and incommode them. To prepare the way for the design, *la Valetta* with three thousand Foot and some Horse advances to *Villa bona* and *Merengo*, being convoyed with a greater strength of men by *Candale* and *Quirini*, who were immediately to return to *Valezso* soon as they should see him within those Posts to have begin to sling up earth. A little while after *Gallas* comes with great vigour to attack him, and although at the first assault he was bravely repulsed, nevertheless causing five Cannons to advance, he began so to demolish those unperfected Trenches, that the Souldiers, remaining without shelter, fell by whole Files in the field. Being constrained to yield to the fury of the Aggressors, which entred every where, *Valletta* being hurt, remaining with some other Officers Prisoner, the others were dispersed, every one seeking his escape. Some passing through the thickest of the Enemies Squadrons got into *Mantua*, others returned to *Valezso*, and they with greater hurt than the Enemy could have done; because either from fear or excuse aggravating the dangers, they filled the Camp with confusion and fear. In effect, the Quarter of *Valezso* being of a great circuit, and defended with a weak Intrenchment, resented enough this blow, both by reason of the number of Souldiers lost or dispersed, and also by reason of many others, which were separated into several Posts, and were not easie matter to be recalled; for that *Gallas*, seconding the presence of so favourable Fortune, forming in a trice with other men, which joyned to him, a body of eight thousand Foot and fifteen hundred Horse, and marching thitherwards, gave no opportunity for Provisions, and scarce for Councils. A Council being hastily called, it was, by opinion of *Candales* and the other Chiefs of the Army, resolved to preserve the Army, since it was not believed the Post could be defended. With the best order then that the case and time permitted, the Cannon was withdrawn in safety, the Ammunition fired, and the Militia ordered to march to *Verona* and *Peschiera* to divide the defence of the Country. The major part, by reason of the nearness, taking towards *Peschiera*, *Gallas*, who had hoped to subdue

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subdue at one blow the Quarter of the best Troops of the Republick, seeing the design failed, letting *Valezso* lye, pursues them with great speed, and several Skirmishes passing for several hours, the contest particularly grew hot at *Castel Novo*, to the greater loss of the *Venetians*, of whom some valiantly fighting fell, and others betook themselves basely to flight, leaving some Colours in the hands of the Enemy.

The Fame, in truth, was greater than the effect of the *Austrians* Victory, few being on the *Venetians* side killed, but the number of the disbanded great; some of which, and in particular the Cuirassiers, who abandoning the troth of their Oath, for prey infested with many Robberies the Country, which they were obliged to defend. *Gallas* not willing to engage himself further under the Walls of *Peschiera*, possesses without resistance *Valezso*, abandoned by *Cornelio Vimes*, who had the custody of the Castle, and judging it a Post capable to endamage the Republick, and to hinder *Mantua* of Relief, environs it with a Fortification not so large. This so unhappy success happened on the 30. of May. Fame quickly divulges it, spreading in several places fear, and with fear the dangers of worse accidents; because not only the *Germans* pillaged the Campagna, doing much mischief, but there were discourses of more cruel threatenings of attacks in *Friuli* and *Lombardy*, where two thousand Foot with some Companies of Horse made a shew of invading the Confinies of *Bergamo* and *Crema*, and a Body of *Germans*, which were coming through the *Valtelline*, making a halt in *Troana*, it seemed as if, passing the Mountains, they would come to their assistance. *Gallas* might either have come to *Peschiera*, or have advanced to *Verona*. But Conquerours can seldom undertake all that Fortune counsels, and of the conquered the danger is wont always to be greater than the loss. Mens minds at *Venice* were truly disturbed at the arrival of the news; but the constancy of the Government, and the fidelity of the people not at all wavering, it was made known, that, to second prosperity, belonged only to private persons, but that it was the property of Princes to grapple with the greatest of misfortunes.

The first care the Senate took, was, to console the Duke of *Mantua*, promising him vigorous assistances, lest, dejected by sinister accidents, he might abandon himself to more desperate courses. They writ afterwards to the Magistracy of the City, animating the people amidst so great a trial. Neither were ready supplies wanting, every place striving to exceed other in the offers of money and men; *Brescia* above all making it self famous by the offer, that twenty thousand men of that Territory should take Arms for their own defence, and all other occurrences. *Erizzo* was ordered to succeed *Sagredo* in the place of Provveditor General for the War; two thousand Foot, come by Sea out of *France*, served for a seasonable Reinforcement to the Garrisons, with other two thousand of the Country Militia of *Padua* and *Treviso*. Commissions were given out for great Levies in *Dalmatia* and other ultramarine Countries; the Fleet also was assembled and strengthened. The Duke of *Rohan*, received into

An.Dom. 1630. into service with a great salary, and with the obligation to levy, as there should be occasion, ten thousand men, was sent to be assistant to the General. With these provisions the Town being presently secured from all attacks, nothing remained but to restrain the *Germans* plundering of the Country. For that purpose were drawn into a Body at fit places Souldiers in pay, together with Peasants, and *Marco Giustiniano*, Provéditeur beyond the *Mincio*, taking the field with four thousand Souldiers incamped at *Lonato*, greatly encouraging the people; so that the *Dutch* in several Encounters and in many places being repulsed and beaten, leaving Garrison in *Valesseo*, returned at last into the *Mantuan*.

The Republick having an eye on that side on what might be needful, orders *Erizzo*, that by some way or other, and at any hazard, he should cast into *Mantua* a thousand Foot with a hundred Horse and some money. But it being necessary to concert with the Duke the way of their getting in, he, with various pretexts, to the great difficulty interposed yet greater, in such sort, that *Estré* had a vexatious life of it, seeing him by the suggestions of some, that held a constant Correspondence with the Imperialists, disposed to some agreement, and to receive a Garrison in *Porto*. The *French* and *Venetian* Ministers represented lively to him; That by separating his particular from the general Treaty, he deprived himself of the Warranty, which the Authority of France alone was able to afford him, and the Union of the League, for the assurance of that which should be promised him; and that recourse to Friends being for ever excluded by ingratitude, and having once received the yoke of Garrisons, it would be no more in his power to regulate the numbers nor the burdens.

The Duke at last, after having some days wavered amidst various counsels, consents to receive the new Succours. There happened a great dispute about the difficulty of the way, and about the plague, spread through all the Country of *Lombardy*, with so great terrour and mortality, that counsels were very often confounded in the execution. Howsoever *Marco Giustiniano* advances with his men to attempt it, and having made some *German* Troops to remove from *Castiglione delle Stivere*, who attempted to invest that place, possessed himself of *Caneto*; but the Castle making resistance, and many men coming suddenly to its succours, he retired. It not succeeding to put in men in a Body, it was hazarded to get them in by Parties. Some from the Confines of the *Veronese* entred; other two hundred and fifty conducted by Captain *Carliniane*, being attacked by the way, were dispersed, yet not in such sort, but that some few arrived safely with a small portion of money, which in gold they carried on their backs. From the side of *Brescia*, *Giustiniano* sent the Cavalier *Gori*, a *Florentine*, with two hundred and fifty Foot more, who, defeating upon the way some of the *Dutch* Guards, arrived happily there.

But humane provisions being of no force against the determinations of Heaven, although the Chevalier de la *Valetta*, with his Lieutenant and with *Sciabani* escaped out of Prison from *Goito*, related, that

that the *Germans* prepared Ladders, Bridges, and Petards, which probably were to be used in the surprisal of *Mantua*; nevertheless, the City negligently guarded, or rather treacherously sold, felt the night after, the 18. of *July*, its cruel destiny. The *Germans* coming near without noise, in the stillness of the night, to the Lake at the Post called *de la Palata*, set down there certain small Boats brought upon Waggon; a Guard of *Venetian* Barks armed, that was near, taking no notice of it, because it was commanded by him that betrayed the place, that they should not stir that night, though they should hear a noise, because Succours was to be brought in. So that a small number passing at first without disturbance, and they afterwards being increased, by the Boats passing to and again, they with a Petard flung down the Gate of the Castle, where the Duke with a Guard only of his own Souldiers was and *Eiré* lodged. Upon the first Alarm, *Durant*, who had his Quarter near to the Gulph of *St. Giorgio*, would have gone out to fall upon the *Germans* at the place where they embarked; but finding the Keys hidden, and the Ammunition carried away, was deprived also of the means to cause either Cannon or Muskets to be discharged from the Walls upon the Assailants. Whereupon, all in fury, he engages with *Francesco Orsino*, one of the Dukes of *Lamentana*, who with the first relief of men was by the Republick sent into *Mantua* and in the Siege, and afterwards had given proof of great courage, to charge the Enemy, which entred by the Castle and by the Gate of *St. Giorgio*, beaten down with a Petard; for that a Court of Guard, which on the middle of the Bridge might have hindered the passage, deceived by the Traitors, with the same order, formerly given the Boats, had given leave to the Enemy to come near to it. But *Orsino* was killed at the first Encounter, and *Durant*, hurt in the face, was with fourteen other Officers made Prisoners. Whereupon the Chiefs failing, all was pestered with confusion, as it happens in the actions of night, where Valour, not taken notice of, fights without reward, and Cowardise, not reproved for want of Witnesses, is covered. The Post only of *Predella*, assaulted by the *Dutch*, for a present distraction of the Forces, was by the *Venetians* defended; but they also quickly advertized by the cries and clamour, that the Enemy, become Master of the City, was at their backs, were forced to yield; some, seeking safety in the waters of the Lake, were drowned there, the rest, that were more in number, were cut to pieces. Thus the Garrison was destroyed, those that were in Arms being first killed in the fight, and those afterwards that were without Arms; except some few, who preferring life and prey before honour and fidelity, joyning with the Enemy, took part in the spoil. The Duke with the Prince and Marshal *d'Estré*, at the first entry of the Souldiers into the Castle, retired hastily into *Porto*; the Princess *Mary*, having saved her self at first with her little Children into a Monastery, and being respected there by reason of her Sex and Relation to the Empress, desired also to be brought. Not one of the Inhabitants stirred for defence, some rather applauding the Imperialists, and hang-

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hanging out of their houses with lights the Imperial Eagles, thought to preserve themselves, but had the experience what the insolence of a victorious and cruel Army could do; for the Souldiers making no distinction, and the Chiefs not regarding that inclination, which that unhappy people had nourished towards the Colours and Name of the *Austrians*, nothing either prophane or sacred escaped free from impiety, lust, and cruelty. The pillaging lasted for three days, but will remain infamous to all Ages; for there was seen a direful representation of all sorts of calamity, with all the excesses which Cruelty and Licence suggested to Conquerours. The City, for many years increased in idleness, and nuzled up in pleasures, became the Spectacle of deplorable misery; Boys and Virgins were ravished, Churches robbed, Houses pillaged, Fire and Sword every where, heaps of dead bodies and Arms appearing at every step, with torrents of blood and tears.

The Dukes had, in a long Peace, made a collection of precious things, with so much pomp, that Treasures having been profusely expended for ostentation, it seemed now, that luxury served for nothing but the Funerals of Fortune. The Palace was given to plunder, and so many Rarities and so much Wealth were every where found, that the value of the prey exceeds the memory of all other spoils whatever. Nevertheless the enjoyment was but short; for God, the righteous Survivor of all, quickly vanquishes the Vanquishers with contagious sickness and untimely deaths. And it was generally published, that the Emperour himself, justly moved at those execrable things, which were there committed, detested not only the occasion but the effects of a success so tragical, and that *Eleonora* the Empress deplored with tears the cruel destruction of the Country, and the calamity of her Fathers house; many presaging that the Fortune of the *Austrians* would suffer shipwrack in the blood of *Mantua*.

The Duke, retired, as hath been said, into *Porto* with much confusion, was scarce got in, but he saw, as the full accomplishment of the Treason, fire put to the Ammunition; so that there was a necessity to agree the day following to the delivery on conditions, that the Garrison of the Republick should depart in freedom. He and the Son, the Daughter-in-law, the little Nephews, and *Esré*, conveyed by two Companies of German Horse, went into the Country of *Ferrara* to remain at *Melara*, where the Duke was supplied by the Republick with money to maintain him. A Prince doubly unhappy, because to the bitterness of Fortune, which drove him from his Country, was added the censure of the World, which attributed to him some part of the blame, though in effect he could not be accused of ought, but that, seeing the people full of infidelity, he had his mind always perplexed with great fears, which begat in him in all business irresolutions, distrusts, and slackness.

Nor was Fame wanting to tax many of the Dukes Subjects, and some of the Family of *Gonzagha*, and in particular the Marquess *Giovanni Francesco* as guilty of betraying *Mantua*, and *Carlo* endeavoured

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voured to sift them out; but at first in the confusion of things and his want of power, afterwards restored to his Country by the Peace he dissembled it, and like a new Prince, it behoved him to secure mens minds by shewing confidence in all, and receiving equally the guilty with the innocent. To *Marc Antonio Bufinello*, Resident for the Republick, liberty was given by the Capitulation with the Duke to go out of *Porto*, if he should be found there; the Accord having been so hasty, that it was not known who was there, or who not. But he had with the first been pillaged in the City by the *Germans*, and kept Prisoner till the Emperour, reflecting on the exemption of his Character, orders he should be released. *Durant* and the other Officers of War got not their liberty but with great ransom.

The *Venetians* at this blow of the taking of *Mantua* greatly disturbed, deplored, not without reason, so many cares, so much gold unprofitably imployed, so much blood unhappily spilt, and so many people miserably consumed; because having at several times brought into *Mantua* and other Posts fourteen thousand of their Souldiers, they were reckoned to have all perished, either by the Enemy, sufferings, or diseases. They were moreover in doubt, lest the Souldiers, which were in the *Valtelline*, should make a shew on that side to attacke them, so to divert a part of their Forces beyond the Mountains, that those which lodged in the *Mantuan* might strike them in the bowels with greater force. Howsoever accommodating themselves to Fortune and Time, they not at all dismayed, order the defence of their Frontiers, abandoning as of no use *Castel Ginfre* and the other places of the *Mantuan*, the Fortifications being first demolished, and the Cannon withdrawn. The *Germans* contented with so important a Conquest, applied themselves only to the affairs of *Piedmont*, whence if they had the luck to drive the *French*, and lock them out of *Italy*, they well understood that the rest would fall to their arbitrement and be their prey.

The Republick thereupon had liberty to apply themselves to provide with less disorder against the plague, that more cruel enemy which devoured every thing without distinction, sweeping away the Souldiers, the People, and the Chiefs, there being dead amongst others *Giorgio Badoaro*, Commissary in Campo, and *Marc Antonio Morosini*, Cavalier Proveditor in the *Bergamasco*. Not omitting care for the State were sent Proveditors over health *Giorgio Pisani* into the Territory of *Padua*, and *Luigi Valaresso* Cavalier, into that of *Verona*; whilst in *Venice* also the disease broken out in great violence, after it had for some time gone creeping slowly on, required vigilance and an infinite charge. Certainly better Rules or more punctual Orders could not be given, the publick charity and piety of private men contending with a rare example: So that the Government going on in its immurable order, the functions of the accustomed Migitrates of the Republick were never omitted. The oldest Senators did not remember to have at any time seen the Country molested in so many parts; for no small storm arose also from the Sea, and there was not one of them that caused not trouble and required not constancy.

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Mary, the Sister of the King of *Spain*, betrothed to *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary*, Son of the Emperour, with a numerous Squadron of Gallies and a Pomp worthy of so great Princes, being arrived at *Naples*, purposed to pass to *Trieste* with the same *Spanish* Army, augmented with the accustomed Squadrons of the *Italian* Princes, because the way by Land through *Genova* and *Milan* was interdicted by the plague. That, by reason of violating the Dominion of the Sea, could not be suffered by the Republick, who offered all, or part of its Fleet, to serve for her transport; but the *Spaniards* refused it, alledging a fear, though a false one, that the *Venetian* Ships were infected with the plague. The Ambassadour of *Spain* believing that the Senate, diverted by so many cares, might possibly condescend to this prejudice, communicates to it the passage of the Queen with the Army of the Crown, desiring, that if it should happen to touch in the Ports of the Republick, it might receive good entertainment. But in answer found with weighty reasons an open denial, whereat the Ministers of *Spain* shewing distast, threatened to pass without their consent.

The Senate thereupon ordered *Antonio Pisani*, General of the Islands, that assembling and augmenting the Fleet with the Gallies of *Dalmatia* and *Candia*, and with ten Ships armed for this occasion, he should oppose their entry into the Gulph, and fight with whomsoever with armed Ships would dare to attempt it. At the same time they make the Queen a new offer to conduct her with their own Gallies, and caused *Giovanni Pefari* Cavalier, to declare at *Rome*, and *Marco Antonio Padavino* Resident at *Naples*, that if the *Spaniards* would prefer the force of Arms before the Civility of their offer, the Queen would be obliged to pass through the Cannon and a Battel to her Wedding. The Ministers had not the boldness to hazard her in such an Encounter; whereupon suspending the Voyage till new Orders from the Courts, the Republick was afterwards desired in an honourable way to lend their Fleet and the passage. She then, which was about the end of the year, arriving by the way of *Abruzzo* at *Ancona*, *Antonio Pisani* receives her with thirteen nimble Gallies, and lands her at *Trieste*, with such treatment and magnificence, that in the straightness of the Ships was seen abundantly contained all that which every Element furnishes for the use of Luxury and the honour of Greatness. For which the Republick in the Name of the Emperour and Catholick King received thanks.

Spinola had pressed the Siege of *Casal*, now brought to straits; for Provisions beginning to fail, and the Garrison diminished, being reduced to only two thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, no hope remained but in the Succours of the *French*, excepted by the Inhabitants, who although weary of so long vexations, retained nevertheless a constant fidelity towards their Prince. *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Maine*, incouraged the defence with his presence, but the command, the fatigue, and the vigilancy rested upon *Monsieur de Thoiras* with great equality of Valour and Renown of two so great Captains; for if *Spinola* had a confidence, that at his name alone as to a fatal

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Conquerour of strong places, *Casal* should yield the glory gotten at the like of *Ribé*, did no less stir up the other to confirm it with most vigorous proofs. *Spinola* towards the Citadel had strengthened his approaches, which in the circumference of the Camp were four, divided to the *Spanish*, *German*, *Neapolitan*, and *Lombard* Nations, and beyond the *Po* caused to drive away the *French*, with the slaughter of many, out of a Fort upon a certain Island which defended the Mills.

Thoiras, not amazed at any thing, bringing into the Citadel for its better defence some *French* Companies, tormented the besiegers with frequent Sallies, and in one particularly upon the *Lombards*, killing the Count *Soragna* with many Souldiers, drives him out of certain Redoubts, flinging down the Works. The Enterprize not advancing with the speed supposed, the Duke of *Savoy* was highly offended with *Spinola*, because, neglecting to succour him with all his Forces in his great dangers, in hopes to profit by his calamities, he had engaged himself before *Casal*. Wherefore the dispatching the Abbot *de Scaglia* to *Madrid* to accuse him and complain, was a motive to persuade him to send him more powerful assistance, by which the Siege slackning, gave time to the *French* to send new Forces into *Italy*, under the Marshal *de la Force* and *Schomberg*, and the Duke of *Montmorancy*. He with his Troops, which exceeded not three thousand men, passing towards *Pignarolo* to joyn with the others, was near *Avigliana* attacked by the Prince *Vittorio* with five thousand Foot and one thousand Horse in a narrow passage, where the gross being passed beyond it, the Duke was left with only six hundred Foot and two hundred Horse. But the resistance of the *French* and the Valour of the Duke was such, that he not only passed, but routed the *Savoyards*, taking Prisoner *Pagano Doria*, who commanded the *Spanish* Cavalry. The Prince saving himself with few, *Schomberg* arrives thereupon to besiege *Avigliana*, which was rendered after a Siege but of eight days, *Colalto* having refused to send succours to the Castle.

On the other side, *la Force* had reduced into his power *Saluzzo*, making the Garrison Prisoners; *Villa Franca* and *Poncalieri* yielded to the Conquerour, and the best of the *Austrian* Forces, being intrenched at the Bridge of *Carignano* to hinder the passage over the *Po*, received a great blow; for being assaulted by the *French*, and losing a Half-moon, they abandoned the Post with great loss and no less confusion. Nevertheless the *French* pressed not forward, destroyed amidst the advantages of War by a most cruel plague. *Piedmont* now really served for a miserable spectacle, being made the Stage of all sort of Cruelty, destroyed by the Enemies through hatred, and by Friends in derision.

Amidst so many and so grievous accidents, the Duke *Carlo Emanuele* burdened with sixty and nine years, but much more pierced to the heart by infinite afflictions and the mockeries of Fortune, towards the end of *July* being surprized by an Apoplexy, dies in *Saluzzo*. Death surely took him in the greatest straight of his affairs,

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fairs, and he just at that time had his thoughts busied in more violent designs. But cancelled the memory of them in the fire, burning a little before he expired many Papers, which contained, as was divulged, to the prejudice of the *Milanese*, Intelligences and Agreements with *Wallestein*, (who was to come for the Emperour into *Italy*;) so much the more easily believed, by how much the Duke was against the *spaniards*, for their scanty and longsom succours the more implacably provoked; and *Wallestein* above measure disgusted with the Emperour, because, resolving to take from him the absolute Command of the Armies, he had a mind to send him into *Italy*, as into a specious Banishment; but amidst so great chastisements, God spared *Italy* from so great slaughter.

Carlo Emanuel was without question a great Prince, brought up in the experience of the one and the other Fortune; magnanimous, persevering, and valiant in War; virtues which might be said defiled by ambition, lust, and prodigality, if his very defects, dressed up by his lively Art, had not passed almost for things approved and commended. He directed his actions immoveably to his own interest alone, and measuring by the same steps profit and glory, discovered himself highly inconstant in his friendships, more than liberal of his own, greedy of what was anothers, always poor, never wanting; with the money of his friends he out-stood so many Wars, together with the Wealth of his Subjects, oppressed with most grievous Impositions. Nevertheless, exercising Command in his Country and Authority in his House, and among Strangers keeping up his honour, he was by all revered and esteemed. In Wars seeking advantages, or in Peace sowing the seeds of other Wars, his designs wanting success rather than industry, as the Architect of so many confusions he dyed, buried amidst his own ruines. With his death the face of affairs was changed; for *Vittorio*, though of a profound, yet of a more composed, ambition, assuming the Government inclined to Peace; and not having with *Richelieu* causes of so great diffidence, but rather as the Kings Kinsman shewing himself prone towards *France*, would not close with the *spaniards*, nor totally separate from them. Declaring himself therefore to adhere to that side which would most facilitate Peace, he exhorted the *Popes* Ministers to urge new Propositions; whereupon *Mazarine* had the luck in *September* to conclude a Truce, which though blamed, by reason of the conditions, by every one, was nevertheless by necessity observed by all. It was to last till the end of *October* following, within which time, delivering to the *spaniards* the City and Castle of *Casal*, they were to furnish Victuals for the Citadel, and afterwards to have it, if within the prescribed time no succours should arrive. Some imputed in this Treaty to the *French*, that by rendring the Town they yielded a point of so much honour, and left means to the Enemy to hinder the succours. Others accused the *spaniards*, that hunger having reduced all to extremity, they would be contented only with a part, and would for several weeks furnish Victuals to the Enemy. But by contrary motives these justified themselves

selfes with a suspicion, that succours were at hand; and those by a doubt, they were not in a condition to bring it so soon.

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That which truly induced the *spaniards*, was the fear that *Vittorio* would adhere to *France*; for that without expecting their consent, he greedily embraced before any other the Truce. Howsoever, *Spinola* was for it in *Madrid* reprehended with great censure; which being added to the frequent reproofs, suffered by the occasion of the *Savoyards*, and to the limited Powers, which through Jealousie of a certain Correspondence of his, which he officiously held with *Richelieu*, were come upon him from *Spain*, seeing his Command restrained, and his Honour wounded, he was afflicted in such sort, that falling ill with a Delirium of mind and failing of strength, retiring himself into *Casfel-novo di Scrvia*, he departs this life within a few days. A Captain, saving in these latter days of his, always fortunate, but without exception always prudent. Being advanced in years, from a Merchant coming to the command of great Actions and Armies, before he had passed an Apprentiship in Arms, he gained in counsel, in understanding, and in the executions of things committed to him, such reputation, that nothing else hath blemished the splendour of his name but the envy of Strangers, whom, though accustomed to justifie ingratitude by suspicions, he, an *Italian*, for the desire alone of glory served.

Spinola dead, the Marquess of *Santa Croix* takes the Command, and keeping his Troops within *Casal*, waited for the time prefixed to receive the possession of the Citadel, and the *French* strengthening themselves by the benefit of the Truce, prepared to relieve it. In this doubtful state of things, a Peace being concluded in *Germany*, the news of it arrives unexpected in *Italy*. *Ferdinand*, for the Interests of the Empire and of his House, held a Diet in *Ratisbone*, where the Electors being assembled, and taking courage from their Union, in their declared Judgments detested the War of *Italy* as unseasonable and unjust, together with many complaints, that the Emperour, at the instance of Strangers, without the knowledge and consent of the principal Members of the Empire, had undertaken it. They exhorted to Peace, and offered to mediate; whereupon the *French*, to interest themselves, and take the business out of the absolute Arbitrement of the Emperour and the *Spanish* Ministers, sent thither *Monsieur de Leon*, assisted by Father *Joseph*, a Capucin, with whom *Richelieu* not only communicated the confidence, but it seemed had in a manner imparted capacity for it. These had in charge to make overtures of Peace, but much more to search into the state of things, foment the opposition of the Electors against the Creation of a King of the *Romans*, and with other Princes of the Empire to settle, according to the occasion, those agreements which a while after brake forth. King *Lewis* had now secretly treated with *Sweden* to invade the Empire, promising them a sum of money; the *Venetians* also coming in for their share, when it should be time to be stirring to divert the War out of *Italy*. Yet they by invitation from the Emperours Ministers, insinuated to *Pietro Vico*, their Resident with *Ferdinand*,

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mand, to send a Minister to the Diet, not without hope to separate them by that means from the friendship of the *French*, dispatched thither *sebastien Veniero*, Procurator of *St. Mark*, as their Ambassadour Extraordinary; but with charge not to separate from the Confederates, both in managing and concluding any Treaties. But before the Ambassadour could arrive, the Peace upon the 13. of *October* was agreed upon in some short Conferences betwixt the *French* and *Antonio*, Abbot of *Crembs Munster*, *Otho* Baron of *Nostitz*, and *Herman* Count de *Questenberg*.

The Articles at length were reduced; To promise mutually not to invade one anothers Countries, nor give assistance to Rebels or enemies. As to *Mantua*, the pretensions of the House of *Lorraine*, for some kind of decency, were referred to the Emperour or to an amicable Agreement. To the Prince of *Gualtalla* were assigned Lands of the Territory of *Mantua* to the Revenue of six thousand Crowns, to the end he should renounce his pretensions to *Carlo* and his Line masculine. To the Duke of *Savoy* were set apart in *Monferrat* eighteen thousand Crowns of annual, old, and stable Revenue, *Trino* being therein comprehended. To the Duke *Carlo*, who should petition for it, was by the Imperialists promised the Investiture of both the Dukedoms within six weeks, and within a while after to withdraw their Troops, except out of *Mantua* and *Caneto*. That the *Spaniards* should quit *Monferrat* and *Casal*, and retire out of *Piedmont*. The *French* in like manner going out of the Citadel of *Casal*, obliged themselves to repass the Alps, and to restore what they possessed in *Savoy*, except *Pignerol*, *Susa*, *Avigliana*, and *Briquerasco*. In *Casal* the Duke had the liberty left to keep such a Garrison as his Predecessors had been accustomed to do, without jealousy to the Neighbours, that notwithstanding being to have its effect, which might by peradventure be ere this concerted in Italy for the demolishing of the Citadel. The Investiture being dispatched, and *Carlo* put in possession, the places which were in the hands of the Imperialists and *French*, were bona fide to be restored, and last of all, the Forts in *Rhetia* newly built, were by *Ferdinand* to be razed, the Country to remain in the same liberty it formerly enjoyed. For the execution of all this, Hostages were to be given, and to be put into the custody of the Pope or the Grand Duke, or some Prince of the Empire. The Duke of *Lorraine* was comprehended in this Treaty, and also the *Venetians*, they, upon restoring what they had taken, not to be troubled for any thing done in this present War; they also were to give their promise not to give any offence, and to reduce their Army to a condition of not giving jealousy to their Neighbours; provided nevertheless, that before the signing hereof no other Agreement had been concluded in Italy to their exclusion.

This was the Compendium of the Treaty of *Ratisbone*, which instead of being received with blessings and applauses, met with the dislike of many, and the blame of all. The Duke of *Mantua* complained, that he in effect was obliged to pay the Charge of the War, and that his Countries were mangled and dismembred. It seemed to the *Venetians*, that though their Interests were secured, yet their constant friendship to the Crown of *France* in the form of the expressions

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pressions was but ill appayed. Above all, the *Spaniards*, accustomed to preeminence, were enraged, to be (as little more than accessories) constrained to a Peace, the determination whereof they saw divided betwixt *Ferdinand* and the *French*. But at this time as well the Princes Contractors, as their Ministers, had not looked at ought but their own interests, and to provide in some measure for their present occasions, for the Emperour now felt himself touched to the quick with the *Swedes* Army, and *France* feared some imminent change within it self. The King had in the end of *September* by a great sickness at *Lyons* run the hazard of death; whereupon the Cardinal seeing, by the aversion of the two Queens and of *Orleans*, a furious storm coming upon him, thought to compose Affairs abroad, hoping that if the King recovered, that he should not want means to overturn all that which had been agreed. He had not for all that abandoned the care of the War of *Italy*; for the Army under the Marshals de la Force and *Schiomberg*, augmented to the number of six and twenty thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, with Victuals for fifteen days, near the expiration of the Truce marched to bring succours into the Citadel of *Casal*. *Vittorio* was not displeased that it should succeed, believing that with the falling of that place into the hands of the *Spaniard*, the Peace might be made more difficult, and *Colaltoes* judgment and Commission were differing, the Emperour desiring, that he might make use of those Troops against the *Swedes*, that by all means the Peace should be made. Both therefore gave way that the *French* Army crossing the *Po*, should pass securely through *Piedmont*, although the Duke afar off with some Horse marched on its side.

But the *French* pursuing their march without dispute, there arrives a Courier from *Ratisbone*, which by the advice of the Peace put the Marshals into great perplexity, whether by advancing they should break the accord, or rather halting lose the Army for hunger in the bowels of the Enemies Country. They resolved at last to go on for the securing the Citadel, for which the Peace of *Ratisbone* had not sufficiently provided, hoping with their appearance to bring the *Spaniards* to some more reasonable agreement. Nor did that thought deceive them; for *Sainte croix* in a fright sends *Mazarine* to meet them, offering to receive the Articles of *Ratisbone*, and besides furnish Victuals to the Citadel for the six weeks, within which *Carlo* was to receive investiture. The *French* perceiving the fright the Marquess was in, hoping by pressing of him to draw him to better conditions, pretended that he with his Army should retire out of the Town, the Castle, and all *Monferrat*. So that marching resolutely forwards they presented themselves before *Casal*, where the *Spanish* Army stood within their infranchment, and *Colalto* was come thither also, who, to poise things equally, had formerly denied the Marquess assistance, but now would not suffer that the *French* should totally prevail. They on the other side of the *Gattola*, a very small stream, put themselves in Battel, and with Troops well in order, after having repulsed certain *Polish* Cavalry which came forth to discover, marched around pace to assault the Trenches.

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But *Mazarine* taking advantage from the consternation of the *Spanish* Chiefs, and magnifying the Forces and gallantry of enemy Troops, persuaded them to consent hastily to the condition of going out of the Town. Lo then he coming out of the Trenches, and with his hat and his hand making a sign to the Troops to make a stand, being brought to the Marshals, concludes the Agreement upon the Field, in which the Armies were in a moment seen to pass from fighting to peaceable meetings, and from animosities to civilities. The Conditions were, *That the Spaniards going immediately out of Casal and the Monferrat, the Posts should be consigned in token of honour to the Emperour, to one of his Commissioners, who for that purpose should remain in Casal with his Family only, but in ought else but carrying the name was not to meddle. He afterwards, the term prefixed for the investiture being expired, was to depart, and the French Garrisons likewise were then presently to go out of the Citadel, and those of the Country to go in.*

The accord was no sooner concluded, but *Thoiras* comes forth honoured already by the King with the Title of Marshal of France, and was received with the acclamations of all the Army. Nor did the *Spaniards* delay to go out of it, *Casal* remaining betwixt the two Armies, after having deflowered the glory of two great Captains equally desired by him that saved it and by him that lost it. Hereupon grew some delays in the execution of the Treaty, because the French scarce gone twenty miles, cast into it fifteen hundred Foot and five hundred Horse, upon pretence that the Inhabitants were not sufficient to defend it, whilst the *Spaniards* lodging near might attempt to retake it. But *Sainte Croix* highly offended repossesses *Pontefura* and some other Posts, blocking the place, which was quickly like to fall into its first languishing, because the universal scarcity of the Country had not afforded means to furnish it but scantily with Victuals.

Mazarine was hereupon obliged, though by the conceit that in his Negotiations he had advantaged the French, he was become distrustful by the *Austrians*, to take the business in hand again, and at the end of five and twenty days he had the success to concert anew the reciprocal abandoning of the Posts. But after this retreat the *Spaniards* remaining armed on the Frontiers of *Milan*, the French Chiefs, who had made a halt, prone to suspicions, or pretexts, send thither five hundred *Switzers* as of a Nation free and indifferent. They being of those that bore arms in their Army, *Santa Croix* taking it for a relapse and breach of the Treaty, advances with *Gallas*, who, *Colalto* being gone and dead in *Coira*, commanded the German Troops in *Italy*, to take again the Posts. The Pope's Ministers being gone, the Ambassador *Soranzo*, who in his return home was come with the French Army as far as *Casal*, undertook the mediation, by which the going forth of the *Switzers* being consented, the Armies at last on both sides went further off. There remained in the place the Duke of *Main* with the Commissary of *Ferdinand*, and the Garrison of the *Monferrins*, to which in *Carlo's* poverty France supplied. The Peace

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Peace then of *Ratisbone* was in this manner executed in the *Monferrat*, notwithstanding that at the same time France blamed it; for as much as the King being recovered and returned to *Paris*, it was so far, that the contrivances framed by Queen-Mother had any force against the Cardinal, that he rather found himself no less by his cunning Arts, than by his to glorious Undertakings, advanced to a greater height in the favour of King *Lewis*. The favours of Princes resembling a dangerous Voyage at Sea, that either brings Shipwrack or Wealth, *Richelieu* having escaped the rocks and snares, became exalted with Praises, Honours, and Riches. The Queen being made so much the more impatient; broke forth at last into an open pressing of the King, that he would put him out of the Government and Court. But by such Arts she confirmed him in place of ruining him, because *Lewis*, jealous of his own Authority and affections, feigning as then, if not to satisfy her, at least not to neglect her; retiring himself afterwards for some days under pretence of hunting to *Versailles*, caused *Marigliac*, her Keeper of the Seal, to be arrested Prisoner, together with his Brother in *Italy*, as they that suggested to the Queen such animosities and counsels; whereupon the Cardinal, secured by greater favour, continues the direction of Affairs and the pursuit of his great Designs. The causes then ceasing, for which he had secretly enjoined the Capucin to conclude at *Ratisbone* upon any conditions, he seigns to be greatly offended with him and Monsieur de *Lyon*, that they had consented to a Treaty, in which transgressing the bounds of the Affairs of *Italy*, there was mention made of those of the Empire and of *Lorraine*, the *Venetians* being ambiguously comprehended, and the Liberty and Restitution of the *Grisons* not sufficiently provided for. The doubt particularly vexed him, left upon the noise of such a Treaty and the obligation not to assist Enemies and Rebels, the *swedes* should be discouraged, together with those Princes of the Empire, to whom France had made large promises of assistance. He was afraid also, lest the *Hollanders* should grow jealous, with whom he had lately renewed the League with an obligation of great succours, and their reciprocal promise, that they should not for seven years listen to a Truce; not because the Treaty of *Ratisbone* did in truth interest those Provinces, but in doubt, lest by frequent relapses into agreements, without due consideration had of their Confederates, France should be discredited amongst its Friends. It was added, that if the *Hollanders* themselves, startled at the Peace newly concluded betwixt *England* and *Spain*, with opening of Commerce, and renewing the old Treaties, which for some years hitherwards seemed rather interrupted in name than by Arms, should suspect they should be also abandoned by France, it would be no strange thing, that they should at last embrace the Propositions of a Truce, incessantly offered by the *spaniards*. For this cause the Cardinal with diligent dispatches of Courriers assures all the Friends of the Crown, that the Treaty concluded without the Kings order, and contrary to the good liking of his Confederates, was disavowed, pretending to have it qualified and mended.

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The French Ministers foreseeing what might happen, remained, under pretext to wait for the Kings Orders, in *Ratisbone*; and the Emperour returning to *Vienna*, was followed by *Veniero*, the Ministers there employing many instances, that the Republick would sign, separate from the *French*, and cut off those demurs cast in by them. But the Senate refused to advance a step but by concert with that Crown, although, by reason of the charges and calamities, especially of the Pest, weary rather with the War than contented with the Treaty, it desired it might be quickly executed for the quieting of *Italy*, having now by many experiences learnt, how unequal and dangerous friendships are betwixt States and Princes of a differing constitution; whilst the one proceeding with a constant order in their Maxims and aims, the other either by intestine alterations, or the change of Ministers, oftentimes by passion, and always by the interests of Favourites; are obliged either to go out of their way or stand still. But the business was carried on with many delays and difficulties; notwithstanding which, *Ferdinand*, pressed by his own necessities, recalls the Troops out of *Italy*, leaving then under *Gallas* some few, which took Quarters in the *Mantuan*, and particularly in *Solferino* and *Castiglione*, which had been free till now. The Affairs of the Empire began now to take a quite other plight than they had hitherto had, experiencing by a sudden and strange mutation, that in the immoderate desires to greaten Empires, the troubles to lose them are most commonly nearest; such being the destiny of those States, which are increased amidst many cares, that they easily shake with their augmented Conquests, and at last shaking, perish either by intestine Divisions or foreign Assaults. Under its own weight, to the dread of the Princes of the Empire and the universal suspicions of *Europe*, the Monarchy of the *Austrians* began now to sink.

The beginning appeared at *Ratisbone*, whence they hoped to draw more greatness; the Electors being assembled there by *Ferdinand*, with pretext to apply remedy to the grievances of the Empire, but indeed to place upon the head of *Ferdinand* his Son, adorned already with the Crowns of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, that also of the *Romans*. The Emperour was blamed by some, that he having the Empire subjected and in possession with an hundred and thirty thousand Souldiers, he should call to them the Electors, who separated, trembled, but united, knowing not their own strength, but their Authority and the wants of *Ferdinand*, might resolve into great and strange resolutions. The Protestants were much against the Election, *Saxony* especially full of wrath for the Edict concerning Ecclesiastical Goods.

Bavaria above all, though he acknowledged his Electoral Vote from *Ferdinand*, having, as the most powerful, so the greater apprehensions, declared his Judgment more freely, provoked by great dislikes against *Wallestein* and against the *Austrians*, strengthened by an under-hand League made with the *French*. Making himself then the Head and Author of the common complaints of the Empire,

Empire, he was the first that denied to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, the Diet having not been called for that purpose, and then expressed himself; That it was not becoming the Electoral Colledge to resolve so great a business, environed by Arms and armed men. That the Empire groaned under the cruel slavery of *Wallestein*, who confounded all, amidst the frighting of the Princes, and the afflicting of the People. For what served so many Armies, when the Empire was in peace, but for so many Ministers of Cruelty to that most savage Chief? That he, severe in execution, rigid in command, and covetous in exactions, consumed the blood of the Germans, and extorted the Gold of the Provinces. That the Emperour ought at last to give a cessation to the grievances of the Country in general, and in his piety, by a separation as it were more strong than that of the fire, to distinguish at length in that metal, so unjustly drawn out of the bowels of his Vassals, and so unprofitably spent, the tears and blood of so many Innocents. That it was fit to divulge with detestation, that to the People of Germany, otherwise endowed with a most entire fidelity, the sufferance of the Emperour was now become more odious than the cruelty of the Minister: That the sighs and neglected groans of so many oppressed would at last make the Empire shake; because being ascended to Heaven, though deemed light vapours, they are converted into the heaviest chastisements of Lightnings and Tempests. Such a heavy scourge therefore ought now to be removed, Arms to be laid down, the Command to be taken away from *Wallestein*, and then with quiet minds and free Votes proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*. Thus did he publicly express himself, and was seconded by others; but in private gave great and assured hopes, that, giving satisfaction, they would all agree in the Election of *Ferdinand*. And now taking the Ecclesiasticks into the Council, he made it be believed, that *Wallestein* being dispossessed, and their advice asked to whom the chief Command of those Troops, which were to remain on foot, should be given, that they should insinuate and propose the King of *Hungary*. By such allurements the Emperour was persuaded to disband fifteen thousand Horse at a blow, and the rest afterwards by pieces, retaining but few in pay, besides those which were in *Italy*, and a Body, which under the command of *Torquato Conti* was kept in the Provinces towards the *Baltique* Sea.

Wallestein, not being able to bear this, did his utmost to demonstrate to the Emperour the prejudice, which he saw would result from it; whilst *Germany*, brought under by Arms; could not but by the terror of the same be kept in obedience. He prefigured revolutions of great importance, the alienations of Princes and States, because, by reason of division in Religion many being offended, and all disgusted, if the yolk of Iron were removed, that of obedience would easily be shaken off. He was wont to say, that it was impossible for the Emperour to entertain ten thousand Souldiers, but very easie to maintain a hundred thousand; because the great Provinces of *Germany* abounding not only with store of people, but they also a warlike Nation, with small Armies might dispute not

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only

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But the Emperour, either perswaded that he should peaceably attain to his purpose, or not believing to be able without greater confusions, so highly to violate the Constitutions of the Empire, preferred the mild before the more violent counsels. But it troubled not his thoughts a little, how to take away the command from *Fridtland*, which he exercised with an absolute power, and with so much the more applaus of the Souldiery, as it was with hatred to the people. Wherefore he deputed, to perswade him, the Counts of *Verdenberg* and *Questenberg* his intimate friends, who were received at *Memmingen*, and forbidden at first to speak of business; but, after having entertained them with divers diversifements, he hearkned to them with a mind free from trouble, and ascribing all to his Enemies, amongst which, besides *Bavaria*, he reckoned the *Spaniards* and *Jesuites*, foretold the evil event which would arise from it, declaring with biting taunts and jestings, more than with reasons, his obedience to the Decree, but not his approbation of the Council. And refusing every of those satisfactions which the Emperour largely offered him, except the exemption from rendring account of his past administration, he lays down his Command, and retires to his own estate, leaving it doubtful, whether he appeared greater in the exercise than in the quitting of it. But the Electors having obtained their design, shewed themselves so much the more averse to elect a King of the *Romans*, as they thought themselves less capable to be constrained to it. Now did they consent to confer on the King of *Hungary* the direction of the Forces; but the Ecclesiasticks, being required by *Ferdinand* to give their opinion, proposed *Bavaria* for the Generalat, to the Emperours great apprehension, lest that Elector aspired, by adding this command to the other which he already had of the Catholick League, to make himself Arbitrer of the Empire, and in a condition to give Law to the *Austrians*. Nevertheless dissembling his displeasure, and rather feigning to applaud the proposition, he proposes such conditions to *Maximilian* for the exercise of the Charge, that he dissenting from them was the cause, that amidst the difficulties and delays the project vanished.

In this state of things and minds, *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, invited (as hath been said) by some, and desired by others, enters into *Germany*, sending certain Letters as his fore-runners to *Ratisbone*, in which he complains that the Emperour should have prohibited him Levies in the Empire, given assistance to the *Poles*, intercepted his Dispatches, taken his Ships upon the Sea, hindered

hindered his Kingdoms of their Commerce, endeavoured with Ships of War in the *Baltick* to prejudice and offend him, and in conclusion, that his Ambassadors at the meeting at *Lubeck*, where was treated the Peace with *Denmark*, had not been admitted. The Emperour had given little heed to such complaints, and to the Letters themselves the Diet answered but slowly, in general terms and scanty Titles. Whereupon assuming the specious pretexs of Religion and Liberty, to protect the Protestants of the Empire, and deliver the oppressed from the domination of the *Austrians*, he advances towards *Pomerania*, disimbarquing in the Island of *Rugben*, where driving the imperial Garrison out of a Fort, he fixes the seat of the War; the other Islands, which are a little separate from the Continent, yield themselves to him without dispute. This breaking forth of a sudden, greatly moved the minds of the Imperialists; but it being quickly known, that the King had not then more than six thousand Souldiers, so slender a beginning and such a little spark was despised, till many of the Troops, disbanded by *Ferdinand*, joining themselves to him, which being accustomed to the license of Armies, could not live without such an occupation, he was seen with a very powerful Army, leaving a Garrison in *Stralsund*, to pass into *Pomerania*.

Bolislao, Duke of that Province, formerly oppressed and molested by *Fridtland*, refuses the Emperours Garrisons, pretending that he would defend himself. But concluding a League with the *Swedes*, receiving their Troops into some of his Towns, and giving contribution, declares himself under the protection of *Gustavus*. The King now having a secure retreat, advances into *Meckelburg* to remove the Ministers and Garrisons of *Wallestein*, and by restoring the ancient owners, to procure applause to the cause of Religion and the publick liberty, which he pretended to rescue. To these proceedings opposed themselves the Duke *Savelli* and *Torquato Conti* with weak Forces, and uncertain counsels, because enviroined by the Protestants, they had every thing suspect, while *Tilli*, whom the Emperour had been constrained to make with limited powers *Generalissimo* of his Forces, assembled his Army in the Country of *Mansfeldt*. But now, together with hopes, minds every where raising themselves; amongst the first, the Citizens of *Magdenburg* brought in again *Christian* Administrator of that Bishoprick, formerly (as guilty of Treason) excluded by *Ferdinand* and proscribed.

ANNO MDC XXXI.

From such disturbances in *Germany* was *Italy* now again obliged to acknowledge her quiet, though for some months it was tossed to and fro without Peace, and without War, whilst all parties seeking advantages by Treaties, and the Armies being wearied and consumed, the War was made with treating, and the treating with Arms. The Plague depopulated whole Provinces, and in the *Milanese* particularly (the wickedness of man adding Thunderbolts to the wrath of

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For the Republick *Girolamo Cavazzza*; their Secretary, assisted, and for the *Spaniards* the Count della *Rocca*, their Ambassador in *Piedmont*, who took a greater share in the understanding than management of Treaties. These publick Negotiations were facilitated by some very private concert betwixt the *French* and *Savoyards*, till the conclusion whereof, *Servien*, though in appearance for something else,

else, had retarded his appearing at *Chievasco*. And the promoter and mediator, not without the secret consent of the *Pope*, was *Julio Mazarini*, who for his happiness in past Negotiations gaining credit, and giving greater hopes, having by various arts reduced *Pan-cirollo* to the alone name and appearance of the ministry, had with great applause, and with so much more confidence with *Richelieu*, assumed the reality of the most important Affairs. He in secret conferences declares to the Duke *Vittorio*, That vain was that hope with which he was possessed, to recover by the Peace, what the Crown of *France* possessed of his. That the Cardinal, ambitious of glory, would what ever came of it, retain in *Italy* a memorial of his great and famous actions. And who was there, that could hinder that design of his, if *Ferdinand*, having great troubles upon him, had no thought but of his own defence? That the *Spaniards*, low in reputation and Forces, minding only their own advantages, had neither the power or the will to repair the losses of *Piedmont*. The *Italians* unanimously foresaw the power for the future divided betwixt the two Crowns, not to suffer the arbitrement and jealousies of one of them alone. He himself might now from past dangers sufficiently comprehend, what was the price of his Peace, and Principality. That he was to compare the relinquishing of one Town with the most certain conquest of *Savoy*, *Tarentasia*, *Moriena*, *Avigliana*, *Suza*, *Saluzzo*, *Bricherasco*, with so many Vallies, Forts, and other places, as rend *Piedmont* into bits, and besiege the Metropolis it self. And when did he think to drive away the *French* by force, who by their nearness are able to over-run the Country, and by their courage and power swallow the rest? Could he peradventure expect succours from the *Spaniards*, who, under the title of protection, would usurp others of his places? He had no way then, but to sacrifice to the unsatiable desire, the Cardinal had of glory, one little part, as *Pignerol* might be said to be; because the rest being restored, there would not one day want opportunities to recover that also, it being an easier matter to weary the *French* by giving way to the keeping of their Conquests, than by resisting. But there were offered at present considerable advantages, whilst the division of *Monferrat* being to depend upon the arbitrement of the Ministers of that Crown, there might be given to him, together with *Trino*, so ample a share, that the worth of *Pignerol* might be sufficiently recompensed; That that was the very thing which his Father had for many years, and amidst so many troubles, sought for. Nor could the Duke of *Mantua* complain; because, if the Crown, at the price of its own Conquests, cause his capital City to be restored, having preserved *Casal* by its treasure and blood, what lesser gratitude can be returned to so magnanimous a King, than by paying the price of that passage, which for his own safety and assistance he desires may be kept for future accidents? *Vittorio* was to weigh the present conjunctures, and his own interests; because if he should not consent to yield *Pignerol*, *France* remained not only in possession of that place, but of most ample Conquests made in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. That *France* was now the Arbitrer of Peace or War: Its power and authority extended into *Casal*. For *Mantua*, it was not so much taken care of, being far from its Confiners, and ballanced by great Conquests,

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The Duke was wavering amidst his troubled thoughts; for on the one side the desire of Peace allured him, and the hopes to recover by Treaty that, which by other means he was not able to get again from the French; on the other, he well understood, that giving up the custody of the Alps and passages into Italy, his friendship would no more be valued by the Crowns. At last yielding to the necessity, and to the time, he consents to part with Pignerol, and the Vallies, which are serviceable for passage into Italy, with so much circumspection and silence, that the effect appeared certain Months before any thing tending towards it was known. The Ministers after this Treaty being all come to Chivasso, the agreement for the execution of the Peace of Italy was upon the sixth of April without much ado concluded: for, the longest and most difficult point being the liquidation of the Lands of *Monferrat*, which were to be given to *Vittorio*, the French gave way to all advantage of the *Savoyards*, *Gallas* not dissenting, who desired to make a speedy conclusion, and, the *Mantuan*s not opposing, being desirous to restore the Duke into the most important of his Countries. For the fifteen thousand Crowns then of yearly Revenue, which was given to *Savoy*, they assign, besides *Trin* and *Alba*, eighty other Villages of the best: That Duke taking upon himself the Dowry of *Margherita*, and, for the overplus of Revenue, which might arise, promising to deposit in *Lyons* Jewels or money. The investiture of this part of *Monferrat*, the Emperour was to give to *Savoy*; the nomination to the Abby of *Lucadio* was left to *Mantua*, and the *Savoyards* obliged themselves to permit a yearly draught of ten thousand Sacks of Grain to *Casal*, which without the help of the most fertile part of *Monferrat* might easily fall into want. As to the restitution of places possessed, little else was added to the Treaty of *Ratisbone*, but that in *Susa* and *Avigliana* there should remain Garrisons of those Cantons of *Helvetia* which were confederate with *France* and *Savoy*, with condition to deliver them again to *France*, in case that on the day prefixed the German Troops should not be retired out of *Rhetia*. The *Venetians* were comprehended in *amplissima forma*, and the *Spaniards* obliged themselves to ratify the Treaty, and to withdraw their Army into the *Milanese*, without offering offence, or giving jealousies to those Princes which had had no part in the present War.

The Treaty was no sooner concluded, but the *Germans* silently abandoning *Valezio*, retired out of the State of the Republick, notwithstanding that a little before a certain casual accident had in some sort exasperated mens minds; whilst a party of *Polish* Horse, which had served under the *Austrians*, passing through the way called the *steccato*, heretofore mentioned, betwixt the Confines of *Bergamo* and *Crema* were assaulted by the *Venetian* Guards, who killing and taking some, made prey of their goods and money. But upon the complaint of the Governour of *Milan* and *Aldringer*, they were released

released, and the Booty restored. More vehement were the complaints of *Feria* for the things concluded in *Chierasco*, in such sort, that denying to approve them, and to have powers for the execution of them, he ordered provisions, sought pretexts, crossed the march of the *Germans* out of *Italy*, and invited *Ottavio Piccolomini* to remain in his pay with three Regiments of that Nation, and lastly fomenting the disgust of the Duke of *Mantua* at the unreasonable dividing of the *Monferrat*, promised him, if he would adhere to the *Austrians*, not only to restore him in the *Mantuan*, but to re-establish him in every one of those places, which the *French* so prodigally alienated from his States; but *Carlo* deeming it too dangerous to pass from hatred of so fresh a date to friendships so suspicious, contenting himself with complaints and protests in secret, believed, that it was not for him to disturb the execution of things agreed.

The French observing the workings of *Feria*, stop their march from going out of *Italy*; whereupon the Popes Ministers were obliged to interpose anew, and because the point, which most galled the *Spaniards*, consisted in the stay of the *Switzers* in *Susa* and in *Avigliana*, it was on the 19. of June agreed, That either all the Restitutions should be made to *Savoy*, *Mantua*, and the *Grisons*, upon one and the same day, viz. the 20. of August, or that upon the same day should be quitted by the Imperialists the Forts of *Rhetia* and *Bricherasco* by the French. Upon the 26. should be released to *Savoy*, *Susa* and *Avigliana*, and to *Mantua*, *Porto* and *Caneto*. Then the first of September the City it self of *Mantua* should be rendred to its Duke, and *Pignarol* delivered to *Vittorio*.

This last way as the most secure was chosen, and Hostages were added; and because the Pope, to whom they were to be delivered, would not interest himself in that which concerned the *Grisons*, it was concluded, That for *Bricherasco*, *Thoiras* should be given to the Duke of *Savoy*, and for the Forts of *Rhetia*, *Gallas* to the Duke of *Mantua*. It was besides determined, that by *Feria* six thousand Foot and one thousand Horse should be sent away out of *Italy*, and the *Milanese* be afterwards disarmed, except but of ordinary Garrisons.

The restitutions at their times gradually executed, gave great satisfaction and no less hope, that *Italy* might at last breathe after so many calamities; and the Pope wrote to the Republick a Brief with worthy expressions, exalting their deservings, both in maintaining the War, and promoting the Peace. In the mean time while the restitutions were in doing, *Monseur de Razzilier*, arriving in the Name of King *Lewis* at *Venice*, did not only communicate the Accord concluded, but insisted with great earnest, that the Republick would assist the Duke of *Mantua* with means to re-enter into his Country, representing his present condition to want counsel, protection, and assistance: That he returned from Banishment and Poverty to a Principality, but brought nothing with him but his Person, his Children, and his Name, without Souldiers, without Credit, and without Money. The City of *Mantua* was miserably reduced into the form of a skeleton, the Towns into Deserts, and the whole Territory into great affliction.

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tion. Was it any ways possible to raise Garrisons and Revenues out of *Apbes and Sepulchres*? It was therefore necessary to garrison those Walls, for the preservation and rescue whereof, so much gold, so much labour, and so much blood had been spent. France being far off, had in Mantua no other interest but that of affection and care. The keeping of it therefore belonged to the Republick as a Neighbour. That she was to be careful not to believe too much in the Peace, because those are the most certain blows which throw themselves upon us under the Cloak of confidence. That the danger of the War had been perhaps less than that which ought to be feared at present from Treacheries. The Spaniards being no longer able to oppress the liberty of Italy by force, would now be attempting it by Art. And if Mantua should by some deceitful trick be taken, what else would it be but to wound Italy again in the scar scarce healed, to make it incurable and more painful? The King charged himself with Casal, nay with the universal care of Italy; promising, on any danger of that Country, any attempts of its Enemies, any notice from the Confederates, to descend again the Alps with puissant Forces. He that was the Author of the Peace would be the Guardian of it; intreated the Republick to cooperate with him in so generous intentions, and if she had been his Companion in the War, she would have the satisfaction besides with him to maintain the Peace.

The Venetians, after so long disturbances, infinitely desirous of quiet, were in a doubt, lest upon new emergencies and the news of introducing Garrison, the Spaniards taking Jealousie might disturb the Peace. They were besides perswaded, that the Duke drawing some relief from his Estate in France, might supply his present necessity, with which they hoped at last that the Councils of Spain being moderated by events, Italy was to enjoy a long and secure tranquillity. For this cause they excuse themselves from lending the Duke new assistance, nevertheless promising, if other disturbances should arise, to concur with the vigilance and readiness usual in their ancient Customs, together with the Crown, for the relief of him and the common Liberty of Italy. But the Dukes necessities not at all yielding to these considerations, nor the Kings instances slackning; but the Marshal *Thoiras* being sent Ambassadour Extraordinary, to give weight to the business by the quality of a person so famous, he repeats with great urgency, that the Republick, having even in his utmost calamity assisted *Carlo* with a careful liberality, would also compleat the kindness by giving him means to enjoy his present better Fortune. The Senate resolved for that time only to disband upon the Borders certain Foot, that the Duke taking them into pay, might be accommodated with them; but in conclusion, *Feria* not disbanding, and it being discovered, that by the means of the Commander *Collredo*, he perswaded the Duke, rejecting the French and Venetian Garrisons, to admit into Mantua thole of Spain with offers of vast recompences, and there happening in *Goito*, just at the time it was to be restored to the State, the death of the Eldest Prince, without leaving other Issue than a Son in Swadling-clouts and one Daughter, the Venetians determined to prevent every troublesome

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blefom accident, to send to the Duke, under the Command of *Francesco Martinengo*, a thousand Foot and two Companies of Horse with Ammunition, and all that was else needful. Jealousies afterwards increasing more and more, they brought in four hundred other Soldiers, *Monsieur de Tavanès* assisting by the Duke to give him the better appearance and reputation by the protection of that Crown. Nor were the suspicions ill grounded; for *Feria* having not succeeded to bring the Duke by Treaty to his ends, attempted more secret contrivances, and had sent to Mantua the Infanta *Margaret*, under pretext to console the Widdowhood of the young Princess, her Daughter, but in effect to sow Discord, suggest Marriages, form Parties, that by dividing the House and the Government, a way might be opened to some disorder.

Moreover, the Duke of *Mün* being dead in *Casal*, in the so tender age of the little Prince, new jealousies, designs, and hopes were perceived to arise for the Succession. But *Feria*, by more compelling apprehensions, was forced to lead his thoughts elsewhere; for when he thought the French gone out of Italy, he discovered a Garrison in *Pignarol*, and the Colours of that Crown displayed. All followed in order to the fore-related Treaties, for pledge whereof was the Cardinal of *Savoy* gone to *Paris* under the shew of fulfilling them. But the French making shew of a suspicion, that the Governour had no intention sincerely to observe the agreement, complained that he did not disarm, and that he kept some Germans of *Schomberg* in his pay, notwithstanding that it was alleged by the Spaniards, that that Regiment in particular belonged to the Crown, under whose Colours it had long before born Arms, and that in the process of the past Negotiations, having made mention of it to the Popes Ministers, they had obtained of the French in exprels terms, that that was not understood to be comprehended amongst those Troops which were to go out of Italy. But they, who sought for excuses and pretexts, shewing themselves not at all satisfied, feigned to demand, for the keeping of a secure passage open for their return into Italy, a place of the Duke *Vittorio*. And he dissembling what had been agreed, in a mockery to *Feria*, communicates to him the request, and at the same time, though it obliged him to deny it, demands of him assistance; but in such a number, and within a time so short, that he could not be able to give it him. The Governour defending himself partly with great complaints, and partly with various and ambiguous answers, the Duke taking pretext from the delays and denial, publishes, that he had consented to yield to pressing instances, and deliver *Pignarol* for six months to the French.

But a little while after a new Treaty was divulged, in which it appeared, that that Town with the Vallies adjacent was sold to the Crown in perpetuity, and that the price of it was that money, (which amounted to five hundred thousand Crowns) which *Vittorio*, for the satisfying of Mantua, being to deposit in *Lyon*, the King now charging himself with that debt, took it upon himself. Whether the French Garrison really, at the executing of the Treaty, did

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go out of *Pignarol*, and afterwards went in again, after that the *Savoyards* for the freeing of the Hostages gave assurance, that the place was delivered; or whether a part did not remain in the Cellars or in subterranean places hidden, was then much and doubtfully talked of; but time hath at last discovered, that the *French* not trusting the quitting of the place entirely, one part only went out, and another remained secretly within, and the Count de la *Rocca*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at *Turin*, who would have gone thither to see the effectual delivery, was diverted by *Mazarine* by the fear of the Plague, making him believe, that it raged much and mortally in that place. This action moved on a sudden the minds of all *Europe*, and chiefly in *Italy*, many at so great a novelty standing amazed, others in suspense, others contented, according to affections and interests; because those who for want of power had till now kept in their hatred against *Spain*, breathed again desires and hopes of alterations and changes. On the other side, he that in the present state of things found himself at quiet, equally fearing a yoke and assistance, prefiged new and more lasting calamities, if it should remain in the power of the unquiet and head-long Genius of the *French* Nation, unseasonably to disturb *Italy*; but others that desired to see it in an equal state of liberty and security, highly rejoicing, that that Crown also was come in for a share, persuaded themselves, that what with reputation, and what with the terrour of the name, it was like to preserve her peaceable.

Richelieu had reason above any other to rejoice, the Arbitrement of Peace and War being now put into his hand, and having manifestly revenged himself of *Olivares*, who, if with clandestine blows, sowing factions and discords in the Kingdom and in the Royal Family he had endeavoured to ruine him, he on the other side, by signal advantages in Negotiations, and upholding himself by Arms, had discredited and confounded him. In these two was lodged the Destiny of *Europe*, now openly become Rivals in ambition, envy, strife, and hatred, to such a degree, that the World could no longer bear them either at odds or agreeing without great destruction. The *Spaniards* seemed highly moved, seeing the Duke of *Mantua* to their shame established in his Countries, and both by inclination and gratitude adhering to *France*, he of *Savoy* constrained to depend upon the same Crown, and the *French* with Reputation and Forces fixed in *Italy*, to give jealousy and dispute the predominancy till now by them enjoyed. And for this cause they made their complaints in all Courts, amplifying their words, that *Richelieu* had deluded public Faith, Conditions were broken, and the Peace disturbed. But complaints being vain in an Age wherein Interest gives the Law, *Feria*, beyond measure in disorder for that, having formerly by possessing the *Valteline* with so much labour endeavoured to shut up every passage into *Italy* from Strangers, the Gate of the *Alps* was now in his Government set wide open by the *French*, armed with great diligence, and from *Naples* and the other Kingdoms drew men and money; and to the end to discover affections in so great a confusion

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of things, he presses the Princes of *Italy* for their obliged assistance, as if the Invasion of the *Milanese* were near at hand.

Richelieu nevertheless had not as yet brought things to that pass at Court, nor ripened his designs abroad so as to be able openly to break with *Spain*; but laying hold of advantages, his aims were to make himself Master of Avenues and places of consequence. *Piedmont* by this means open to the Arms of the *French*, he contrives to exclude succours by the way of the *Grisons* to the *Milanese* out of *Germany*. But it being difficult without the joyning or at least the making use of the Frontier of the *Venetians* to maintain an Army in that Country, he sounds them to joyn to three thousand of the Kings two thousand of their Souldiers, proposing *Rohan* General over all, under the title of preserving those Posts and the Liberty of the Country; but chiefly to prevent the designs of *Feria*, lest to be quit with him for *Pignarol*, he might elsewhere and particularly in *Rhetia* direct his craft.

The Senate intent upon Peace, and doubtful lest the spight betwixt the Crowns should proceed so far as to be the cause of a new War, did not only refuse to cooperate there, but in all the Courts made it their business by effectual offices to remove what was obscure, and assure the Peace. Howsoever *Rohan*, without expecting leave from *Venice*, departs, and going into *Helvetia* among the Protestant Cantons, where, by reason of conformity of Religion he was in great esteem, he applies himself to dispose things for the future designs, whilst in the *Grisons*, *Monsieur de la Lande* raising with money from *France* three thousand Souldiers of that Country, fortifies the *steich*, and guards other Passes. *Feria*, to oppose him, sends into *Rhetia* *Casati*, advances Troops to *Como* and the Confines of the *Valteline*, soliciting the Archduke of *Insbruck* to possess in the County of *Bormio* the Post of *Sainte Maria* to keep the Communication with the *Milanese* open, and inciting the Emperour to be sensible of so great an emergency. But *Leopold* admonishing the three Leagues to abstain from unseasonable novelties, would not by proceeding further procure himself disturbance; and *Ferdinand*, in the declination of his own Interests, takes little notice of the Affairs of *Italy*, contented to please the *Spaniards*, and redeem for a time the prejudices to form secretly a Decree, by which he declares the Investiture null, granted to Duke *Carlo*, in case of transgression in the Peace of *Ratisbone*. As to the rest, exhorts the *Spaniards* to sufferance, and to assist with all their Forces the common Cause, which in *Germany* was running a hazard. *Feria* for this, and also understanding the important defeat, which near *Leipsich* the *Swedes* gave the Emperour, was obliged to suspend his motion, and to defer the resentments to more proper Conjunctions and time.

About the beginning of the year there had been published in the *Swedish* Camp at *Berwald* the League betwixt *France* and *Gustavus* for the defence of their common Friends, security of the Commerce of the *Baltick* Sea, and restoring of Liberty in *Germany* and the *Grisons*. These were obliged to proceed in their enterprise with thirty thousand

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Gustavus judged, that to maintain credit and his conquests, it behoved him to pursue some new designs, and, without giving the Enemy time to unite and augment his Forces, to joyn Battel with him under the favour of his Reputation and Fortune. Nor could, the Armies being too near, *Tilly* refuse it; for to retire would put him upon disadvantage and dishonour, and the King following him, would

would have disordered him, and beaten him without hazard. The Armies then faced one another near *Leipzig*, equal in valour and number, commanded by two Chiefs, that in actions of War had little inequality, save in the dignity. The Armies ranged themselves into a very long Line upon a situation almost plain, a little rising ground interposing.

Among the Imperialists *Tilly* commanded in the middle, *Firsten-burg* on the right, and *Papenheim* on the left hand. Of the *swedes* the King took the right Wing, and *saxe* with his men had the care of the left. In the Reer of the one and the other stood some Troops of reserve. *Tilly*, with the skill of an experienced Captain, had chosen the advantage of the Sun and Wind; but the King with an Art not at all inferior, partly by protracting the time of the Battel, and partly by wrying his order, as he charged the Enemy, got it in a great measure to himself. With a soft pace then and in great order, upon the 7. day of September the Troops advance to the Battel, the Cannon on both sides by incessant shooting doing considerable hurt, but most to the *swedes*, who nevertheless immoveable, kept their order, waiting for the sign to give on. The King at last gave the command to charge, and it was no sooner given but the Troops on both sides were seen to be mingled and disordered. The lives of so many warlike men were now placed upon the points of their Swords, courage was encreased by blows, the wounded appeared in heaps, and the dead bodies were piled up a great height in the Field. In the heat of the Fight, the Chiefs themselves were engaged in the Battel, equalizing fortune and dangers. The Victory, it seemed, was uncertain, when after about an hours doubtful conflict the right Wing of the *Austrians* broke and dispersed the *saxons* left. But the King, after many Charges, pierced into and disordered the left of *Papenheim*, in such sort, that finding no more resistance, he had the liberty (causing the Troops of reserve to march) to go himself with fury to the assistance of the *saxons*, and charge the Imperialists with so much heat, that they quit the Field. And now there was no longer fighting, but slaughter and running away; till night coming on, the Conquerors then first ceased to pursue, and the conquered to fly. *Tilly* with many wounds, but very few Souldiers retires into *Hall*. The report was, that the number of the dead amounted to fifteen thousand; the rest were dispersed, leaving to the *swedes* the Field and the glory, with the Cannon and the Baggage.

After so signal a Victory *Germany* was divided as it were for a prey, betwixt the King and *Saxony*. The *saxe* chose *Bohemia* with the Provinces adjacent, leaving the rest to the King. It was no ill grounded opinion, that if the Army in a Body had advanced directly towards the patrimonial Countries of the *Austrians*, it would have found no resistance; for that confusion and fear subverting Councils, the speed of the Enemy would not have given time for redress or defence. But *Leipzig* being recovered, while the Elector takes in *Egra* and *Prague* with almost all the Kingdom of *Bohemia*,

An.Dom. *hemia*, the King bends towards *Upper Germany*, and travelling rather than fighting, with a career of prosperity, possesses himself of *1631.* *Franconia*, and of the *Lower Palatinate*, with the Countries of the Elector of *Mentz*, and so many other places along the *Rhine*, and elsewhere, that it almost appeared, that Fame had used less speed in publishing the success, than the King in subduing the Countries. He now sends to *Venice* *Lewis Christophoro Ratshio*, Cavalier, his Ambassador extraordinary, to communicate his advantages and designs, tending to the relief of the oppressed, to the liberty of *Germany*, and the humbling of the *Austrians*; whereupon having it in his power to advance the peace and security of *Italy*, he demanded money and assistance.

The Senate honouring in officious terms the prosperity of that Prince, condescended not to ought else, but to call to memory the much which the Republick had contributed to the liberty and honour of *Italy*; over which not without care and charge it was no less vigilant at present. The discourses of the felicity of these Armies, passing to this side of the Mountains, troubled with no small fears the minds of many, and in particular of the Court of *Rome*; who very unwillingly saw a King supported by great Forces, and so great fortune draw near to *Italy*, where perhaps he might find no fewer invitations than pretexts.

Apprehensions were increased from Nature and from Chance; for the Mount *Vesuvius*, which with its burnings had, it seems, formerly presaged either the inundations of people or the grievous calamities of *Italy*, cast up flames with such violence and astonishment, that the City of *Naples* was afraid either to be swallowed in the Earthquake, or to be buried in the ashes. The shaking overturned houses, stopped the course of Rivers, repulsed the Sea, tossed and opened the Mountains: In sum, there were evaporated by contrary and hideous effects Waters, Flames, and Althes, by which some neighbouring places did not only remain covered, but it was doubted, lest the respiration of the air being taken away, that whole people might be suffocated. But Heaven being appeased by publick penitencies, the groans of an innumerable multitude being every where heard, such a wind arose from the contrary quarter, as carried them to fall beyond the Sea as far as *Catago*, and other places of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*. The sulphureous aliment being at last consumed in the bowels of the earth, the fire extinguished.

But *Germany*, amidst the fears of *Italy*, experiencing with strange vicissitudes more sensible mischiefs; the prosperity of the Emperour, which a little while ago threatned the Hereticks, could not now serve the Catholics for a support or countenance, because from the highest mountain of divine judgments was let loose that stone which makes the strongest of Empires to totter. The Elector of *Trier*, seeing him of *Mentz* driven out of his Country, took occasion to publish the protection which *France* had secretly some years before consented to him, when he, offended with the Emperour for not having adjudged the Abby of *St. Maximine*, which he pretended was annexed to

to that Crown, and now opening the Gates to his Forces puts *Hermetstein* into their hands. *Bavaria*, who forced to play fast and loose, without separating himself from the *Austrians*, but no less to hazard himself with them, had likewise made a late Treaty with the *French*, in which they promising him the conservation of the Electoral Vote in his Family, both the King and Duke obliged themselves mutually to defend those Countries, which they then possessed, with a certain number of Horse and Foot. By this alliance *Richelieu* obtained the separation of *Bavaria* as head of the Catholic League from giving assistance to *Lorraine*; because that Duke, after the Conspiracies with the *English*, despairing of ever reconciling himself to that Minister, had not only given himself to the protection of the *Austrians*; but during the War of *Italy* had perswaded the Emperour to fortifie *Moyenvich*, a place of consequence upon the Frontier of *Metz*, and of the jurisdiction of that Bishoprick, and afterward to deliver the place to him, to the end that with it he might cover his own Country, and withall upon occasion give passage for the invading of *France*. He had afterwards received *Orleans* in his Country; and now though the protection which he expected from the Emperour appeared weakned, nevertheless provoking the King with offences, and the Cardinal with disgusts, drew unreasonable troubles into his bosom. The said Duke of *Orleans*, by the suggestion of the Queen Mother and of his Sister in Law, no less than of his Favourites, taking the plausible pretext of ill Government, of a sudden retires from Court. The King now comprehending, that both by domestick and foreign encouragements his Brother went about to obtain the Kingdom in present rather than hope any longer for it, follows him towards *Orleans* with so much speed, that the Duke not willing to be taken by force, nor to trust to any accord, departs towards *Burgundy*, where with the Duke of *Bellegard*, Governour of that Province, he had already contrived intelligences and agreements. The King coming thither also and the Cardinal, constrained him to pass into the *Franche Conté*, and from thence to take refuge in *Lorraine*.

Lewis, well to secure himself first in the Kingdom, reforms the Court of the Queen his Wife, discarding the persons suspected, and forbidding the Ambassador of *Spain* to visit her in private. Afterwards brings his Mother to *Compiègne*, and of a sudden parting thence, leaves her there, kept under the care of the Marechal d'*Estrée*. His will after was, that she should be removed to *Molins*, a Town not strong, and in the heart of the Kingdom, giving her as a token of honour the Government of the *Bourbonnois*; but the Queen interposing delays by the pretext of her weakness, insinuated to the Governour of *la Chapelle*, that giving her entrance, she should resign again the place to him; and in this confidence, whilst the Cardinal privy to all, to facilitate her flight dexterously causes the Guards to be slackened, she secretly departs. But coming to *la Chapelle* finds it in Arms against her, there being entred into it the Marquis de *Vardes*, Father of the Governour, sent thither seasonably by the

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Cardinal

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An.Dom. Cardinal himself; whereupon entrance being denied her, she was forced to pass into the Province of *Henault*, and thence to be conveyed to *Brussels*, where being received with great tenderness by the *Infanta Isabella*, she spreads throughout the whole world the complaints of her condition; that, being driven out of that happy Kingdom, where she had heretofore commanded, she was now in her old age put to seek for entertainment, and perhaps a Grave, amongst strangers. The *Spaniards* hoped from these domestick broils in *France* great advantages, having the Mother of the King in their hand, and the Brother in the house of a Prince their friend. Nevertheless they could not with Forces proportionable to so great a design promote the disturbances of the Kingdom, being engaged in *Germany*, and beaten in *Flanders* by the *Hollanders*, whilst by the *Scheld* they were attempting a surprise in *Zealand*. They saw *Orleans* also not well provided with Forces, nor with the intelligencies they expected: for those, who, as it was said, were to take Arms and kindle the War in the Kingdom, being prevented by the vigilance and authority of the Cardinal, had been able to effect nothing, but provide for their safety by running away. The Duke of *Lorraine*, who had in his hand the pledge of the Successor of the Crown, thought himself secure; yet to bind him faster, persuades him to marry *Margaret* his Sister, a Princess of great virtue and rare beauty. On the advice whereof, *Lewis* was inflamed with extreme anger, and *Richelieu* taking hold of the occasion to revenge himself, persuades him to cause the *Maréchal de la Force* to invest *Moscowich*, which the Imperialists being not able to relieve, nor the Duke of *Lorraine* daring without their help to attempt, it was within a few days rendred.

The *French* Army would then have proceeded farther, if *Carlo*, in person humbling himself to the King, had not made this agreement; To renounce all intelligence and junction prejudicial to France; to cause the Rebels and enemies to the King to go out of his Country, denying them entrance for the future, and to join to the Kings Army four thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, with which entering into *Germany* the third part of the Conquests should be the Dukes. For warranty he delivers for three years the Town of *Marshall* to the French; the King promising not to make Peace without comprehending him in it. This Agreement concluded the last day of the year, men truly judged, that on the Dukes side it would be no longer lived, than the necessity which dictated it at present. The King, to make it appear, that the more *Richelieu* was attacked by envy and hatred, the more he embraced him in his favour, created him Duke and Peer of *France*. So that by those applauses, with which, over and above the rejoycings of those of his own party, fame exalted him, he vindicated himself from certain invectives, which spread abroad in print by unknown Pens, came to be published by the discontented, and especially by those in the Low Countries. In *Venice* also, at the requisition of the Ambassador d' *Avan*, he was by the great Council received in to the Order of the *Patricians* with unanimous Votes.

THE

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THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE NINTH BOOK.

WE shall now describe some peaceable years of the Republick, rendred more joyous from the memory of past calamities, and the hideousness of dangers undergone, out of which, amidst Fire and Sword, she was with safety and glory rescued, after the assistance of Heaven by the constancy and counsels of the Citizens, rather than by her own strength or the assistances of Strangers. With these better times began the Principality of *Francesco Erizzo*, assumed to be Duke, after the death of *Nicholo Contarini*, with great applause, for having through the course of many years assisted the Country with counsel, and joyntly defended it by Arms. And because he held the Generalship of the *Terra firma*, there was put into that Charge, as his Successor, *Luigi Giorgio*, at that time *Proveditor* in the Army. But States being like the Sea where it fluctuates, though there be no storm, there arose at this time several diversities in opinion and unkindnesses with the Pope, which, though they molested not *Italy* with Arms, distracted nevertheless mens minds with troublesome business.

Urban, after the death of *Francesco Maria della Rovere*, the last Duke of *Urbino*, had united to the Church that most noble Fief. And because during the life of the Duke, who was now grown very old, he kept a Prelate in that Country, which assisted in all affairs, he had after his death so little trouble to possess himself of it, that

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Taddeo

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Taddeo Barberino, Prince of *Palestrina*, entring into it with Souldiers to take quietly possession of it, it looked as if the old Dominion was rather continued than another new one introduced. The Pope under the pretext of the Commotions of *Italy* was already in Arms, expecting this accident, to the end that if in so great a confusion of affairs any body should go about to disturb him, he might be able to maintain his right with a puissant Force. But the Princes rather offered him to strive their assistance, and exhorted him to invest his Nephews with it, some believing to oblige him, others, by dismembring that State, desiring that the Church should not so much increase its temporal Dominion. The Pope having regard to the severe Bulls of his Predecessors, and apprehending to leave to his House a Patrimony of unquietness and trouble, rather than a peaceable Dominion, made shew to think his Kinsmen more worthy of the Principality by refusing it, than by retaining it. He only confers, as the Spoils of so noble a Conquest, upon his Nephew *Taddeo* the Government of *Rome*, a long time enjoyed by the Family of *Rovere*. This dignity retains a certain ancient and venerable memory of the *Pretor Pretorii*, in the times of the *Cæsars* of so much esteem and authority; though at present there remained nothing of it but the dress and the name. From hence brake forth a great distaste with the Princes, because the Prefect or Governour pretending precedence of Ambassadors, who in the most solemn Functions assisting at the Popes Chair of State, representing the members of all Christendom united to their head, did all dissent from it. The *Barberins* attempted to gain the Emperour; because from his example other great Princes would certainly depend, and they omitted not any means, offering him great succours and powerful assistances. But in vain; for the Emperour, resolving not to depart from what was fit, and complaining that Merchandize for private respects was made of his necessity, pulled upon him by maintaining of a cause in which Religion had the chief part, orders his Ambassadour to abstain from the Churches, and the other Ministers of the Crown followed him, considering the Pope in his own house, and in the cause of his Kindred, Uncle, and Party no less than a Prince. From this common distaste of the Princes rose afterwards a particular one of the *Venetians*; for *Giovanni Pesari*, Cavalier Ambassadour of the Republick, meeting casually in a street with the Prefect, who stopping his Coach, and the other not observing it, by reason of the obscurity, it being now late, though he civilly caused an excuse to be made for it, yet the Prefect taking offence at it; meets him another time on purpose, having corrupted the Ambassadors Coach-man, who feigning that his Hat was fallen off, staid the Horses, and run his way. *Pesari* was no sooner got home to his house, but the Coachmans flight was backed by some armed men, to rescue him from the punishment he deserved.

The Court of *Rome* always talking, and always greedy of occasions for it, measuring things by appearances and shadows, judges such Formalities to be of no less account than bloody Battels and important

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important Conquests use to be esteemed elsewhere. It being on this occasion in some disorder, and the other Ambassadors taking it for their common interest, offer themselves to the *Venetian* to do him right. The Senate, knowing that by the support of the Uncle the party of the *Barberins* would be too strong in *Rome*, order *Pesari*, that, for a publick resentment, he should immediately leave the City, without taking leave of the Pope or his Nephews, and at *Venice* they suspend giving audience to the *Nuntio*. With this another disgust was interwoven, upon occasion that *Urban*, at a time which was judged very unseasonable, while Christendom was in a flame, and *Italy* destroyed betwixt War and Plague, had in the year past by his Bull decreed to the Cardinals, the Ecclesiastical Electors, and the great Master of *Malta*, the Title of Eminence, forbidding them to receive any other, except from Kings. The Republick notwithstanding continued to write in the stile accustomed; but some of the Cardinals taking occasion from the affliction which they saw it would be to the Pope and his Kindred, refused the Letters, to the great resentment of the Senate. There were added sharp contests betwixt those of *Loreo*, subjects to the *Venetians*, and those of *Arriano*, which belong to those of *Ferrara*, where the Cardinal *Palotta*, the Legate, disturbing the undoubted Confines of the *Venetians*, by imprisonings and other mischiefs, shewed an intention to attempt greater novelties, by erecting new high-ways, making the *Po* useles, and changing the course of the Waters.

Nor were the *Venetians* wanting, by equal mischiefs, to repair themselves; but *Luca Pesaro*, Captain of the Gulph, entring into the *Sacca di Goro* with certain Gallies and armed Barques, stopped the Ships, which with Victuals and Merchandize, contrary to the Decrees of the Republick, passed by Sea towards *Ferrara*. He destroyed also in the River the works newly made to divert its course; whereupon spirits imbittering, it looked as if things would have proceeded further; because Troops increasing on both sides, the Ecclesiasticks on their Confines raised a Fort called *delle Bocchette*, and the *Venetians* opposed another calling it *della Donzella*.

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To the end this first heat of Arms might not proceed to greater engagements, the *French* Ministers interposed, proposing a suspension of offences, and that the Souldiers should be withdrawn from those Borders, where just at that time the Agreement was ready to be concluded, it hapned, that in an occasion some of those of the Popes were killed, and thirty three taken Prisoners, with hurt on the *Venetians* side. But the Pope and the Republick giving their promise to King *Lewis*, not to offend one another by Arms, and to remove the souldiery, there remained a larger field for Treaty, by which some of the difficulties were quieted; for as much as the Pope, affirming to Monsieur de *Brassac*, the *French* Ambassador, that concerning what had hapned at *Rome* to *Pesari*, he had not till now had

An.Dom. had notice of it, much less that his Nephew had been concerned in rescuing the Coach-man out of his house, expressed himself particularly discontented at it, and caused them to be punished with Banishment that were guilty of the offence. Declares over and above to the Cardinals, that the Republick was, as it had always been, connumerated with the rest of the Kings comprehended in the exception of the Title of Eminence, and commanded them to receive the Letters in the wonted form. The Senate resting satisfied, admitted the *Nuntio* to Audience, and sent *Luigi Contarini* Cavalier for ordinary Ambassadour to the Pope. But the differences about the Borders, as being of an ancient date, met with greater difficulties, though to end them it was resolved to send Commissioners on the place; whereupon from the Pope were appointed *Ottavio Corsini*, President of *Romagna*, and *Fabio Chigi*, Vice-Legat of *Ferrara*, and from the Republick *Baptista Nani* and *Luigi Mocenigo*.

But the meeting was no sooner compleat, but the business was intricicated in the doubt, what the ancient Confines were, which by both parties had been interrupted by reciprocal acts of possession. The Ecclesiasticks came afterwards to lay claim to certain new-grown Lands (*Alluvioni*) which may in a manner be called the Excrescencies of the *Po*, where with several Streams impetuously pouring forth, it breaks the Waters of the Sea, and then meeting with a greater force, slackning its course, leaves sand and forms certain moorish places, which sometimes lying bare, sometimes covered with the salt water, vary according to the course of the Stream, and the blowing of the winds, their situation, extent, and prospect. The contest seemed of no value, but the parties judged it of great importance, especially the *Venetians*; because it carried along with it the Rights and Jurisdiction of the Sea, the which although the Ecclesiasticks confessed belonged to the Republick, their Commissioners nevertheless contended for those new parts of the Waters, pretending that they were extended beyond their Borders. On the other side the *Venetians* dissented to treat about it, as not comprehended in their present Commission, nor in that of 1613. when the same business of the Confines was in debate; but without effect. So that the Commissioners themselves not agreeing, no not so much as upon the grounds of their business, *Nani* falling sick was forced to retire, and *Corsini* follows him, returning to his Government. *Chigi* and *Mocenigo* remained there idle for a time. The business at last was brought into *Venice* by the Mediation of the *French* Ministers, and the Treaty continued part of the year following, the *Venetians* declaring themselves always ready to accept those conditions, which with the Jurisdiction of the Sea, of the Mouths of the Rivers, and of the *Sacca di Goro*, preserved the ancient Covenants with those of *Ferrara*, and the power to divert the prejudices of Ports and Channels, which are the veins and heart of the Capital City.

These differences were of small moment in respect of the Rupture which now fatally drew near betwixt *France* and *Spain*. King *Lewis* kept an Army betwixt the *Adoselle* and the *Rhine* to bridle the Duke of *Lorrain*,

An.Dom. *Lorrain*, that he should not deviate from the late agreements, as also to extend his Authority in *Germany*, and invite the Catholics to shelter themselves under his protection. The Archbishop of *Trier* served to others for an example; but the Chapter of that Church, not approving his resolutions, brought a *Spanish* Garrison into the City. Whereupon the Marshal *d'Esiré* besieges it, and in a short time taking it, the Elector was confirmed there with a *French* Garrison.

Coblentz also, kept by the *Spaniards*, and taken by the *Swedes*, was delivered to *France*, as appertaining to the said Elector. It was notwithstanding discovered, that the *French* now either envied the prosperity of his Arms, or feared the neighbourhood of the King *Gustavus*; the Marshal *de Brezé* being thereupon sent Ambassadour, Neutralities were proposed for the Catholic League and for *Bavaria*. But without effect; because the *Swede* pretending that he should wholly separate himself from *Ferdinand*, and for security should deliver over some places to him, besides the restitution of the *Palatinate*, and of all that which the Catholic Arms had from the year 1618. possessed, *Bavaria* assents not to it, and drew the Elector of *Collen* his Brother into the same resolution: whereupon the King, leaving some Chiefs to make progress in *Francony* and *Westphalia*, advances against *Bavaria* with the greatest power of his Forces. Having taken *Donauwert*, he easily passes the *Danube*, drawing near to the *Lech*, upon the brink whereof *Tilli* had ordered his defence. But *Gustavus*, under the favour of many Cannon, passed it with great slaughter of the Catholics, amongst which *Tilli* was killed, and *Altdringer* hurt. The *Swedes* found, upon what to vent their cruelty by Fire and Sword, and to satiate their covetousness with Booty in so flourishing and populous a Country.

Munich, the Residence of the Dukes, and some other places, yielded with little opposition. *Ingolstat* resisted; but the King being received in *Ausburg* with incredible applauses of those Protestants, fears began to increase in *Italy*, amorously looked at so near hand by the King, as that, which as much as it renders its people with its opulence contented, so much by its wealth, pleasures, and situation allures Strangers. The Governour of *Milan* in particular doubtful, left the King by sending men to *Roban* should attempt the *Valtelline*, sends Souldiers to the Confines.

Ferdinand fearing, lest the *Swedes* through *Bavaria* should attack his Patrimonial Provinces in *Flanke*, resolves, to great mischiefs to apply a desperate remedy, and knowing, that together with money faith failing, and with faith credit, Armies were not to be set on foot without gold and the reputation of a great Captain, he recalls *Wallenstein*, who had in an equal measure gained Glory and Wealth, and undergone, no less with applause among the Souldiery than with skill, the Generalship of Armies, and agrees to all the conditions he could devise to pretend to. They consisted in an absolute power, with which he should order War and Peace, having the Command of all the Armies which were in the Empire, belonging either to the Emperour, the *Spaniards*,

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1632. Spaniards or the Catholick League; that the King of Hungary should not go into Bohemia, nor to the Army; that he should dispose of charges, punishments, and rewards; of quarters, contributions, and of Conquests; without the recovery of the Dukedom of Mechelburg he should not make Peace, and in recompence of his merit and charges, some one of the hereditary Provinces should be assigned to him.

In sum, the Empire was divided betwixt Ferdinand and Wallenstein, but with this difference, that the General, without expecting commands, had power to do every thing, and the Emperour could only command that which the other was not pleased to do. Wherefore from that very time it was judged, that neither the one would be contented to remain a private man, nor the other as a Prince would be long able to suffer him. He applying himself in Moravia to raise an Army, easily completed it, Souldiers flocking from all parts to his reputation and pay.

Nor did Saxony give him the least disturbance, intent only upon Conquests in Bohemia and Silesia; and perhaps desirous also, that some stop might be put to the boundless progresses of the King Gustavus. The Emperour demanded of the Catholick Princes speedy assistance, for that purpose sending into Italy the Baron de Rabata, and, taking it for a common cause of Religion, in which it belonged to the Pope by his example to exceed all others, sends to him the Cardinal Pafman Ambassador extraordinary. Urban was very unwilling to be thus pressed, because such instances were not to be disjoined from reproofs and protests; wherefore avoiding to admit such an Ambassador, he alledged, that a Cardinal, honoured with the Purple and a holy Character, could not be employed in the service of secular Princes. Pafman, a man of profound learning and most discreet in all his actions, replying, that the interest of Religion obliged every one, and in particular the Ecclesiasticks, to take care of it, and procure its defence; declares, that if the dignity or habit hindered him from the exercise of that Ministry, he renounced and laid down every thing, being ready also to speak in his shirt, so the imminent necessities of the Church Catholick might be provided for.

At last Urban, seeing that the excluding the instances would be more complained of, than the not hearing of them, admitted him, and heard succours demanded, with a powerful eloquence, as of a Pope and of a Father, in the dangers of Religion, and the urgent necessities of his Sons. His first answers were made up of excuses, that his Treasury was empty, and that he wanted power, which chiefly arose from the German Armies having in these last years unreasonably disturbed Italy, and obliged the Church it self, together with offensive jealousies, to excessive charges. Whereupon, offending mens minds rather than satisfying the demands, the Austrian Ministers resolved to assemble the Cardinals subjects, and the friends they had in Court, to compel the Pope with shame, and pressing of him yet more home. For which purpose Cardinal Borgia in the Consistory with others, who had a mind to shew inclination

nation to the Austrians, admonished the Pope, and presented to him a protest in writing, laying in a manner to his charge, that he neglected in so important a necessity the duty of his Pastoral Office. Urban, to justify himself to the Catholick world, publishes instead of a Croisada, which had been required of him, a Jubilé, by which he invites Christendom with publick prayers to pacifie the divine wrath of God, and laying a certain imposition upon Ecclesiastical Goods in Italy, raises some money for the supply of the Emperours necessities. But of those Cardinals, who had been so bold to present the protest, he tormented some with his long and great displeasure, forced others to retire out of Rome, as Borgia for one, by a rigorous Bull which obliged Bishops to their residence.

As for Rabata, he brought nothing back from the Princes but excuses, and the Duke of Mantua in particular shewed him the horrid spectacle of his wounds yet bleeding. He desired succours of the Venetians, and offered an alliance, producing certain Articles, which he affirmed would be assented to by the Spaniards and the Elector of Bavaria, for the defence of the Catholick Religion in the dangers of the Empire. It was generally believed, that not so much the hopes to obtain succours, as the desire to make France jealous, suggested the design; it being observed, that at the same time there arrived, in the name of the Governour of Milan at Venice, the Senator Piccinardi to attest the just intention of the Catholick King for Peace, the desire for that purpose to unite himself with the Princes of Italy in a strict alliance, and in particular that the Republick would contribute counsel, example, and endeavours. He concealed not the jealousies, that the Governour had for the bringing in of nine hundred French with Thoiras into Casal, and prefigured troubles and stirrs about it. The Senate answered to all with officious expressions of a neutrality, which it had resolved to observe, declaring its earnest endeavours applied to Peace; and, considering the State of Italy scarce recovered out of its great evils, exhorted, that employing that zeal which all have to quiet, the appearances and jealousies of relapsing into troubles might be removed. The like endeavours were used with France, which seemed equally pressing, offering alliances and Treaties. But the Senate, holding their interest and Arms engaged for the security of Mantua, refused in effect every thing that might hasten new troubles in Italy, which though quiet, yet under fear, apprehended stranger and greater accidents. Nor amongst the least was reckoned the suspicion, that the Spaniards designed the surprise of Mantua, to oppose it to Pignerol and Casal, where the Duke, overcome by the persuasions of the French Ministers, and of the jealousies, which they represented to him to be of imminent danger, had (as hath been before said) admitted their Garrison. It was commonly spoken, that the Spaniards were to intrude themselves into Saboneda, by marrying the Princess of Stigliana to Giovanni Carolo, Brother of the Great Duke, and upon the report thereof, the Marquess de Pamar offered himself to attempt the surprise; and to deliver the place to the Prince

An.Dom. of Buzzolo, to whom he said it did belong, if France and the Republic 1632. lick would send their assistance.

The Venetians did not believe, that it was fit to promote those mischiefs, which they feared but too near, if the Duke of Mantua dying, and the young Princess coming to marry, that State should be exposed to new contingencies, and the rights of the Family be divided. For that purpose there was solicited in Rome a dispensation of marriage betwixt the Duke and his Daughter-in-Law, but the Pope denied it, it seeming an unfit thing, that on the Hearse of the Son should be made the Nuptial Bed of the Father. To all this, to augment suspicions, was added the great preparations the Spaniards made in Italy, particularly in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, where money was provided, men were raised, Ships were making ready, with other provisions, shewing thoughts of War and designs of some undertaking. But at last every thing being imbarqued, six thousand Foot and one thousand Horse were seen to pass into Spain, to foment the commotions of France.

Orleans, dismissed out of Lorrain by virtue of the Agreement, repairs to his Mother at Brussels, giving hopes to the Spaniards to raise in the Kingdom a great party in his favour, to which there was no doubt but the Foreigners would join. In France there still continued against Richelieu hatred, and envy, the wonted shadow of great favours, and was more and more encreased, as provoked from the punishment which was inflicted on the Marshal of Marillac, who, generally esteemed, if not innocent, at least guilty but of very small faults, was beheaded by the sentence of the Judges, who, it was conceived, looked more at the severe mind of the Cardinal, that implacably hated him, than at the offence. The Duke of Monmorency, besides this, ill satisfied that he had not the recompences which he pretended due to his merit, offered Orleans the Province of Languedoc, whereof he was Governour; and others were not wanting, for many causes and various aims, to be ready to encrease the Faction. The Spaniards promised to send an Army beyond the Pyrenean, to second Monmorency, and give Orleans the command of another in the Low Countries.

Richelieu on this side eluded the designs, both by threatening those Provinces to come upon their backs with the Army, which lay about Triers, and by inducing the Hollander's by the strength of money to go powerfully into the Field. The King now, whilst Pont a Mouson was with little opposition rendered to his Army in Germany, takes in Bar le Due, and S. Michael, and drawing near to Nancy, obliges Carlo, who with many excuses turned himself every way, to make it believed that his Kinsman was come into his house without his consent, to make him be gone, and confirming by a new Treaty the conditions of the first, to yield to the Crown in propriety the County of Clermont, and to deliver the Towns of Astene and Jamets for some years in Hostage. Orleans, uncertain what to undertake, had not above two thousand Horse, part of his own Followers, and part of the Spanish Troops; but having cast himself with-

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out Forces proportionable to the design into an engagement of such weight, to put things as far as they could go, enters in Burgundy, in hope to give a beginning to a general Revolt in the Kingdom. The Cardinal, exalted by the equal successes of Fame and Fortune, promoting it by wit and artifice, had so disposed of things, that not a man durst open his Gates to the Duke; whereupon straightened one Flank by Schomberg, and followed in the Rear by the Marshal de la Force, he was forced to cast himself into Languedoc, though the agreements with certain Governours of places had not as yet been perfected, and that the arrival of the Ships, expected out of Italy with Souldiers, being retarded, the Spaniards were not in a readiness to appear in the field. Nevertheless Orleans was received by Monmorancy, and by many of the Province, which united in a Body acknowledged him Lieutenant General for the King against the present Government. But the Marquels de Fosse, Governour of Montpellier, refuses to deliver that place to him, and some were driven out of Narbone, who contrived to bring in the Spaniards. Discord afterwards, either sowed by the Art of Richelieu, or rising from the nature of such Unions, where the chief commands precariously, brake the neck of that Party; for many desiring the command, and in particular Monmorancy, D'Elbeuf, and Paularens (Orleans his Favorite) were so disgusted, that, to content them, there was a necessity to divide the Army into several Bodies.

The King, assigning the command of the Armies for the keeping of the Frontiers to the Prince of Conde, and to the Count of Soissons, who being of the Blood Royal willingly embraced, by the downfall of Orleans, the promotion of their hopes to the Crown, hastens towards those parts, but the storm quickly vanished; for La Force dispersed some men that were getting into a body, and several designs which were forming in several parts, and Schomberg near to Chastelnodari, meeting Orleans, joyned with Monmorancy, ballancing with the advantage of a narrow passage the Forces, which he had less, charges him with so much boldness and so good fortune, that at the first encounter, there being slain the Count de Moret, Son, but not legitimate, of Henry IV, de Riex, and de la Fenillade, the rest was all dispersed. Monmorancy being hurt, was taken Prisoner, and Orleans saved himself by flight. This blow adding to the defeat discredit, the Gentry and the chief Cities yielded who could soonest, the King and Cardinal being come so near as to receive the Surrender of some, and withal punish the disobedience of others.

Orleans demanded peace and pardon upon conditions, that seemed to exceed the fortune of one conquered: for he pretended the Liberty of Monmorancy, the abolition of all faults for his Followers, the restitution of the places of Lorrain, the return of Queen-mother, and for himself a place of security; but he was determinately given to understand, That only by his own reputation and the Kings clemency his fault could be covered; for the crimes of others, he ought not to blemish himself with them; the King being resolved that henceforward Rebellion should not be rewarded, and that his Subjects should not find be-

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An. Dom. *1632.* *nest or security but in duty and obedience.* Reduced therefore to be without followers and without places, he was forced to receive any conditions, *Richelieu* aiming so to discredit him, that, he abandoning those that had taken part with him, no man hereafter might dare to follow him, or trust to depend upon him. He was no sooner retired to *Champagne* (his Country-house) but he heard, that *Monmorancy* with a severe but necessary example, by Sentence of the Parliament of *Tholouse*, had lost his head. A death without doubt unworthy those famous actions, with which he had adorned the years, as yet but young, of his life; but which, he having so often in fight courageously encountered at the head of so many dangers, was with equal undauntedness undergone by him, amidst the unhappiness of the misdeemeanours and the ignominy of the Sentence. *Orleans* greatly moved, published, that *Monsieur de Bouillon*, in the Treaty made with him, had secretly promised his indemnity, and therefore complaining to have been deceived, makes an escape once more into *Lorraine*. The Cardinal, after a short indisposition restored to health, and having discarded the *Garde-sceau Chasteauneuf*, for having had the boldness by secret Engines to aspire to the Ministry, proves no less happy in sowing civil discord betwixt his Enemies abroad, than he had been in rooting them out of the Kingdom.

Count *Henry Van de Berg* had the Command in *Flanders* of the *Spanish* Army, notwithstanding the envy, emulation, and suspicions of those Ministers, who laid to his charge the holding intelligence with *Orange*, to whom he was nearly allied, and who, when they passed the *Issel*, was backward in oppressing the *United Provinces* to extend the Prosperity and Domination of the King. Vexed therefore with many disgusts, and observed with a jealous eye, he at last endures it no longer, retiring on a sudden into *Holland*, and thence passing to *Liege*, from thence inviting the people to shake off the yoke, and redeem their liberty, in imitation of the *Helvetians* by driving away the Strangers. Having with secret encouragement from *France* got together some Troops, he removes to *Aken*, in hope to form a third party; but seeing no body come to him, was forced, not without some discredit, to put himself under the protection of the States. The *Spaniards* hereupon appeared to be much distracted, and full of cares, fearing lest the Nobility should be of the same mind, and the disposition of the people wavering; whereupon, to entertain them with an appearing satisfaction, they assembled at *Brussels* the States of the Provinces; a thing, which as prejudicial and of danger, had been disused for a very long time. Nor did it now prove of advantage, because some, admitted to the liberty of delivering their opinions, and to make demands, thought to moderate at least, if not shake off, the Dominion of *Spain*, and they sent Deputies to the *Hague* to treat of an Agreement; but the States insisted, that before entering into the business they should drive the *Spaniards* out of the Country, which not being in their power, being oppressed with Armies, and bridled by Citadels, served never-

theless to disunite them, and make the *Spaniards* so jealous, that not being willing to use the people longer to such discourses, Command came from *Madrid*, that the Assembly should be dissolved. Whereupon many, knowing that they were rendered suspect for having truly declared their Judgments, left the Country with better success than those, who trusting too far, were, though after some years, severely punished.

The *Hollanders* taking advantage of these discords, invited by the *Swedes* by a solemn Ambassage, and induced by *France* with a considerable sum of money, after having taken *Venlo* and *Ruremond*, attacked *Maebricht*, a place of great strength. The Marquess of *Santa Croce*, General of the *Spanish* Army, knowing himself not able alone to relieve it, with Presents and Intreaties invites *Papenheim*, who thereupon abandoning the Elector of *Cölen*, who suffered much from the *Swedes*, comes with the Imperial Troops to joyn with him, and with incredible boldness attacks the *Hollanders* Camp. But *Santa Croce* remaining an immoveable Spectator of the success, the *Germans* found the Lines so strong and well raised, and provided with so many Cannon, that with much loss they were forced to retire. The place then, after a Siege of almost three months finding it self, having lost all the Out-works, straightened by the approaches, with open Breaches, and the Ramparts blown up with Mines, capitulates with honourable conditions the Surrender; the Garrison, reduced to fifteen hundred men, marching out in sight of the *Spanish* and *German* Armies. Upon this conquest, being an action of great reputation, they got the Towns of *Orsoy* and *Limburg* with other places thereabouts, which extended the contributions very far. Nor had at this time the Count of *Spilsons* with a considerable Army given a little Jealousie on the side of *France*, so that the *Spaniards* found themselves obliged to oppose to him a body not inferior under *Carlo Colonna*. Thus the Crowns, being not yet broken out into War, exercised openly the hatred of their Ministers, who employed their wits with equal cunning, but different fortune; for as to the Cardinal, the felicity of success did frequently out-run his desires and go beyond his designs, whereas on the other side the *Conde Duke* could not conceive a thought, but it was enough to render the effect abortive and unhappy.

But the death of King *Gustavus* looked as if it might make a change in affairs every where. He with the progress he made in *Bavaria*, had designed to fall into *Austria*, in hope, that in that, which is called the *Upper*, the Peasants ill affected to the present State, would have risen, and the minds as well as the forces would have been raised of the *Protestants*, who concealing themselves, or making an open profession together, made no small Party in that Country. He therefore had first made a course into *Sweden*, and all depending at his appearance, *Ulm*, *Memmingen*, and other places fell easily into his power. In the mean time *Wallestein* in *Moravia* quietly compleats his Army, and left *Gallas* with a small body in *Bohemia* to attend upon *Saxony*. But understanding that some of the *Protestants*

An. Dom. 1632. *stanti*, assembled in *Torgan*, had resolved to join with that *Elect*, he moves with his whole Army, and coming to *Prague* recovers the City without much dispute. From thence he had a mind to give *Saxony* a Blow, numbring the losses of *Bavaria* amongst his contentments. Nevertheless, called back by the clamours of the Duke *Maximilian*, and his entreaties, rather than the Emperours commands, he leaves *Callas* with a new re-inforcement to oppose *Arnheim*, General of the *Saxons*, and with a slow march takes his way towards *Bavaria*, leaving in his passage through the *Upper Palatinate* so many marks of military license, and his own hatred against the Duke, that it looked as if he went rather to ruine him, than carry him relief. Afterwards, near *Nuremberg*, a City, as is known, amongst the free ones to be one of the greatest, but also the most tenacious amongst those of the *Protestants*, he intrenches himself. The King could not suffer the ruine of it, without loosing that credit which he had with that party; whereupon he made haste to draw near to it, and encamping about it, was in place of a Garrison to the City, which supplied necessities and conveniences to the Army. This our Age, and perhaps scarce any past, had not seen assembled together so powerful Forces, reckoned in both Armies about eighty thousand Souldiers, besides followers and useless people, which amounted to an incredible sum. Victuals nevertheless were plenty, and discipline flourished by the vigilance and skill of the Chiefs, who had art and valour not unsutable to their strength. Each pretended to overcome his Enemy, either by tempting him with inconveniencies, or provoking him with boldness.

But *Wallestein* placed his hopes more in prolonging the War, than precipitating his Councils, and the King, placing all in reputation and fortune, desired to come to an engagement. After having offered Battel to no purpose, he assaults the Enemies quarters, and at the first fury the *Bavarians*, who were quartered thereabout, giving way, he hoped to have mastered the Trenches; and in effect broke into them, but finding greater resistance from the high and difficult situation, it gave time to *Fridland* to come to the relief, and to repulse him. Three thousand of the *Swedes* were killed upon the place, and it being the first encounter, wherein whether it was fancy or fortune that deceived *Gustavus*, it is not to be said how afflicted he was at it, and how much that title of *Invincible*, which common opinion had attributed to him, remained prejudiced. Inflamed by a generous impatience for so long and unsuccessful stay, leaving in the City a numerous Garrison, he marching towards *Francony*, sending *Banier* into *Bavaria*, to keep the Duke from the Imperialists, and dispute with him the re-conquests of his Countries, because, whilst the Armies had been employed about *Nuremberg*, the *Elect* *Maximilian* with the assistance of the people had recovered most of what he had lost, and making advantage of others dangers, had brought a Garrison into the Imperial City of *Ratisbone*. *Wallestein* follows the Kings Army, who directing his

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An. Dom. 1632. march towards *Winemberg*, thought by drawing the Imperialists after him, to consume and weary them, to overcome them afterwards more easily, when he should meet with a fit place, and an occasion seasonable to give Battel. But *Wallestein* considering, that for the approaching Winter he lost these better quarters, the further he went from those convenient Provinces, ceasing to follow, goes into *Misnia*, taking *Leipzig* and every other place of any moment. He had a mind in *Saxony* to attack *Dresden*, the residence of the *Elect*, not so much to divert him from making progress in *Silesia*, as to chastise him by taking quarters in his Country. Thence in the Spring he designed to go into *Meckelburg*, to recover that Province, causing *Papenbaim* to be his forerunner, who in the mean time in the *Lower Saxony* attempted important Conquests. The King perswaded by the prayers and dangers of the *Elect*, or rather by his protests, that if he abandoned him he would incline to Peace, joining *Bannier* sets forwards to his succours; whereupon *Fridland* recalling *Papenbaim*, thought to possess *Naumburg* to stop his way; but prevented by the King, resolves to protract time, and sends back *Papenbaim* to relieve *Colen*, by another body of the *Swedes* besieged. Nor was the King much inclined to a Battel; but seeing the Imperialists weakened, follows them to *Lutzen*, a small Town not far from *Leipzig*. There *Fridland* doubting to be constrained, with great disadvantage, to some encounter, recalls in all haste *Papenbaim*, who willingly keeping himself in a command apart, was engaged in the Siege of *Hall*. But the King hastened the Battel so much, that *Papenbaim* hardly arrived in time with those of his Troops which were in the greatest readines.

The sixteenth of November was the day, on which with the blood of sixty thousand Souldiers, that in both Armies boldly exposed their lives, it seemed that the fortune and glory both of the King and of the *Austrians* was to be decided. The Troops were the day before marshalled into their distinct orders; the Imperialists composed of great Battalions of Foot, with the Horse that defended the flanks; the *Swedes* in two very long Lines, mingled with Foot and Horse. Each had great store of Cannon in the front, nor could there on either side be seen better order, or greater daring; Nevertheless the Fight was deferred, the King seeming irresolute and troubled; but expressed himself, that for reputation it was fit to fight, doubting nevertheless that Heaven would punish him, by letting many, that worshipped him as a God, see that he was indeed but *Man*. Each kept their order all the night, and *Wallestein* took a great advantage by lying with Musketeers certain ditches just before his Enemy. So that about these, at the first peep of day, was the hottest of the Fight, and the *Swedes* prospered in the gaining of them, though hindered by a thick mist discerned not in the Fight either their danger or advantages. Six Cannons being taken, they turned them against the Imperialists, doing great slaughter with them. They nevertheless getting into order again, repulsed beyond the ditches the Enemy, who left four of the Cannon nailed

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and carried away two. The left Wing of the Imperialists, where was the *Polish* and *Croatian* Horse, used more to Incursions than set Battels, being charged by the Kings left, easily gave way, and would have disordered other Squadrons, if *Papenhaim*, bringing them again to fight, had not stopped the Enemy, till struck with a Cannon bullet he dyed, with that commendation of valour and courage; which with the testimony of many scars appeared imprinted upon his face. The King, that thought it the honour and duty of a great Captain, not to overcome only with the blood of others; but having ordered his Troops, and given directions for the Battel, to hazard himself no less than a common Souldier, was there killed also, leaving it uncertain, whether in truth he overcame or dyed first. Some will have it, that in the beginning of the Battel, passing from division to division, accompanied but with few, he fell into a Company of the Enemies Horse, by reason of the Mist not discovered, and that while unknown with his Sword in his hand he defended himself, and by a shot of a Carabine being flung out of the Saddle, and by one foot in the Stirrup, by the Horse dragged away, he was afterwards by another shot slain. Others, that having in the left Wing beaten the Imperialists, and now certain of the Victory, he was hastening elsewhere; but by a Company of Horse, which advanced to charge, was flung to the ground, and as an ordinary man trampled upon; and amongst others stript. There wanted not some who reported; (and this is the most rational account of them who were in the Battel,) that the King, whilst at the head of the Regiment of Colonel *Verde* of *Finlanders*, seconded by two others of *Swedes*, charged a great Body of eight hundred Cuirassiers, commanded by *Ottavio Piccolomini*, was shot with a Pistol in the Arm: for his Cuirasse, by reason of some old hurts, incommoding him, he wore no Arms in the Battel; but not to discourage the Souldiers, concealing the hurt, and though willing to redouble the charge, yet constrained by pain, had resolved to retire with a few, when at the instant he was with a Carabine shot in the Back by a Souldier, who was killed in the same occasion. *Piccolomini* returning then to the charge, passed over him yet alive, and left him under a heap of dead bodies ignobly covered. It was never known, who could boast of such a blow, either because in Battels chance bears so great a sway, that confounding the Fate of the King with that of the Souldiers, they are not distinguished after death but by Glory or Oblivion, or because in this Fortune had withal a mind to shew her self favourable, that no mean person may vaunt himself to have killed so great a King, and withal so noble a Souldier. The *Swedes* continuing the fight, ended the Victory before they knew of his death. So that the Souldiers accustomed to fight under the eye of him from whom they expected reward and commendation; believing he was fighting with them, and would overcome; disordered not their Ranks, nor grew cool in their accustomed courage. *Bernard* Duke of *Weimar* alone knowing the Kings Horse, that ran loose and was bloody, being aware of what was happened, but enraged with the

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grief, not to give time to the Souldiers to take notice of it, charged with such a force, that the Imperial Army was constrained to give way. The Horse of both Wings were now fled, *Piccolomini* alone remained the last with his Regiment, and with proofs of wonderful valour, after four Horses killed under him, had five wounds upon him, which *Wallestain* with a generous Present of twenty thousand Crowns cured and acknowledged. And the *Swedes* would now have environed the Enemies Foot on all sides, when the Mist, which arose towards the evening, hindered them, and the darkness of the night after ten hours separated this cruel fight. Ten with the title of Generals were killed in both the Armies. *Wallestain* was rather threatened than hurt with the shot of a Musket, which favourably passed betwixt the seat and the buttock, though at the blow, not without a mark of excessive fear, he let the bridle fall out of his hand, and his Horse ran away with him. The Imperialists by night retired towards *Leipzig*, leaving their Cannon in the field; because in the confusion of the Battel the Draught-horses were run away. But in the Triumph of the *Swedes* the General was wanting; which filling the Army, that infinitely loved him, with sorrow and lamentation, some deplored the flower of his age, others the vigour of his mind, and all together the quality of a great Prince and no less Souldier. He was found amongst the dead bodies mangled with wounds, bruised with the trampling of Horses, stript totally, that not so much as his shirt remained as a Trophy of so many Conquests and so great an Empire. A King certainly, saving the error of his Religion, endowed with those qualities which have rendered the Conquerours of the World famous. Possessing in an equal degree courage and prudence, and if in conquering he seemed fierce and violent, he was as wise and circumspect in preserving. His virtues being solid and all of a piece, it could not be discerned, to which in his knowledge of the Military or Civil Affairs the prize was to be given. Yet all his life having been in a continual exercise of Arms, it seemed, that he himself gave it the preference. And indeed Fortune in these so far favoured him, that having fought many Battels, and always conquered, in this very instant of death he dyed victorious after death, and a long course of prosperity hath crowned in such sort his Sepulchre, that his very ashes may be called *Triumphant*.

This was the issue of the Battel of *Lutzen*, both Parties judged fatal, the one having lost the field, and the other their King; but if these got the Victory, the others saved themselves. *Wallestain* staying but a few moments at *Leipzig*, retires afterwards into *Bohemia*, and the *Swedes* conducting the Body to *Weissenfels*, solemnized his funeral with Revenge and Arms. *Leipzig* was rendered to *Saxony*; to *Weimar*, *Chemnitz*; to *Kniphausen*, *Pleissenberg*; and *Zuiccan* to *Horn*; and to the *Rhingrave*, after the defeat of the Imperial Cavalry in *Alsace*, *Rheinfelt*, *Colmar*, *Hagenau*, and other places. *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, under the countenance of this, the *Swedes*; Fortune, regains *Frankendale*, but taking the death of *Gustavus* to

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heart, dyes himself within a while after. *Baudissen* having taken *Andernach*, troubled the Elector of *Colen* and the Dukedom of *Berg*. In this year also were in mourning, through unhappy Fate, almost all the Royal Families of *Europe*; for in *Spain*, whilst King *Philip* kept his Court in *Catalogna*, dyes *Charles*, his Brother, in the flower of his Age, a Prince of a haughty mind, and impatient of being idle to such a degree, that being designed, to temper with more quiet employments the heat of his nature, to the Government of *Portugal*, while the *Infante Cardinal*, his other Brother, was going to that of *Flanders*, he raging with anger, within a while dyes, either from the weariness of his condition or by disorders, having in a manner dissolved his mind in idleness, and wasted his natural strength in pleasures. Fame nevertheless accused the *Conde Duke*, as if fearing the opposition of his hot spirit against his Authority, he should have procured his death by poison: But it is not becoming, without more certain proofs, to give credit to so hainous a wickedness. In *Germany*, *Leopold* Archduke of *Innspruck*, weary of the blows of Fortune, prejudicial to his House and Country, dyes, leaving little Sons under the Tutelage of *Claudia de Medici* his Wife. In *Poland* King *Sigismund* departs this life, and in the Diet of the Kingdom was substituted *Uladislaus* his Eldest Son. The Republick, to congratulate his coming to the Crown, made choice of *Giovanni Pisari* Cavalier for Ambassadour Extraordinary, who afterwards appointed elsewhere, leaves *Giorgio Giorgio* Cavalier to perform it, and it was answered in the Name of the King by the Duke of *Ossolinschi*, after he had been to present obedience to the Pope.

A N N O M. DC. XXXIII.

By the death of *Gustavus* all the World believed, notwithstanding the posthumous Victory and the advantages of Arms, that as great and weighty bodies, when they fall, are split into small pieces, so Fortune would be shaken and such a breach made into that Power, that the Armies should disband, Princes disunite, Conquests be lost, and after a short flash there would remain of this great Thunder-stroke no more but the memory and the ashes. But quite contrary; for after having settled in *Swede* the Succession of the Crown in *Christina*, the only Daughter of the King deceased, and placed the Tutelage of her that was not above seven years old, in the hands of the principal Ministers, the Chiefs of the Army, calling a Council in *Germany*, resolved to continue the War so much the more earnestly, by how much they hoped, that Honour and Booty will in future accrue to their advantage. To *Axel Oxenstern*, great Chancellor, a man of a notable Talent, they yielded the direction of the ordinary Counsels, and to *Weimar* they committed the chief management of the Armies, not without disasting the Elector of *Saxony*, who by reason of his dignity thought it due to him. So the War under divers Chiefs and with several Armies, was presently spread into many Provinces, to the so much ruine of places and people, that if

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it ordinarily be nourished with cruelty and blood; at present it seemed that the alone desolating of *Germany* was the aim of the Armies. Amongst infinite successes, which changing felicity and fortune hapned in several places, it shall suffice to make choice of the most signal, that serve most for the reflection of Princes and the alteration of States. Whilst the *swedish* Chiefs were dividing designs and charges, *Fridland* not only goes far from *Leipsich*, but out of the Countries of the Elector of *Saxony*, though with the fright of his Arms he might easily have persuaded him to an agreement; and leaving but a few Troops in *Bohemia*, goes into *Silesia* under pretext to oppose the *saxons*, who indeed made less disturbance there than elsewhere.

The *Austrians*, joyful for the death of the King *Gustavus*, stormed nevertheless against their own General, accusing him, that neglecting so great a conjuncture to end the War with advantage, he had not made use of the arts proper to a Conquerour, nor his wonted ones of a great Captain. Wherefore the confidence, *Ferdinand* had in him, did henceforward degenerate into suspicion, that he was pleased with War and the Command; whereupon to satiate his ambition, or rather to sound his intention, a great sum of money in the name of the *spaniards* was offered him, that by his reputation and conduct an Army being raised, he would send it against the States of *Holland*, for the Conquest of *Friesland*, of which with the title of King they willingly gave him the propriety. He by rejecting the offer increased the jealousy, and much more by entering into a project of agreement with *Arnheim*, General of the *saxons*, justly offensive to the Emperour, though *Fridland* with wonted craft let him know that he had no other end but to delude and amuse the Enemy. But *Arnheim* having taken his march towards *Lentmerits*, to attack *Gallas*, he makes a show to follow him, but on a sudden falls near *Stenan* upon a body of men commanded by the old Count de la Tour and the Collonel *Tubald*, and surprises them in such sort, that wanting means and time to defend themselves, the Souldiers rendred themselves upon the shameful conditions to deliver up the Cannon and Colours, to inroll themselves amongst the Imperial Troops, and to leave their Commanders Prisoners until the other places of *Silesia* should be rendred to *Ferdinand*. But the Governours refusing to obey the orders of *Tubald* and *la Tour*, *Fridland* nevertheless increasing as it were with his military attempts, the suspicions, which were had of his intentions, gave to the one together with many Officers liberty, and promoted the escape of the other. He afterwards recovers *Lignits*, *Glogau*, and *Francford* on the *Oder*, and would have passed on further, aspiring to the recovery of *Mechelburg*, without considering those greater mischiefs which the Emperour suffered elsewhere, if new and greater accidents had not recalled him.

After the death of the King *Gustavus*, *France* saw the Affairs of the Empire constituted in a state which was more pleasing to them, the prosperity of those Arms declining, which at first gave them

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An. Dom. 1633. great jealousy, and all the party of the Protestants reduced to a necessity to receive without assistance the law and motion of its interests. Therefore renewing in *Hailbrun* for other ten years, with the Chiefs of the *Swedes* Army, the Treaty, which *France* had with the King deceased, and enlarging it with other Princes of that faction, it obliges them to hold him for a common Enemy that should dare to separate himself, or conclude a Peace without the consent of all. Supplying then the Confederates with money, the King of *France* begins also to dispose of those Forces. Whereupon to divert the United Provinces from the wonted Treaties about a Truce with *Spain*, he brings to pass, that the Colonel *Melaner*, who served the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, should be sent with a good number of Troops to join *Orange*, who so re-inforced might take *Rhinberg*, and keep the Armies of *France* so distracted, that the *French* under the title of protection might have success in making themselves Masters of all the Country of *Trier* without resistance.

In *Westphalia* then the Duke *George* of *Lüneburg*, and *William* Landgrave of *Hesse* in their progress against the Elector of *Colen*, and other Catholics of that quarter, defeated the Count *John Merode*, who with an Army of thirteen thousand men, raised with *Spanish* money, defended that circle, and intended to attempt the relief of *Hamelen*; but being put to flight by the Protestants, left them in prey not only almost all his Souldiers, with Cannon and Baggage, but the place it self, and many others thereabouts.

Weimar in this interim employs himself in *Francony*, and *Horn* with *Bannier* opposed themselves to the Elector of *Bararia*, who with his own Forces alone upholding in those parts the Affairs of the Catholics; was after the taking of *Raim* passed into *Sweden*, and there taken *Memmingen* and *Kempen*. The *Swedes* effectually strengthened at *Donauert* to the number of seven thousand Horse and eight and twenty thousand Foot, did most terrible mischiefs in his Country, possessing themselves of *Munichen*, and the Bishoprick of *Aichstadt*; but by *Aldringen*, who came speedily to his assistance, were constrained to retire out of it. The *Austrians* were not a whit less troubled by the *Rhingrafe* in *Alsatia*, and for the defence of it, had stirred up with great promises *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, who equally ready to take Arms and to lay them down, had, in order to the executing of the Treaty with *France*, delivered to the King some Troops, but in such sort that they immediately disbanding, and re-assembled anew under the name of the *Emperour*, with others, which he feigned to license, forming an indifferent Army, they took in *Hagbenau*, *Colmar*, and other places, which being presently put into his hand served for the price of his engagement, and a spur to his declaration in favour of the *Emperour*. He hoped to quell the *Swedish* Force by Arms, and to preserve himself from the invasion of the *French*, by the revolutions which *Orleans* promised to raise up in that Kingdom. But on the one side his design was betrayed by fortune, and on the other success answered not his hopes; for in the first place the *Swedes* being come to recover *Haguenau*, whilst

whilst *Charles* attempted to relieve it, he was entirely defeated by them; whereupon *Lorraine*, no less than *Alsatia*, remaining a prey to the Enemy, the *Rhingrafe* with many incursions did miserably afflict him. *Lewis* then taking upon himself the revenge of the common injury, possesses without dispute the Dukedom of *Bar*, after an arrest of Parliament, which declared it devolved to the Crown; for that *Charles* had not done his Homage for it; and *St. Michael*, *Pont a Mousson*, *Chamuel*, *Lüneville*, and other places of less importance being redreid, he comes near with his Army to *Nancy*.

Duke *Charles*, having brought the War into his own Country, without means to maintain it, endeavours to pacifie the King with several propositions of submission and agreement. But *Richelieu* admitted not for caution of his faith other pledge, than the depositing of *Nancy* the Metropolis of the Country, the residence of the Duke, and a very strong place. The Duke seeing that by nourishing distrusts he had put all things into a confusion, renounces on a sudden to the Cardinal *Nicola Francisco*, his Brother, with the Title, the Country, to the end that being new as to offences, he might better mitigate the resentments. *Richelieu*, despising the Gift, and calling the contrivance fraudulent, refuses any propositions from the new Duke, though having laid down his Purple sought in marriage *Mad. Combalet*, the Cardinals beloved Niece; offered instead of *Nancy* to deposit *La Mothe*; and to cause to pass into *France* *Margaret*, whose marriage with *Orleans* King *Lewis* pretended was null, as contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, which prohibit those in succession to the Crown to marry without the Kings consent. But these very propositions were by *Richelieu* turned into distrusts and accusations; for that *Margaret*, while these things were in agitation, going out of *Nancy* disguised, and deceiving the *French* Guards, which environed the place on all sides, made her escape by flight, and came to her Husband at *Brussels*, after having wandered in the woods, and narrowly avoided the risque of falling into the hands of some *Swedish* parties of Souldiers; whence *Richelieu* ascribing all to the fallacious faith of the *Lorraine*, and scorning the alliance offered, constrains him at last to promise; To separate himself from stranger friendships, and not to meddle in the Affairs of Germany, to join close with *France*, and deliver *Nancy* in Hostage till time and their actions should mitigate jealousy, and that the marriage with *Orleans* were broken.

In the place aforesaid consisted the security of the conditions no less than the fortune of the Duke. Therefore the Governour by secret Orders, which he had from them, denies the *French* Garrison entry, and on the other side the King threatens all sorts of rigour and force; so that within a few days the same Treaty was confirmed with the addition only, that both the Dukes had liberty to keep their Residence in *Nancy*; a condition which tended reciprocally to deceit, for by keeping a foot there, the *Lorraine* hoped to maintain themselves the stronger, and the *French* proposed to keep them little less than Prisoners. As force is always accustomed

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to get the better of wit, so Duke *Charles*, finding no longer protection in his own Country, nor from Strangers expecting succours, was forced to submit; for being come to the *French* Camp, under a shew of confidence, as that which was the last remedy, to humble himself to the *King*, he perceived that under the appearance of honour he was under the custody of Guards, and was thereupon obliged to give precise orders to the Governour of *Nancy*, that he should receive Monsieur de *Brasac* with a *French* Garrison; so that having by this means obtained his liberty, he thought good to leave *Lorraine*, and the *King* leaving there the Marshal de la *Tour* with a great Army, to favour the Siege of *Brisach*, undertaken by the *Rhingrave*, extends as far as the *Rhine* his quarters and advantages, having obtained of one of the Dukes of *Wurtemberg* to put a great Garrison into the Town of *Monpeiard*.

All this vexed the *Austrians*, and particularly the *spaniards*; because if the *French* should remain in the possession of *Lorraine*, and *Brisach* were lost, they saw the passage hindred of succours for *Flanders*, which they were wont to draw out of *Italy* by that way. They resolved, that *Ferdinand*, Cardinal *Infante*, should pass to *Milan*, to be conveyed from them to his Government of *Flanders*, solicited by a double care, both out of necessity to oppose to the proceedings of *Fridland* in *Germany* another Chief of consideration and power, and to provide for the Affairs of the *Low Countries*, which by the death of the *Infanta Isabella* fallen under the direction of the Marquess d' *Aitona* were tottering, both from the unquiet humours of the people, who were ill satisfied, and the vast designs of neighbouring Potentates. The Cardinals Voyage could not be performed without great preparations, which consumed time and money, nor without some apprehensions of the Princes of *Italy*, who saw the Provinces filled with Souldiers and Provisions, and the minds of the Ministers big with bitter disgusts and troubled thoughts; the *Condé Duke* venting frequent aggravating expressions, that Peace could never be enjoyed, if *Italy* were not restored to its former Constitution. And to say truth, there appeared no more that face of Authority and Rule, which the Ministers of that Monarchy were wont to enjoy, because besides the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, the one by the Bridle of *Pignarol*, and the other by the custody of *Casal* and of the *Monferrat*, being made dependants on the Crown of *France*, almost all were wavering, and some for their profit made merchandise of their inclinations, put at present in balance betwixt the one and others Crown.

Nay the *Pope* himself, though he refused the Duke of *Crequi*, sent by King *Lewis* in the usual Embassy of obedience, to enter into that League which he proposed to him, yet he gave manifest signs of the ancient partiality towards that Crown; so that the Cardinal *Antonio*, his Nephew, had thereupon and with large pensions accepted the protection of that Kingdom; and although *Urban* opposed it with the loudest appearances, the *spaniards* nevertheless believing rather a secret consent, feared from it pernicious designs.

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They therefore dispatched to *Rome* the Bishop of *Cordona* and *Giovanni Chianmazzero* in quality of Commissioners, to require reformation of some abuses of the *Dateria*, which tended to the oppression of the Kingdom of *Spain*; but in effect, to oppose themselves to the Negotiations of *France*, and if they could effect nothing else, to avenge the disgusts with disgusts: whence it was thought fit, that they should have secret instructions to demand a Council, and straighten the *Pope* with threatnings and offensive demands. Sure it is, that *Urban* denying to receive them with the Title of Commissioners, which it seems signifies a certain Jurisdiction and Authority, wearied with difficulties and delays in such sort the business, and cooled also the Bishop with the hopes of a greater Dignity, that the *King* being aware of it, recalled him, and conferred upon the other the Title of Ambassadors, whilst with time the heat of Spirits being mitigated, and by the contrariety of successes the *spaniards* bowing themselves more and more to sufferance, the business vanished of it self.

The *French* Ministers ceased not to imprint in the Princes of *Italy* jealous thoughts, and to exhort them to joyn together to drive, under the protection of their Crown, the *spaniards* out of *Italy*. They on the other side proposed to all great advantages, offering by means of the Regent *Villani* to the *Grand Duke* great Pensions, and to the Duke of *Modena* to deliver him *Corregio*, a little Sovereign State, which, being by the Emperour confiscated from its ancient Princes for the imputation of false Money, the *spaniards* had in Pawn, to the end to make Merchandise of it with the bordering Princes. To *Parma* they offered the Generallship of the Sea and a Vice-Regency, provided he would, in exchange and as a pledge of confidence, permit a Levy of six thousand Foot to be serviceable to the Cardinal *Infante* in his Voyage into *Flanders*. That Dukedom was possessed by *Edwardo Farnese*, young in years, and of a spirit more elevated perhaps than the narrowness of his Country and Fortune could bear. He by a certain lively Genius inclined naturally to the *French*, and they encouraging it with frequent sending of Ministers, brought him at last to their Party. Taking Jealousie therefore at the preparatives for the Cardinal *Infante*, and at the Marriage of *Stigliana* with the Duke of *Medina las Torres* Vice-King of *Naples*, as though he would call in question again *Sabioneda*, armed, and under that pretext receives under his own Colours Souldiers which were sent to him out of *France*. The *Venetians* above all were more earnestly pressed, so that *Razzillier*, after having visited in the Name of King *Lewis* the other Princes, came to encourage them not only to continue in the custody of *Mantua*, but to exhort them to pay at least half the Garrison in *Sabioneda*, and to take part in the Affairs of the *Grisons*, and in the Designs concerning the *Valtelline*.

The Republic constant in the desire, that together with Peace the present State of *Italy* might be preserved, condescended no further, but better to provide *Mantua* with Souldiers and Cannon, quickning diligence in proportion to the unquietness and suspicions which

An. Dom. 1633. which increased in the Dukes Family; because it appeared, that the Princefs, by the perfwafions of *Margaret* her Mother, had raifed her mind to the hopes of marrying her felf with the Cardinal *Infante*, who was expected in *Italy*, and taking the opportunity; when the Duke was one day for recreation out of the City, he presents a Writing to the Council, declaring every act and consent null, to which in the time of her Minority she had adhered for her own Interest. A Novelty which greatly troubled the Duke; because that Writing being received and fubfcribed, not without the approbation of his Minifters, he with reason feared, left the minds of the people being divided, and the Rights of the Succeffion confounded anew, the State and the Nephew fhould come to be fubjected to more bitter calamities. This being known in *France*, and difcovered that the Council to the Princefs was come from *Milan*, it was ordered by King *Lewis* with a peremptory Decree, but neceffary, that the *Infanta* fhould depart as he did; for retiring to Caftle *Gualtier* in the *Milanefe*, and thence to *Milan*, the Plots with her abfence vanifhing, the afterwards fails towards *Spain*. At laft in the month of *May* the Cardinal *Infante* arrives in *Italy*, and having fpooken with the Duke of *Savoy* in *Nizza* he comes to *Milan*, where he received the Embaffies of Princes for the congratulating of his arrival, and was pleafed above all with that of the *Venetians*, performed with great fplendour by *Bertuccio Valerio*, and correfponding with the Expedition to *Venice* of the Count *Carlo Borromei* his Ambaffador.

About this time the Duke *Vittorio Amadeo* of *Savoy*, to rank himfelf equal in his behaviour to the *Infanta*, and not to condefcend to the Rules lately introduced amongft the Cardinals, takes the Title of King of *Cyprus*, the World little approving, that, he after having given up with *Pignerol* the honour, which the care of keeping the entrance of *Italy* gave him, fhould deck himfelf with the Title of that Kingdom, which lyes under the barbarous flavery of the *Ottomans*; and to the great difpleafure of the *Venetians*, who had lawfully enjoyed it for many years, and who complaining of it in all Courts of *Europe*, declared themfelves difobliged from any fort of correfpondence with the *Savoyards*. The firft bufinefs, in which the Cardinal *Infante* employed himfelf, was in deciding the Controverfies betwixt the *Genouefe* and the Duke of *Savoy*, which, formerly referred to the Arbitrage of the King of *Spain*, were now by him judged on thefe Conditions; That things taken fhould be reciprocally reftored; that *Zuccarello* fhould remain to the *Genouefe*, but with paying in four Terms to the Duke one hundred and fixty thoufand Crowns of Gold; that Eftates fhould be reftored to the firft Owners; that thofe that had ferved the one or the other Party fhould be pardoned, and efpecially ten of the Confpirators, prohibited neverthelefs that they come not within the Confines of the Republick.

The parties concerned not herewith content, power was fent by the King to the Cardinal *Infante* to determine the difference, and he declares, That the *Galley*, by the *Genouefe* formerly taken; fhould be reftored to the *Savoyards*, as it was found at prefent; that the Crown

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to be difburfed for *Zuccarello* was underftood to be of the Coyne of *Spain*, An. Dom. 1633. and that befides ten, to be named by the King, fhould not be comprehended in the pardon any other of the Participants in the Confpiracy, or that were accufed of any other offence.

The affairs of the Empire called him to thoughts of a greater conquence; for, to the end to ftop every paffage, by which he might go into *Germany* or *Flanders*, befides the Siege of *Briſſach*; *Horn*, to pleaſe the *French*, taking his paffage through *Helvetia* without asking the *Cantons* leave, came to about *Conſtance*; whereupon the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* Army was follicited, from the dangers of thoſe places, the clamours of the *Lorrainers*, and much more from the Jealouſies which *Fridland* gave, by amuſing himſelf in Provintces far diſtant, careleſs of the loſſes and damage of *Bavaria*, *Alſace*, and *Lorrain*, which touched the *Auſtrians* to the quick. They then deliberate to form the body of an Army independent from him, the Emperour being at laſt by the urgency of the *Spaniards* brought to conſent to it, after having been in doubt for a good while, whether was beſt to let him alone and diſſemble his ſuſpicions, or provoke him by ſhewing diſtruſt; but the *Infante* not able to ſtir with honour or ſafety, it was reſolved, that the Duke of *Feria* with ten thouſand Foot and fifteen hundred Horſe ſhould be his fore-runner to open the paffage, and without longer delay ſuccour thoſe Towns.

By the way of the *Valteline* and *Bormio* he enters into *Tirol*, *Roban* from *Rhetia* not caring to trouble him, being rather glad that the *Milanefe* ſhould be weakened of Forces, by reaſon of the deſigns which were under conſideration. At the report of this march *Horn* & the *Rhingrave* withdrew their Troops further diſtant from *Conſtance* and *Briſſach*; ſo that *Feria* joyning without oppoſition with *Aldringen*, might have been able to execute what they deſigned, if they had not been diſturbed by the loſs of *Ratisbone*, which by *Weymar*, after he had paſſed the *Danube*, and taken *Neoburg* with other places, as may be ſaid, at unawares, was with furious Batteries in a few days taken: a blow, which by reaſon of the ſituation and the importance of the place, applauded by his Party, aſſiſted in a high meafure the *Auſtrians*, becauſe with it loſing *Strasbourg* alſo and *Deſſeldorf*, they were afraid of *Paſſau*, a City tripartite, where the Rivers *Eno* and *Ilz* falling into the *Danube*, form as it were a three-fold part, of *Bavaria*, *Bohemia*, and *Auſtria*. Nor did *Weimar* neglect the thought of the enterpriſe, but finding it provided, and the Winter advancing, to preſerve his Troops diſtributes them into Quarters about *Ratisbone*; whereupon the deſigns of the Catholics were in great diſorder: for *Aldringen* was obliged to go back to defend *Bavaria*, and *Feria* was conſtrained to remain there, dividing his Army with great inconvenience into ſcattered Quarters in *Suevia*, where many Souldiers periſhed by ſickneſs and other ſufferings, and himſelf left his life alſo.

The *Venetians* obſerving *Italy* to be in ſecurity for the preſent, carefully but quietly watched upon the event of things, and keeping

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for decency and defence a strong body of an Army, found troubles only from the Court of *Rome*, and the increase of more bitter distaffs. They kept in *Ancona*, as is usual in places upon the Sea, a Consul, and he was *Michael Oberti* of *Bergamo*, of a Family that for a long time had executed that Office, a Subject of the *Republick*, though for many years an Inhabitant of *Ancona*. He coming to be suspected by the Governour, as if by the direction of his Letters the Gallies of the *Republick*, in maintenance of the right of the Sea, should have intercepted certain Ships of the *Raguseans*, which were sailing for that Port, vexed with various persecutions, was constrained to go to *Venice* to inform the *senate* with it; but was no sooner gone, but the Governour caused his house to be searched together with his Household-stuff and Writings, and among them were those of his Ministry.

Whilst the *Republick* complained of it, and the *French* Ministers interposed and got no satisfaction, the Governour publishes against the Consul a most severe Proclamation, laying to his charge, that he had unladen, in the suspected time of the plague, Merchandise out of a Bark which came from *Venice*; but there appeared in the Sentence more of pretext than of his fault, because he justified himself to have done it by permission of the Magistrates. This increased the resentment of the *Republick*, and gave occasion to the *French* to renew with more earnest their Mediation, by which it was agreed, that recalling the Proclamation, *Oberti* should be admitted, the *Senate* shewing themselves, when that was done, not averse from recalling him, and appointing some other for the place. But as this agreement was ready to be executed, *Michael* dying, his Brother was substituted, who going to *Anconato* take possession of the place, was by the Governour first put in Prison, and then again released with severe threatnings, and obligations to return no more thither. The *French* complained highly of it, because they had given their word to the *Republick*, that the Election should be of such a person as the *Republick* should best like of; but the *Senate* judging it little secure, and less honourable to continue the Treaty, suspended more speech of it, interdicting Audience nevertheless to the Nuntio *Vitelli*, and forbidding their Ambassadour *Contarini* to see the Pope. The Negotiation also was interrupted, which the Duke of *Cregui*, come in the Name of King *Lewis* to *Venice*, managed with *Baptista Nani* and *Girolamo Soranzo*, Cavalier and Procurator, deputed by the *Senate* to adjust the differences about Confines betwixt *Lorco* and *Arriano*.

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The *Republick* was strongly pressed by the said Duke, that in concert with the Crown of *France* a new War might be moved in *Italy*; but although his instances were a while after earnestly seconded by *Monsieur de Salodie* sent by the King with the same projects of Union and War, the *Senate* nevertheless resolving not to depart from the

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Neutrality they had fixed in, answers to the invitations by exhorting to Peace, which being the greatest blessing from Heaven, ought rather to be promoted than disturbed by the prosperity, the Crown enjoyed. Not only the *French* but the *Spaniards* also used with the other Princes such earnest endeavours, requiring positive declarations, without admitting neutrality, that some grew justly jealous, that the Crown sought no less pretexts for a War, than to make parties for it. At which the *Grand Duke* more moved than the rest, sends the Archbishop of *Pisa* to the Court of *Rome*, to propose a League betwixt the *Italian* Princes of common defence, to ballance the power of Strangers, and oppose the exorbitancy of it. But at this time, as always, affections contending with interests, many governing themselves by separate Councils, and believing an union with Strangers more compatible than with domesticks, the proposition vanished in its beginning, through the difficulty to introduce it. The *Genouse* at this time, embittered by reason of past accidents against the *Spanish* Ministers, and more exasperated at present by the decision made by the King and the *Infanta* of their controversies with the Duke of *Savoy*, gave ear to the insinuations of *Monsieur de Nouailles*, who, in his passage to *Rome*, offered them the Forces and assistance of the Crown of *France*; so that after having for so many years been serviceable to the sole advantages of the *Spaniards*, they would bring themselves to a fitting neutrality; whereupon that *Republick* making use of the conjuncture, enters into a correspondence with *France*, and with many Decrees revived the lustre of its liberty, and vigour of its Government.

The *Spaniards* received this novelty not without a sharp resentment; but, being more and more intent upon the contingencies of the Empire, dissemble all, making it their business only to take away all jealousies from the *Italians*, both by reason of the *Infanta's* stay and the warlike preparations, without notwithstanding to neglect the advantages which the conjuncture afforded: for they took hold of the occasion, to persuade Prince *Thomas* to depart on a sudden out of *Piedmont*, and go to the command of the Army in *Flanders*, sending for Hostages his Wife and Children into *Spain*. Some believed, that *Thomas*, and *Maurice* the Cardinal, who having renounced to the protection of *France* in *Rome*, had assumed that of the Emperour, held an understanding with the Duke their Brother, thereby to divide betwixt them, by artifice, the affections and good will of both the parties. But, in truth, the two Princes, from the weak constitution of the Duke foreseeing his death to be near, considered afar of the succession of the Country, and those designs which afterwards in their time brake forth, and seeing their Sister-in-Law, by the bonds of interest and blood tyed to *France*, cast themselves betimes into the arms and protection of the *Austrians*. Whereat the Duke, being exceedingly moved, sequestered their revenues, and suspends their assignments. The *French*, for all that putting no entire confidence in him, shorten the Bridle, increasing in *Pignarol* and *Monferrat* Troops and Garrisons. The *Infanta* at

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It hath been formerly said, what were the aims of *Wallestein* to amuse himself in Provinces remote, whilst the more important were in danger; but now upon the loss of *Ratisbone*, *Austria* was threatened also, and the Duke of *Bavaria* highly protested, that if he were not succoured, he would agree with the *Swedes* upon any conditions, and would open them the passage into the bowels of the Emperours patrimonial Lands. Whereupon *Ferdinand* with most effectual orders summons him again to come speedily to the assistance of his necessity, and to his commands added importunities and entreaties, that he would employ his Army against those of his Enemies, which were the most dangerous and powerful. He with the height of malice, considering that the *Spanish* Forces were come into the Empire, and knowing the aims of that Crown, tending to thrust him down, moving the Army as if he would answer the summons, quarters it in *Bohemia*, and distributing several Regiments of his friends into *Austria*, it looked as if he would keep *Vienna* blocked, and the Emperour himself Prisoner. This gave vent to universal complaints; because, besides publick mischiefs, the principal Ministers were sensible of private losses, the Souldiers lodging upon their estates with all sorts of liberty and undistinguished licence. All then shewing zeal equal to the urgent necessity, under pretext of the common cause demonstrated the common dangers, and calling to mind the conduct of the General, inveighed particularly against the Articles by him formerly projected with *Arnheim*, among which it had been discovered, that there was discourse of ridding Germany of the *Spaniards*, of the banishment of the *Jesuites*, of the restitution of the *Palatinate*, and of the force with which the Emperour might be induced to accept so destructive a Peace in the Empire. Nor was it concealed, that *Wallestein* openly aspired to the usurpation of the Crown of *Bohemia*, that there was a conspiracy against the life of the Emperour and his Sons, held correspondence with the *Swedes* and *Saxons*, and had set on foot secret Treaties with the Cardinal *Richelieu*, at the time that Monsieur de *Requies* treated in the Empire with the Protestants. Every one precipitating their judgments, and declaring their sense upon the actions of *Wallestein*, and the punishments he deserved, *Ferdinand* alone remained greatly perplexed; because, if the jealousies of the present Affairs oftentimes moved him, he was almost at the same time pacified with the memory of his past services. The shame to punish a man so well deserving, with the prejudice to suffer his insolency, put him to a stand, and above all he considered the danger, which (*Wallestein* perceiving to be suspected) resulted no less from his rage than from his faults. Wherefore inclining to that course which

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The Count d'Ognate, Ambassadour of Spain, who for a long time was contriving the ruine of *Wallestein*, demanding on a sudden Audience of the Emperour, few being by, and those of the most trusted Ministers, lays before them the state of things, the boldness of *Wallestein*, his Intelligences, his Plots, and Designs. Commends the moderation with which *Ferdinand*, as an excellent Prince, had been willing to proceed; That it was indeed fit to dissemble some secret faults in great Ministers, interpret favourably those that were doubtful, and in a manner bear with those that were manifest, so long as there was

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was no breach of fidelity, the Soul of great Employments and the Basis of States. That the arrogance, insolence, cruelty it self, and avarice of Wallestain had been longer suffered. The Empire was now betrayed; Bohemia usurped; Austria invaded; Vienna besieged; the Emperour a Prisoner, and his Sons under a shew of Guard and Quarters. What would one expect more? an occasion, or a necessity? this cannot be greater, that not to be wished more fit. Wallestain was feared by many, and abhorred by all; with insolence and pride he had provoked the hatred of potent Enemies, and the envy of his very Friends. The Emperour was quickly to draw forth his Authority and Justice before the Swedes could lend a hand to the Rebel; that he should find respect among the people, obedience among the Souldiers, and the applause and benedictions of all. The wound is in truth painful, but because it hath its centre in the bowels, the more you will suppress it, the more it will increase. That which hitherto hath been done in the Army, may be rather called a Transport than a Revolt. The Militia hath by traiterous promises been blinded, and by false suggestions deluded. The Chiefs have given their consent, terrified by the violencies of the General. That with one stroke of a sword the knot might be united, and it was better with the death of one alone to terminate, or rather prevent, a Civil War, than with jealousies provoke it. That there was no time to be lost, in that which cannot be commended till it be done. This said; the Consult was short, fear and fury confusedly seconding one another, and Ognate with aggravations cutting off discourse.

It was then resolved to make tryal of the Souldiers fidelity; for Gallas and Piccolomini, and some others of the Commanders had secretly offered the Emperour their endeavours, asserting, that many for fear alone having consented to sign the Writing, and participate of the fault, were ready to revolt as soon as they should see a head. A Commission then was dispatched to Gallas, by which all those were commanded to obey him, that would shew their fidelity to the Emperour, and separate themselves from Wallestain, now in open Rebellion. Upon the publishing of this resolution, he perceived how slippery is the trust to Fortune, which turns her head from those, from whom the Prince withdraws his favour. Seldom, to say truth, hath that Power been seen to subsist, which having grown up under the shadow of Sovereign Authority, goes about to separate it self from it. At the Name of Ferdinand the Regiments fell into commotion, the Officers and Chiefs withdrew, the sound in a moment separating themselves from the infected. Being then left with a few, not thinking himself secure in Pilsen, where he now was, he leaves the Government of it to one of his Confidants, and takes his way towards Egria, beleft to be a fit place, as being the door of the Kingdom, by which he might either let into Bohemia Stranger Armies, or save himself into the neighbouring Provinces. He had sought to Weimar to come speedily to his assistance, offering to deliver him places; but whilst the Duke in so weighty a matter was considering the advantages and the hazards, and that, not to hazard all his Forces, he sent Birchenfeldt with one part into the Palatinate to give him

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him countenance, and Duke Francesco Albert of Saxe to Egria to discover the designs, the Scene was changed; and the occasion vanished.

Wallestain did believe, that those that stuck to him, bound by the bonds of gratitude and obligation, would run all sorts of Fortune with him; but there wanted not some that followed him for the opportunity to vent, by betraying him, secret hatred and designed revenge, and for the hope to get from the Emperour great rewards. He had with him the Irish Regiment of Colonel Walter Butler, John Gordon of the same Nation, Tersica his Kinsman, the Count Lessy scotch-man, Captain of his Guards, L'Illo, and other as well Officers as Souldiers, believed to be most in confidence with him. Some of these began among themselves to consider, and then discourse with their Friends, That in Battels the danger was common to all, but the Reward and Glory was to a few; that an occasion was here offered to gain a rich Prize with Renown worthily memorable; that the Victory depended upon their own wills and hands. To what purpose follow an unfortunate Rebel abhorred of all, that would fill their Blood, their Honour, together with their Faith, and Towns to Strangers? One sole blow kills the Sacrifice, expiates the fault, pacifies the Prince; nay obliges him to retribute wealth and favours to those that with their obedience preserve Kingdoms.

This was enough to animate them, for every one was already perswaded of his own Interest; whereupon Lessy, Butler, and Gordon promising fidelity to one another, drew in some others, and inviting L'Illo and Tersica to Supper in their Lodging, growing hot in discourse among their Cups, feigning a Wrangle, confounding Wine with Blood, and violating Hospitality, kill them. Thence not to give time to divulge it, halting to Wallestains Chamber, and forcing the door, whilst he awakened would have looked out of a Window to call for help, and reproached the Conspirators, they with many blows killed him with a Halbard. Then leaving him dead upon the ground, they went out of the Castle to inform the Souldiers with what was done, and flatter them with great promises. Nor found they any great trouble to do it; for the Chiefs being dead, not one durst shew resentment. The day following, keeping the Gates shut, that the death might not be published, they went out of the City, under the pretence of honour and conduct to meet the Duke Francesco Albert, who came in the name of Weimar to settle some agreements, and arresting him Prisoner, carried him to Vienna, where they found great commendations and bountiful rewards.

Such was the unhappy destiny of Albert of Wallestain, Duke of Fridland, who had formerly subdued the Empire by Arms, and frightened Europe with his name. He exalted the Nobleness of his Birth by his Military Vertue, which from the lowest degrees lifted him up to a great Fortune, so much the more honourable, as carried to it by his own Merit, he ascended not upon the ruine of others. Amidst many faults of ambition, cruelty, and violence, with which he afflicted his very friends, his enemies commended his prudence,

his

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Whereupon various were the Judgments, the one by the infamy of his present actions cancelling the Glory of those past, and the others by attributing his disgrace to the Fortune of great Employments, easily suffering his death, whose life they hated before. But in *Vienna*, in regard of his Kindred and Friends, which were in the Court, quickly suppressing the discourse of the causes and of the fact, and punishing some of the Conspirators, it was resolved, that the King of *Hungary* should go into the field, to cheer up the Army with his presence, contain the Souldiers in their duty, and hinder competition amongst the Chiefs. This could not be done so suddenly, that the *swedes* made not great advantage of the past alterations; for that in *Alsace* the *Rhingrave*, routing near *Tarn* the Imperialists, took amongst more considerable conquests *Ensheim*, *Friburg*, and *Rinsfelden*. In *Swabe* were yielded to *Horn*, *Memmingen* and *Chempem*. The Elector of *Saxony* having besieged *Budweis*, and first burnt it with Bombes before he took it, passed to *Gorlitz*, which he found abandoned. Retiring then into his own Country, leaves to *Arnheim* the Command of the Army; and he, offering the Imperialists Battel near *Lignitz*, after a long and doubtful fight defeats them with the death of three thousand of their men, the gaining of many Colours and nine pieces of Cannon, possessing *Stenan*, *Glogau*, and other places of importance, at the same time that *Banier* took *Francfort* on the *Oder*, and *Crossen*.

The King of *Hungary* coming forth at last with powerful Forces, and the Army encouraged with his presence, joyhs the *Bavarians*, who had recovered *Strubingb*, and begirts *Ratisbone* with a Siege, battering it with a hundred piece of Cannon. *Weimar* draws near to it, disturbing the Royal Camp, which had not its Circumvallation yet finished; but for want of Victuals he was forced to a farther distance. Nevertheless being concerned to preserve that conquest, he had a mind, joyning *Horn*, to make another attempt; but withheld by impediments, especially in the Siege of *Lantzbut*, (where *Aldringher* was killed, attempting to put succours into it) when he came near to *Ratisbone*, found it lost. *Horn* then goes into *Suevia*, and *Weimar* weakned, not being strong enough to face the King, left *Donawert* and other places fall into his hand.

The

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1634. The King of *Hungary* desired much to joyn with the *Infanta*, and to prepare the way, advances to attacque *Nortlingben*, which holding out longer than the Imperialists had supposed, gave time to the *Spanish* Army with the *Infanta* to arrive as a seasonable supply, and to the Duke of *Weimar* to rejoyne *Horn* to attempt its relief. These two young Princes communicating to one another the desire of Glory no less than the Counsels of Arms, would not abandon the Siege; whereupon *Weimar*, not able to endure that it should be lost in his presence, resolves upon a Battel, hoping with the *swedish* Arms to recompense at once with Victory, that which since some time the Imperial, under the happy Conduct of the King, had taken from them. He then assaults the Enemies Camp with an inpression so resolute, that at the first brunt he forces the Trenches, possesses the Cannon, and took a Half-moon, putting the *Austrians* every where to flight. But the Officers coming in, nay the King himself and the Cardinal calling to the Fugitives, the fright being over, and all the Army taking courage, the *spanish* Troops in particular giving marvellous proofs of boldness, the *swedes* were repulsed. The Artillery, levelled from a higher situation, made a great slaughter among them, because by the scite of the field, being to climb over little Hills, they were forced to fight, exposed to the shot, with the disadvantage of the place, no less than with the Enemies. They also for not having taken a particular view when they had possessed the first Fortifications, disordered one another, some in going forward mistaking the way, others in fighting, exceeding the order which had been given them. The worst accident was, that the fire casually taking in some Barrels of Powder upon the Half-moon, fright was added to disorder; for the Souldiers, doubting lest a Mine had been sprung, ran headlong away, so that the *spaniards* not only recovered the Post, but took courage to follow them.

Weimar and *Horn* employed all their diligence to put their Troops again into good order, or at least to retire with less disadvantage, but all in vain; because separated from one another, with Troops every where in disorder, they neither had communication together, nor did the Souldiers any longer obey their commands. The *Austrians*, under the favour of a Wood putting themselves betwixt them, hindered them of a possibility to re-unite. Whereupon the Cavalry being pursued by the *Croats*, turning at last their backs, in full Career abandoned the Foot, which was almost all killed upon the place. The number of the dead was more than ten thousand, and about six thousand were taken Prisoners. Amongst these was *Horn*, *Weimar* being saved for a better Destiny. The *Austrians* lost two thousand in the first heat of the fight, the rest had no other labour but to pursue the Fugitives, and to kill and strip the conquered. This signal Victory was rendered more apparent by the consequences; for *Heilbrun*, *Wurzburg*, *Augsburg*, with many other places, yielded of their own accord, and others were abandoned by the *swedish* Garrisons. The Duke of *Brunswick* and the *Landgrave*, that employed themselves for their own advantages in *Westphalia*, shewed inclinations to

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Peace, and *Saxony* hearkened also to Propositions of Agreement; nor was it doubted, that if the *Spanish* Commanders had been tempted with money, but they would have abandoned *Germany* and the Fortune of their declining Party. But the *Austrians* setting their rest upon hopes, whilst the *Infanta*, called away by the urgency of *Flanders*, separates from the King, and the King satisfied with Glory, makes haste to return to the Court to enjoy the applauses of it. *Richelieu*, who from the prosperity of the *Swedes* had gotten for the Crown of *France* great advantages, and proposed to himself not a whit the less from their disgrace, sends the *Marschal de la Force* to the *Rhine* with a very puissant Army, boasting assistance to his Friends, and shewing force to his Enemies.

Oxeftern, who residing in *Frankfort* had the direction with his Council of that Party, and *Weimar*, that gathered up the reliques of the late misfortune, knew not whither else to turn themselves but to *France*, which in retribution of succours drew out of their hands the strong place of *Philipsburg*, which situate on the right bank of the *Rhine* belonged to the Elector of *Trier* as Bishop of *Spire*, and in the beginning of the year had been possessed by the *Swedes*. This wounded the *Austrians* to the quick, seeing the *French* Colours not only advance to the *Rhine*, but pass it also, besides confirming themselves more and more in the conquest of *Lorraine*; for that the new Duke, having laid down his Cardinals Hat, and taken to Wife *Claudia*, Sister-in-law of *Carlo*, gave occasion to *Richelieu* to conceive or feign jealousies, and to require in pledge for security *La Motte*, the only place that remained at his dispose. The Duke now saw, that his faults and the suspicions of *France* would last as long as any part of the Country rested in his power. Therefore denying the place, goes to *Luneville*, a House of Pleasure in the Country. But encompassed immediately with Guards, he was required to return to *Nancy*, under pretence of greater security. It was not in his power to refuse it; but quickly perceiving himself to be kept a Prisoner there, he contrives, deceiving the Guards, to free himself from the slavery, and with his Wife going out by a little Gate in the habit of Gardiners, got to *Besancon*, and thence to *Florence* to be far distant from places suspected by *France*. The Cardinal, not to be wearied in pursuing advantages and anger, caused *La Motte* to be besieged, which, the Governour being in an occasion killed, was rendred.

The *Lorrainers* in this manner brought low, *Orleans* remained at *Brussels*, but deprived of a great support, and little satisfied with the *Spaniards*; because having signed certain Covenants, he promised in them, Not to make any accord with his Brother without their knowledge and consent, and obliged himself to remain in their party, and herein to employ his Credit and Arms; the *Spaniards* on the other side being to furnish money wherewith to raise and maintain an Army, with which he might be able to attack *France*, and conquer places, whilst they with another body of an Army should give jealousy to the Frontiers. But the *Marquess d'Altona* having not been able to make

make good these agreements, by reason of greater distractions, and principally by the threatnings of the *French* from the side of *Trier*, *Orleans* through weariness and inconstancy, and above all persuaded by *Paularens* his Favourite, agrees with the King his Brother. *Paularens* had been gained by *Richelieu*; so that as he, in compliance with his own loves to the Princess of *Falsburg*, another Sister of *Carlo's*, had already driven on *Orleans* to the Marriage with *Margaret*, so now weary of those inclinations, and baited by the Cardinal with promises of great recompence, and the Marriage with his own Niece, persuades him to leave his Mother and Wife at *Brussels*, and to return by stealth into the Kingdom. But *Paularens* was not long ere he felt the punishment of his over-much credulity; for being allured by the Marriage, and at that very time new offences being produced, and he condemned to lose his life, his death dissolved it. The *Spaniards* remained by the escape of *Orleans* frustrated of their hopes, and the surprise of the Islands of *Eres* in *Provenze* was deferred, contrived by them to be executed, under Imperial Colours, upon pretence of succours and diversion for *Lorraine*. For five and twenty Gallies, seven great Ships, with Souldiers and all other Provisions, being come from *Naples* into *Sicily* to joyn with other eight Gallies, and to take on Board Souldiers, found things there in so little readiness, that they were forced to put it off till the next year. From such provisions and so great designs was easily to be comprehended, that some great motion to War was near. And therefore the *Venetians* failed not to attempt by their endeavours, effectually employed by *Luigi Contarini* in *France*, and *Giovanni Giustiniani* in *Spain*, to pacifie their minds, and moderate animosities; but the evil being at the point of breaking forth, was rather provoked, so that all diligence became fruitless, and reasons were heard, but not considered, both the Crowns endeavouring rather by allurements and promises to bring the Republick into their opinions, and change the Mediation into an adhering either to the one or other side.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE TENTH BOOK.

ANNO M DC XXXV.

THE slaughters and calamities, which dishonouring Christendom, and destroying Europe, have made famous the rancour of two great Ministers, will give posterity just occasion, to number this rather amongst the most doleful than a renowned year, in which France and Spain came to an open breach, and gave a beginning to a long War, with memorable accidents and bloody successes, intermingled with fallacious Treaties, vicissitudes of Arms, insurrections of people, and the mockeries of Fortune. It was already discovered, that the emulation betwixt Richelieu and Olivares could no longer remain concealed; neither wanted there on either side occasions or pretexts: for the Fleet in Italy, the Armies in Spain, the Treaties with Orleans, the stirring up the discontented, abundantly discovered what engine was preparing by the Spaniards; and on the other side, the possession of Lorraine, the progresses in Germany, the Treaties with the Swedes, and the Subsidies to Holland, pointed out what designs the French were contriving. The Cardinal sent the Count of Botru to Madrid, and the Condé Duke, Benavides to Paris, but rather to spy the state of things than to beget confidence; having rather mutually brought back, instead of fair words and kind usage, provocations and stinging incentives, it is not credible to what a height rage was inflamed, and minds irritated, made sensible through ambition, and resolute in revenge, the better to confirm authority amidst Arms, and uphold favour and glory.

Richelieu

Richelieu was happy, who in these preliums of War experienced in every Treaty the more lucky destiny, to conclude with the United Provinces of the Low Countries the League offensive and defensive, which so much awakened in the World discourses, expectation, and fame, and stirred up in the Austrians so many apprehensions and fears; for by the Articles of the same, The Provinces in obedience to the King of Spain were to be assaulted by the Confederates, with Forces united of fifty thousand Foot and ten thousand Horse, after that by a publick Manifest they should be invited, and for three months their answer expected, to shake off the Yoke, and to unite themselves with others in one common body of liberty, saving to every one their privileges, and in particular their Religion: but when that time was past, they designed them a pray to their Arms, and the Conquests were to be divided; Lutzemburg, Namur, Henault, Artois, and the Territory of Cambray were to be yielded to France, with a part of Flanders on this side, of a line which was to be drawn from Blankenburg betwixt Bridges and Dam, taking in Rupplemond; the rest was to belong to the States of Holland, with a promise to leave the Catholick Religion every where in the state they found it. It was agreed, not to make Peace or Truce but by common consent, and not to admit of any terms till the Spaniards were first totally driven out of the Low Countries. They proposed to attack Towns in an alternative order, one of the repartition to France, and then another of those assigned to Holland, but leaving the choice to the will of the Generals. A Fleet at Sea was over and above this agreed upon, and the French were to declare War to the Emperour, and every body else, that upon this account should molest the States. All this tended to give a great stroke, if in the management of the War the interests of the Confederates had met with a parity, as in the Treaty their minds were equally disposed and their wills agreeing.

The Spaniards coming to the knowledge hereof, to the Pope and in all Courts laid load upon the French with bitter invectives, as if they would expose Religion in pray to the Hereticks, and that, not contented to see it through the countenance of their assistance depressed in Germany, they went about to extirpate it also in those Provinces, where, under the Government of their Monarchy, the true Worship was retained. But all that availing little, placing their confidence in Arms, rather than complaints, they determine upon prevention, by shutting that door, by which the French, assaulting the back-side of the Provinces, intended to bring their Army to join with that of Holland. The Count of Embden, then sent by the Cardinal Infanta to attempt the gaining of the Citadel of Triers, succeeded in the surprise of it by night, through the negligence, with which Arnould, the French Governour, kept it; the Garrison in the exploit being cut to pieces, and the Elector remaining Prisoner; for that, hindered by the Gout, he was not able to make his escape. He was sent to Vienna, to give account to the Emperour of his putting himself under the protection of the French, and to have introduced into his Towns stranger Garrisons, contrary

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1635. to the constitutions of the Empire. At the same time, Fortune applauding beginnings, Colonel *Bamberg*, who, after a long Siege, had rendred *Phillipsburg* to the *swedes*, by whom it was afterwards delivered over to *France*, by the favour of the Ice passing the ditch, happily surpris'd that very strong place.

At two so great and unexpected blows the *French* were greatly moved, but withal believing the occasion favourable to publish the War against the *spaniards* formerly resolv'd on, they sent to the *Infanta* to require with the restitution of the Country, the liberty of the Elector. But he referring the answer to the Emperour, as professing to have only obeyed his orders, a Herald was sent by King *Lewis* to *Brussels* to denounce, in the ancient forms, War, and almost at the same time moved, in the Month of *May*, his Troops. The *French* Army, by the Marshals of *Chastillon* and *Brezé*, were rendezvouz'd near *Mezieres*, and as it is usual in the first beginnings, especially when a War is undertaken through animosity and revenge, all things did superabound, so that the number of the Army exceeded the Agreement, and the warlike provisions seemed to be greater than was needful. For *France*, being at the height of reputation and power, reckoned at that time to have under its Colours, in several parts, one hundred and thirty thousand Foot and fifteen thousand Horse, with an infinite number of Artillery, and abundance of all other provisions. The *French* then marching towards *Maestricht* with above thirty thousand fighting men and forty pieces of Cannons, Prince *Thomas*, with weak Forces near to *Avesnes*, attempts to dispute the passage, and was with much slaughter beaten, so that going on without resistance, they joined *Orange*, who waited for them with twenty thousand Foot and six thousand Horse, and four-score pieces of Artillery. The Army appeared formidable for number and valour, and the world already supposed the felicity of the enterprize, equal to the Force. But Victuals for so great a multitude being quickly wanting, the Army began to devour it self through want, and to be consumed with sickness and suffering.

Brabant was invaded, and *Tirlemont*, a great Town but weak, taken by force, experienced, with cruelty in the slaughter and plunder, the first fury of Military license. The *spaniards* were encamped with their gros near to *Louvain*, to cover that City, which is of a great circuit, but weak, and, together with the City, the Country near to it. The Confederates, to draw them to a Battel, made shew to advance towards *Brussels*, not without hope, but that in the universal consternation, they might have the luck to take it. But *Orange*, retarding the march, gave time to the *spaniards* to draw nearer to it. The Confederates then commanded their march towards *Louvain*, and on a sudden besiege it with great violence, but the defence was no less vigorous, maintained by the Baron of *Grobendonck* the Governour, with the assistance of a good number of Scholars of that famous University, who strengthened the Garrison. The fierceness of the assailants being hereby abated, the Army began to waste; for the *Hollanders*, supplying their Army punctually with

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There is no doubt, but as the United Provinces, in making of the League, consented to any conditions, which might oblige the *French* to an open breach with *Spain*; so having obtained their purpose abhorred no one thing more, than to have them, instead of friends, neighbours. To the common concerns of the Provinces was added the private resentments of the Prince of *Orange*; for that *Richelieu*, amidst flatteries and confidences, had some years before endeavour'd to surprize in *France* the Town of *Orange* it self; but the blow not succeeding, he quickly silenced the fact and noise of it. But the other dissembling with equal artifice, reserved himself for an opportunity to be even with him, and now he enjoyed this, that if by taking most important Towns from the *spaniards*, he had gained by Arms the glory of valour and courage, in overreaching *Richelieu* now in wit, the world attributed to him the renown of great policy and prudence. Yet the Cardinal, having, by reason of the War undertaken, need of the adherence of the *Hollanders*, and friendship of the Prince of *Orange*, to apply himself to the greater, neglected lesser revenges. This acting against *Flanders*, with the noise and appearance of better success than was met with, had displeased the King of *England*, who willingly could not suffer the greatness of the Crown of *France* in those parts. Putting therefore, on that occasion, a Fleet to Sea, observed the issue of things, and the Emperour, considering of what importance those Provinces were to the common interest of *Germany*, leads six thousand Foot and four thousand Horse with *Piccolomini* to the assistance of the *Infante*.

The *French* Army was no sooner dispersed, but the fear, which at first troubled the Subjects of *Spain*, pierced interchangeably into the heart of the *Hollanders*. For the Count of *Embsen*, by order of the *Infante*, surpris'd *Schinche Schans*, which lies in a situation above any other important, where the *Rhine*, divided into two Branches, keeps on the right hand its name, and on the left assumes that of *Waaghe*; so that the Fort, commanding the Navigation and the Dikes, can overflow the Country: gives an entrance into the *Bistampe*, and, on the one side cutting off the Towns and Provinces which are beyond the River, opens on the other passage into the bowels of *Holland*. *Orange* comes immediately to inclose it with a strong Siege,

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drawing abundance of Works longst the side of the River. So great a flame of War betwixt two so powerful Kings could not be contained only within those Provinces; but spreading it self every where, broke forth also in *Italy*, taking its beginning in the *Grisons*, where *Monsieur de la Lande*, for the custody of the Passes, for some time past kept three Regiments of that Nation and some *French*; and now having sent a *l'improvviso*, by the Mountain of *Spluga*, six Companies, possesses without opposition *Chiavanna*, *Riva*, *il Sasso Corbeio*, and those other places longst the Lake heretofore named; then *Roban* following by the way of *Poschiavo* with five thousand Foot and four hundred Horse gets *Morbegno*, and every other place remaining in possession of all the *Valtelline* and the Counties adjacent. The Cardinal *Albornoz*, who after the *Infanta's* departure governed *Milan*, by profession averse to Arms, was upon this emergency beyond measure confused. Sends nevertheless Troops towards *Lago di Como*, but expected his chief succours and diversions from *Germany*, and no one thing could happen more disturbing to the *Austrians*, than to see the passages shut, and communication interrupted.

The *French* knew, that though the surprise happened to be easie, yet it was impossible to keep what they had gotten without the assistance of the *Venetians*. The Ministers therefore of King *Lewis*, bringing to remembrance the pressures and agreements for the redemption formerly of those Passes; demonstrated the present Conjunction, exhorting the Republick to take Arms, and participate of the Conquests. But those of *Spain* extolling those generous Titles attributed to the Republick it self, of the Shield and Defence of Liberty, and the Peace of *Italy*, endeavoured to stir it up against the *French*, as the unseasonable incendiary of so great a discord. The Senate in the present constitution of things, seeming to have nothing to hope nor fear from Strangers, resolved to keep themselves in neutrality, enjoying Peace at least in their own Country, though their endeavours had not been sufficient to divert the War elsewhere. They permitted the *French* to draw Victuals out of the neighbouring places, and the passage of Corn which they fetched out of *Albania*, and besides for some Cannon bought out of Ships in *Venice*; and consented to the *Spaniards* the transport, from *Trieste* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, of *German* Souldiers in Barks one by one, and without Arms; which a little before having been demanded in the Name of *Lodowick* Prince of *Venosa*, who desired to make the Levy, had been denied. As to other things, fortifying the passages and their own Confines with a good number of Souldiers, and by sending *Luigi Giorgio* General in *Terra firma*, and *Sebastian Veniero* into *Valcamonica*, and *Michael Priuli* Proveditor into the *Veronese*, they stood observing what would happen.

Surely the *French* might have reaped great advantages, if while the minds of the *Spanish* Ministers were wavering, by reason of the surprise of the *Valtelline* and the weak condition they then were in, the *Milanese* by the way of *Piedmont* had been attacked by them. But

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whilst they lingered, the better to settle agreements with other Princes of *Italy* firm, which ordinarily favours the weaker side, gave the *Spaniards* opportunity to make Levies in *Helvetia*, call assistance from *Naples* and *Sicily*, and receive those from the *Grand Duke*, wherewith for the Investiture of *Vienna* he is obliged to aid the *Milanese* whensoever attacked. *Monsieur de Bellievre*, sent from King *Lewis*, Ambassadour Extraordinary, into *Italy*, coming to *Turin*, obliged *Vittorio* to declare himself, to joyn Forces, and enter into the League.

If the *Savoyards*, heretofore considerable by reason of situation, were wont, by the credit they had with both sides, to invite to the War sometimes the one, and sometimes the other Crown, it seemed at present, that they could do no other but second the *French*, being on the one side environed with *Fignerol*, and on the other with *Monferrat*. The Duke grew more and more jealous from the pass it self, that necessity forced him to remain united with that Crown; for if by the *French* the *Milanese* should be conquered, he knew himself at their mercy, rather lost than exposed. Nevertheless being a friend in peace, it behoved him to make himself also a Companion in War, not without some hope, that joyning Arms, and participating in Councils, he might arrive at his ends, and direct them to his advantage. So adhering to the *French* in Name, and in Maxims to the *Spaniards*, he became in conclusion troublesome to these, and of little advantage to the others. The Duke d'Alviti was sent by *Albornoz* to *Turin*, to divert him from signing the League, but in vain; for though many believed, that he passed with him concerts less publick, but more effectual, yet after some delays he closed with the *French*. *Bellievre* then goes to the Duke of *Parma*, who in the heat of his years and passions, greedy of Glory and War, had already so far advanced a Treaty with the *French*, that little of trouble remained to the Ambassadour fully to conclude it, to the so much greater resentment of the *Spaniards*, as they knew they had unseasonably provoked rather than frightened him with scorns and threatnings to promote to the Government of the Country *Alexander* his elder Brother, who, as dumb, judged by the Kindred incapable of the Succession, was kept in the Citadel of *Piacenza*, not without jealousy by the Duke; and although every body condemned *Edward*, that undertaking War with the more powerful, he exercised rather the warmth of his courage, than the prudence and vigour of his ability; nevertheless the Ministers of *Spain* conceived strong apprehensions, lest the *Milanese* should be assaulted in flank, succours from *Naples* be hindered, and *French* introduced into *Piacenza*, and perhaps also into *Sabioneda*. The Duke of *Modena* set himself to sale to both the Crowns; so acceptable and regarded did the desire of prevailing on their Rivals render at present to those great Princes, those, who at other times they were wont to despise.

At last, after having amused *France* and *Bellievre*, who went to gain him, with long hopes he agrees with *Spain*, signing with *Francesco de Mello* a Treaty to adhere to that Crowns party, and send

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1634. the Prince *Rinaldo* his Brother with three thousand Foot into the *Milaneſe*, in recompence of the Garrison, which he was permitted to bring into *Correggio*. Then the French Miniſter turns himſelf towards *Mantua*, with ſo much the greater inſtance, as the Community of Nation and the late benefits ſeemed to conſtrain, if not perſwade, the Duke. Nevertheless he reſiſted as much as he could, and reſorting for counſel to the *Venetians*, the reſolution was referred to his own choice and wiſdom. Whereupon he ſigns the League, but could contribute nought to it but the name, the *Republick* not ſupplying wherewithal to execute it; doubtful notwithstanding, that from ſuch provocations the *Spaniards* being angry, might be more forward to make ſome attempt upon *Mantua*, re-inforces more and more that Garrison. The Treaty with the adhering Dukes contained, *An Union for three years and the promiſe of the King, beſides ten thouſand men to be kept in the Valteline to maintain in Italy twelve thouſand Foot more and fifteen hundred Horſe. To Savoy were aſſigned ſix thouſand Foot and twelve hundred Horſe; to Parma five hundred of theſe, and four thouſand of thoſe; to Mantua three hundred of the one, and three thouſand of the other. It was agreed, not to make Peace without the reſtitution of that, which by the Spaniards might be taken from the Confederates. As to conqueſts which might happen, the diviſion was deferred, till the enterpriſe on the Milaneſe ſhould be at an end: leaving every one of the united Princes uncertain what was to be the reward of their undertaking, and not out of fear, left in the concluſion the more powerful ſhould keep to himſelf the arbitrement and poſſeſſion.*

The French Miniſters, after they had diſcovered the fixed reſolution of the *Venetians* to ſtand neutral, had deferred as the laſt attempt, to preſs the *Republick*, and get her to come into the League, believing that more than from reaſon would be powerful to perſwade it, not ſo much the example of the other Princes united, as the intereſt and the conceit, that in the taking of *Milan* it behoved them alſo to have a ſhare in it, to greaten it ſelf, and enjoy the ſpoils. And therefore they invited them, not as others with uncertain hopes, but with expreſs propoſitions to give them in the *Valteline Tirano*, conſent to them paſſage into, and a League with the *Griſons*, and in the *Milaneſe* the *Comaſco*, *la Giara d'Adda*, with whatever more ſhe would chuſe. As the Armies were ready to move, *Bellieure* arrives at *Venice*, and being brought into the Aſſembly together with *Monſieur de la Thuillerie*, Ambaſſadour in Ordinary, thus ſpoke; *If I ſhould come to this renowned Common-wealth to deſire in the name of the moſt Chriſtian King aſſiſtance, rather than to offer advantages, his affection and friendſhip would ſeem to favour more of intereſt than of ſincerity. But the King my Maſter, the beſt amongſt his Anceſtors, hath contented himſelf, by the aſſiſtance of Divine goodneſs and juſtice to ſubdue his Rebels; afterwards to revenge himſelf of his enemies, and having brought them into a condition of being overcome and beaten, calls now his Allies and Friends to take part not of the danger, but of the rewards, not of the charges and labours,*

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1635. bours, but of the prey and conqueſt. France, by Gods grace, under the protection of a moſt juſt King, and the cure of a provident and vigilant Miniſter, is in that degree of happineſs and power, that if in other times it was not to be overcome but by it ſelf, being now united at peace, obedient, and armed is rendered ſuperiour to it ſelf. And now I ſhall tell you, that nothing is wanting to its ſelicity, but that which the Kings goodneſs will have wanting, and that is the communicating his good things to his friends; the dividing ſelicity it ſelf with his Confederates. The Arms of France, heretofore implored by the Princes of Italy, deſired by your ſelves, always ready for ſuccours of the cauſes moſt juſt, ſatally alſo in paſt Ages the Reſtorers of Italy, are now offered to you, not to redeem, (for we already number that Ornament amongſt our Conqueſts) but to ſecure the perpetual quiet, liberty, and dignity of Italy, which hath hitherto coſt you ſo many cares, and our ſelves ſo much blood. I openly declare, it to be the chief point of my inſtructions and of your counſels, that the King renounces the very thought of retaining any thing in Italy. Let the ſpoils, Dominions, and Provinces be yours, ours ſhall be the labours, the charges, and the dangers, let the Glory be ſufficient to the French Nation, to know how to overcome their Enemies, and ſo give Victories to their Friends. Your Republick, beloved by the King, as Coetancan with his Monarchy, the firſt begotten of his Confederates, the firſt-fruits of his affection in Italy; what greater pledge can you receive of the Royal inclination, than to be intreated to gather the fruits of our labours, to increaſe your Empire, and extend your Conſines upon the ruine of his implacable and ancient Enemies? Let us, I pray, meaſure, and not without aſtoniſhment, the diſparity of the *Maxims* and *Genius* of the two Nations, whereof one by affection, the other by neceſſity offers you friendſhip. Who knows not the *Spaniards*, a people covetous of their own, and greedy of what is anothers, who by ambition undertake, and by avarice and nature holds faſt? We on the other ſide, prodigal of our ſelves, if in War we obſerve juſtice, in conquering we exerciſe moderation. How many provocations have we ſuffered before we declared our ſelves Enemies to Spain, the Prejudices, the Treacheries, diſſembled to an exceſs of patience, had rendered the *Auſtrians* ſo bold, that to oppreſs our Friends, and inſult upon our ſelves, was turned into a *Maxim* of their haughtineſs, as the intereſt of the French ſuſſerance. You, O Fathers, your ſelves are Witneſſes, how often you have ſtirred us up to juſt reſentments, and I will ſpeak it without ſhame, becauſe France appeared then alienated from it ſelf, reproved us with reaſon of negligence. But now my King, who can with his power meaſure his Generoſity, with what motive hath he begun the preſent War, but to render Juſtice to his Friends, unjuſtly violated by the *Spaniſh Arms*? Though he hath been willing frequently to diſſemble the offences done to himſelf, he hath not been able to ſuffer the injuries done to his Confederates: And who will doubt, that the War will not be carried on in future by the ſame Arts with which it begins, and if the deceitful ſurpriſe of an *Elector* proteſted, be by my King revenged with ſo great preparations and ſo great charges, what ſhall not his Friends be, who ſhall adhere to him, to be defended by his Royal conſtancy, and

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made partakers of his Victories and Triumphs? Certainly, if I consider the present proposition, 'tis needless that I seek other examples to render the Magnanimity of the French Kings, and in particular of Lewis Illustrious. Does he invite you to be his Companions in the enterprise of the Milanese? but he gives to you and the other Confederates the conquest of it, and of the other Territories of Italy, to which the Rights of our Kings are so clear and so just. Those that in the gaining and losing of them cost us so much blood, are your conquests. Believe me, Fathers, that if we expect Heaven should prescribe us Councils, it cannot suggest it to us with clearer words, than by shewing us the Conjunction, and supplying with Forces for it. But why do I speak of Forces? It sufficeth that the Republick contribute herein to it its name. If, Fathers, this be sufficient, it is almost no other but this alone that I sue for; because Italy, weary of Wars, of Jealousies, and Discords, which for so long time her constant enemies have scattered there, being now assisted and united, is willing at one blow alone to cast off the yoke, and if your Senate have so many times generously solicited, that your example might be followed, nothing now is required from you but approbation and consent. I dissemble it not; almost all the Princes of Italy are already either open Enemies to Spain, or secret Friends to France; and expect nothing else to declare themselves but the credit of your prudence. In your hands then rests the Force, the Counsel, and the Destiny of Italy. I call not to your memories the ancient Mischiefs, recent Jealousies, and perpetual Suspensions. It suffices to say, that the Domination of Spain, is dreadful to all, fears all; that it hates those it fears, and that it is equally insatiable in hatreds, as it is excessive in revenges. And now what else more can be said, but that it is rather preserved by the patience of others than its own power. The Austrians invaded, and every where divided, have rather a proof of the weight than the force of their boundless power, and can no longer govern the vast bulk of their Greatness. The Milanese in particular, where they have placed the seat of the War and of their strength also, which for so many years hath vexed Italy, who can repair it? Unprovided of Forces, confounded in the Government, assailed from so many parts, beyond all succours, and if you will, possibility of escape. I know the Spanish Ministers will not fail to allure you; but believe me, that their flatteries are not for nought. They proceed from the guiltiness of their present weakness; from the remorse of past injuries. So the Serpent benumbed in Winter, hath its venom dulled, but not extinguished; when the rays of the Sun touch it again in the Spring, it turns and wounds it self, and at last breathes forth death. And what will the Spaniards do else, if propitious Fortune should breath again, but vent the revenges, the resentments, and the offences, which during adversity they keep concealed in the heart? Do not believe, that pretended injuries are forgotten, nor that oblivion or moderation can be in minds accustomed to insolence and sole arbitrement. My King will think to have done enough, and to have satisfied what is due to Glory and Himself, whilst this will serve Him and Italy for the last trial whether she do know and be willing patiently to suffer servitude.

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The French Ambassadors were no sooner gone from their Audience, but the Count de la Rocca in a contrary sense discoursed to this purpose. I speak to a Prince, who upon just grounds hath always exercised hostilities and embraced War. That is enough to persuade me, that the most pious institutions of your generous Ancestors living in you, it may be superfluous, that I here exhort you to that, which by a common concert, grave prudence, and a religious conscience persuades you to. I see the French Ministers wandring through Italy, I perceive they are in this City; but, if elsewhere they meet with equally to their desires, ambition, the avarice of Princes, nay and ingratitude it self for benefits conferred upon many by my King, they will find here prudence, justice, and moderation united. Let it be the glory of your Republick to make War for Peace, and, having found it, to preserve it; as it will be the eternal blame of the Crown of France, to disturb and confound it. It cannot be denied, but that the genius of that Nation resembles the violence of fire, which, if it reacheth not to something else, burns and consumes it self. What, I pray, provokes to this present War? The Affairs possibly of Trier, a thing rather alledged than true; as though, whilst the Peace was treating in Ratisbone, the Treaties with the King of Sweden would not have been assented to, and when the execution was concerted in Chievasco, and that the Austrians, with the just faith of Princes, rendred Countries, Towns, and Posts, the French had not designed surprisings, treacheries, and injuries. God, the Judge of Kings, and who, called upon in just witness of Agreements, is a severe revenger of deceit, doth now condemn and punish them. Religion, and the piety of the Austrians, triumphs in Germany. In Flanders the Heavens, the Elements, Nature it self fight for us. We see Armies overcome without fighting, we hear of places taken without a Siege. What else can be expected in Italy, where the cause is so much the more unjust, as the pretexts are farther fetched? To what tend the offers and propositions of the Ministers of France, but to render this happy Country a deplorable Theatre of eternal War? This, O Fathers, is the thing they would be at; to overcome you with your own very blood, and with a fallacious friendship, that by subduing all, they might see you all Enemies amongst your selves. I will not argue the point, whether, as they imagine it, it be so easie to drive the Spanish potency out of Italy. It being founded upon lawful titles, confirmed by time, use, and its own strength, is like a great Oak which stands firm upon its own weight and strength; the winds may shake and toss it to and fro, but they spend their breath in the contest before that it is weary of resisting, and if it do fall, it crushes at the same time whoever attempts to violate the roots. But let us examine their specious propositions, of advantages, Conquests, and Spoils; which I would rather see authorised by examples, than amplified with partial discourses. Which way soever I turn my self, either to the noble acts of old, or the memorials of later times, I find nothing but sad accidents of Princes oppressed, of places taken, and Provinces usurped; and, if what hath hapned in Lorraine, Trier, and Germany sute not fitly as foreign to Italy, enquire of Savoy, and satisfy your selves out of your own Annals, that the French being Neighbours must either be Masters

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pers or Enemies. Will you then, O Fathers, give your assistance to them, who in the War having license for their end, and ambition for their motive, will turn against you those Forces, to which your power and friendship shall have given vigour and success? I know very well what they have given others to understand; that perhaps, which they go about to make you believe, that they will make the Conquests, and leave you the advantages of the Victories. But if they take the rise of the War from the breach of faith, do you believe, that Victory, which uses to make all men insolent, will metamorphise them into Religion and Modesty? If they think the Italian Princes unable to manage a War without their aid and assistance, it must be their Armies then that must besiege places, and garrison them when taken, and having once (God preserve Italy from that unhappy destiny) excluded my King, who shall be the Judge, who shall decide causes, who regulate the Confines, and who require again what is deposited? I will not vainly boast what the power of Spain hath contributed to the honour, security, and quiet of Italy. As to us, your Confines have always remained unviolable; within our own have we confined our thoughts and Armies, sollicitous only for our own, and the common Peace. My King hath always been desirous to confederate Empire with reason, and establish his greatness in tranquillity. But the present commotions, which every where shake Europe, do confound divine Worship, propagate Heresie, oppress Countries, and serve for an argument and proof what will be the progress, if such be the first steps of the French Armies. I know, that the artifices of our Enemies have in times past scattered jealousies, introduced disgusts, depainted shadows, and every thing being suspected which remained a secret, have caused disadvantages and discords; but the end hath been the judge of the intentions, and the work. Great Princes have great wrong done them, when they want the true knowledge of their Counsels, believe all upon fame, and suspect every thing. Of that I shall say no more; because it is now, at last, time that we lay aside suspicions, wrath, and enmities, which have hitherto so often reciprocally deceived us. I cannot give this great and wise Republick a more safe pledge of the Kings friendship, than offering it an union with him, and suing for the bond of your alliance. If in your protection consists the Peace of Italy, obligation persuades you, custom exhorts you and interest it self constrains you. My King will believe his opposition more fortunate, if he shall have for his companions those, whom he refuses not for the Judges of his intentions, and the Umpires of the Peace.

Though, from such endeavours, mens minds for some days were variously moved, yet being communicated to the Senate, the consent was unanimous, not to change counsel, but to adjust according to Neutrality the answers, with equal esteem to the invitations of both the Kings, equally affectionated and prized, and with exhortations to Peace, for the procuring whereof, in the partiality of so many others, who divided Europe almost equally, the indifference of the Republick was judged necessary, if not serviceable. With these resolutions the *spaniards* were more contented, than the French appayed, to whom it appeared, as if, amidst domestick cares, the

the Republick had laid aside the foreign, and that it was not against having the *spaniards* in Italy, so it were in a condition compatible with the liberty of that Country.

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Before *Bellieure* departed from Venice, foreseeing that the Republick would be more and more averse from entering into the League, by reason of the harsh usage of the Duke of *Savoy*, he besought them to admit of some moderations; but the Senate made no reply to his instances. The Confederates then in *Piedmont*, taking the Field in the month of August, the Duke *Vittorio*, being Generalissimo of the League, and *Cregui* commanding the French Army, pass the *Sesia*, possessing with a great effort the Fort *della Villata*, and the tracings of certain old Trenches. At the same time the Duke of *Parma*, sending to the other side of the *Po* four Companies of Horse with Musketers behind them, caused *Codagno* to be pillaged, to vent private revenge against the House of *Trivulzia*, to whom the Town belongs. Upon these invasions, and for fear of greater disasters, the people of the *Milanese* being in confusion, fled in Troops, for refuge, into the Country of the *Venetians*, with such of their goods, as time and convenience permitted, or that the value moved them to carry away.

To say truth, had the Republick made an attaque from its own frontier, it looked as if there would have been no remedy or refuge. So that their moderation was extolled by many, and the Catholick King himself to *Giovanni Cusiani* their Ambassador confessed: That he acknowledged the preservation of the *Milanese* from the generosity of the Senate, which ran the same course unrequired, preserving friendship with them in their dangers, whose hatred they had not formerly, in their greatest power, feared, nor tolerated their jealousies.

Cregui, after several consultations, laying Siege to *Valenza*, thought, by the gaining of it, a door would be opened into the *Milanese* for the enjoying the conveniencies of a good part of the Country beyond the *Po*; Duke *Edward* would be animated, and *Vittorio* no less, to co-operate and join Forces. He supposed the attaque would be short and quickly dispatched, notwithstanding that the *spaniards* had brought some renfort into it. But he quickly perceived, that *Francisco del Cardina* making a brave defence, there was need of a stronger Army to take it. The Duke of *Parma*, with four thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, passing through the *Tortonese*, with so much the more haste, for having beaten by the way some *spanish* Troops that attempted to hinder him, had joined with him. He of *Savoy*, who at first had not approved of the engagement, lingered for many days. At last, sending the Marquis *Villa* before with some part of his Troops, himself arrives with the rest, which in all made a body of betwixt five and six thousand Souldiers. During this interim, *Cregui*, having not been able, for want of men, to perfect the circumvallation of the place, the *spaniards* had enjoyed all conveniencies to bring succours into it. But with the arrival of the *Savoyards*, being environed on both sides the River, the taking it

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it seemed secure, if the emulation and contention betwixt the Confederates had not weakened their Force and Counsels. Whereupon, the taking of the out-works going faintly on, *Antonio Setello* and the Marquess *di Calada* took courage to fall into the quarters of *Parma*, with so great success, that, though repulsed, they did him most remarkable mischief, there being killed, amongst others, *Ricciardo Avogardo*, a *Brescian* of a very noble Family, General of *Edwards* Horse. Upon this, *Carlo Colonna* also, who, till the arrival of *Leganes* out of *Flanders*, commanded the Spanish Army, putting on resolution incamps himself in the *Lommelina*, in a quarter near to the place besieged, committing to the Marquess of *Torrecuso* the defence of certain Posts advanced. The *French*, with the Duke of *Mantua*, passed to the other side of the *Po*, into the *Savoyards* quarters, to attempt to dislodge him; but whilst *Torrecuso*, seconded by *Colonna*, amused the Enemy, five hundred Souldiers carrying certain provisions, going out of *Alessandria*, entred into *Valenza* on the other side, through the quarters ill guarded by the *Parmesians* and *French*. Which *Crequi* understanding, fearing lest the besieged with this re-inforcement might fall into his own quarter, returns thither. And *Colonna*, now seeing the attempt of a general succour seasonable, drew forth his Troops along the sides of the *Po*, and recovers a Fort at the entry into *del Ponte*, first possessed by the *Savoyards*. From thence he thrusts into *Valence* what was needful; *Vittorio* looking on without opposition, and *Crequi*, with a battery afar off, in vain endeavouring to hinder it.

This relief taking away from the Confederates the hopes of mastering the place, obliges them, after fifty days Siege, to rise and retire. Every one of the Chiefs desirous not to be held the Author or cause of this ill success, carried away with them their passions and excuses. *Crequi* highly taxes the faith of the *Savoyards*, as if that Duke, not caring to see a good issue of the Siege, had retarded Victuals, weakly assaulted the Posts of *Torrecuso*, and at last connived at the entrance of the succours. On the other side *Vittorio* imputes to *Crequi* want of activity and negligence, not only in the first motion of the Army, but in not hindring the entrance of the first succours, complaining, that the *French* Army, much weaker than the agreement, and thap was necessary, had no other aim by ingaging themselves but to ingage their friends.

The Duke of *Parma* was universally blamed for his heat and inexperience, in being joined with a few Forces, and with uncertain and remote succours against so powerful a King. The Pope, as Sovereign of those States, had by the means of the Vice-Legate of *Bologna* admonished him to desist; but *Edward* not regarding the friendly office, and *Urban* not pressing it further, the appearance served rather to satisfy the complaints of the Ministers of *Spain*, who accused the Pope of negligence, than effectually to promote Peace. The Duke, accompanied with few, goes to the Court at *Paris*, to inform it how things had passed, and to render to King *Lewis* and the Cardinal, in sign of his constant adherence, a clear testimony

testimony of submission and respect. *Vittorio*, to cancel past suspicions, together with *Crequi*, takes in the *Milanese*, *Candia*, and *Sartirana*, weak Towns; plants afterwards at *Breme* a Fort in a most convenient situation, under the favour whereof, not only the Frontiers, but the very bowels of the *Milanese* might be greatly infested. Thence gives way that the Marquess *Villa* getting the good will of the reliques of the Troops of *Parma*, now in the *Piacentino*, together with some *French*, should take up their Winter-quarters there, when they had first overcome the opposition of some other Spanish Troops in the *Tortonese*.

It seemed to many, that the successes of the Campaigna had not been answerable to the designs and honour of the Confederates, and less to their Forces and the expectation of the World. But the conquest of the *Valtellina* recompensing in a great measure the scanty progress in the *Milanese*, kept still the *Austrians* in trouble for *Germany*; whereupon the Emperour giving knowledge of it to the *Venetians* by his Letters, sends Troops to drive out the *French*. It seeming difficult to force those passages, a report was raised, That by the Mountain *Tonale*, or by the State of the Republick, they might secretly attempt passage. *Roban* craftily augments the suspicion, offering to come with all his Forces to their assistance, when the Confines should be violated. But the fact gave quickly the lye to the report; for *Fernamont*, under the name of the Widow Regent of *Insbruck*, having raised four thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, goes down to *Bormio*, and almost without opposition possesses the whole Country. Thence, strengthened with more men, he designed to enter into the Valley so soon as he should see *Serbellone* ready on the other side to attempt the same. The *Spaniards* retarding the execution of the concert, the *Germans* retire into the Valley of *Levin*, where they found some molestation by the *French*.

At last, *Serbellone* being also in readiness, *Fernamont* marches towards *Tirano*, where being encountered by *Roban* at the Bridge of *Mazzo* over the *Adda*, he was beaten, and many slain. If the Bridge had been broken in time, almost all the *Germans* had been cut to pieces. The glory and advantage notwithstanding on the *French* side was great; for that inferiour in number, through the valour of the Duke, the knowledge of the situations, and some ambushes, he prevailed upon the Enemy. Whilst they were fighting on this side, *Serbellone* comes to *Sondrio* with three thousand Foot, four hundred Horse, and certain pieces of Cannon. *Roban*, without other refreshment but that which the satisfaction of the Victory brought, turns that way, sending some Souldiers by the Mountains, which seasonably in the time of the Battel might fall upon the *Spaniards* in the Rear and in the Flanks. But the Fame of the success with the *Germans*, making more haste than his march, persuades *Serbellone* to retire, under the favour of the Fort *Fuente*. Then the *French* passing again the Valley, went to *Bormio*, and there the Marquess *de Monto* fer courageously assaulting the Town, the Garrison seeking to escape by flight, were defeated by the Guards, placed on the passages. But

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Nevertheless the *Germans*, somewhat come to themselves again, remaining with their gross not above eight miles distant, sent again, to recover their credit, ten Companies of Dragoons and three Regiments of Foot, who taking Quarters thereabouts, upon frequent occasions, gave lusty Alarms to *Roban*, who was employed in building a Fort at *Tirano*, where formerly the *Venetians* and *French* had placed one; whence the *Germans*, comprehending how difficult it would prove to send into the *Milanese* the succours intended by the more direct way, resolved to hasten away some Souldiers by the Bridge of *Rapail*, and through the Country of the Catholick Cantons. The gross, which amounted to six thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse, lodging in the Valley of *Frael*, was designing to fall upon *Roban's* Camp, which was diminished with sickness and Run-aways; but the Duke taking courage and counsel from necessity and danger, though exceeding much inferior in Forces, faces at un-awares the *Germans* upon certain Hillocks, and *Monsieur de Canisè* threatening to assault them from an eminent situation in the Rear, they took so great a fright, that they retired in disorder under the favour of a Fort not far off.

Serbellone, that knew nothing of what was happened on the other side, advanced as far as *Morbegno* with seven thousand Foot, seven Companies of Horse, and five Cannons, intrenching himself amidst certain inclosures of Walls, which are frequent thereabout. But it was not long, ere *Roban*, leaving *Monsieur de la Lande*, arrives unlooked for towards *Bormio*, but with his men so weary with so much travelling to and fro, that it was hazardous to expose them to a fight. But not being willing to give the Enemy time to be informed of the weakness of his, nor to his to examine the strength of the Enemy, advances courageously to attack them. At the beginning the *French* Horse were staggering, nay began to run, when the Duke reproaching some, and giving courage to others, puts himself at the head of them, charging with such fury, that the Troops of *Serbellone*, after a short resistance, quitted the field. The number of the dead exceeded not six hundred, nor were the Prisoners many; because the greater part saved themselves betimes. Amongst these was found the Count de *Valenza*, with other Officers, and amongst the dead the Count de *San Secondo*, who commanded the Horse. Of the hurt, the chiefest was *Serbellone*. The *Spaniards* being gone, the *Germans* also, thinking themselves not sufficiently safe in the Valley of *Frael*, removed further off, leaving *Roban* the Glory and quiet possession of the *Valteline* for the rest of the Winter. Nevertheless he wanted not enemies from within, and they more troublesome; for no succours coming out of *France*, he found himself greatly weakened, and underwent necessity and many wants, so much the greater,

greater, for that the Plague gotten out of *Tirol* into the *Valteline*, the *Venetians* had forbidden Commerce; so that the passage of Victuals, if not hindered, was at least rendered difficult by reason of the usual cautions.

War being kindled in so many parts, the curiosity and expectation of the World did in a manner weary it self in observing the successes, the reflection upon one emergency coming frequently to be interrupted by another more remarkable. The Fleet of *Spain*, now put to Sea, recompensing with its strength the delays of the year past, consisted of thirty five Gallies, many great Ships, and other lesser Vessels, with seven thousand Souldiers, commanded by the Duke of *Ferandina* and the Marquess of *Santa Croce*. Being under sail, it no sooner came near to the Coast of *Provence*, but being forced back by a furious storm, it took harbour at *Capo Corso*, after having lost seven Gallies; and the rest been much shattered, whereof many, to save themselves, flung into the Sea Artillery, Horses, and other Provisions. Some of the Ships ran over to *Porto Longone* to repair themselves, but all required much time. Nevertheless, put into order again, and at last arriving at the Islands of *Eres*, which are called *St. Honorat* and *St. Agarete*, it happily succeeded in the taking of them, and for the preservation of them presently raised certain Forts there. The enterprise was judged to be of great importance; because the Islands being near to the Continent, lye equally commodious to molest *France* and the County of *Nizza*. At *Paris* therefore they shewed great resentment for it; but for the present giving the best order for Sea-affairs, time did permit, *Richelieu* resolves to defer the remedy, because a storm from *Germany* pressed him more, if by re-inforcing the *Swedes*, he had not effected the hindring of it.

The Peace concluded by the Elector of *Saxe* with the Emperor, in consequence of the Victory obtained by the *Austrians* at *Nordingen*, gave occasion for great apprehensions, because the Elector had capitulated, not only for himself, but like an Arbitrator for all the Protestants: That Religion and Ecclesiastical Goods should remain in the same state, in which they were found to be in the year 1627; and those, for the restoration whereof the Edict of *Ferdinand* was published, were to be enjoyed by the Protestants for forty years more. To *Augustus* his son should be left the Archbishoprick of *Magdenburg*, and to the Archduke *Leopold*, *Halverstadt*, with an universal Amnesty, which should only exclude the causes of the Palatinate and Bohemia. To *Bavaria* should be continued the Electoral Vote and the Country, and if they would be comprehended in the Peace, the Dukedom of *Meckelburg*, *Wolfenbutel*, and *Haumburg*, should be restored to their first Owners; and to *Brandenburg* the Investiture of *Pomerania* should be granted. The place of *Philipsburg* was to remain in the hand of the Emperor; and the Strangers, or those of the *Germans*, that would not acquiesce in this Treaty, were to be prosecuted with united Forces as common Enemies; for which end in many Articles were concerted the conjunction of Armies, the Command of them, Contributions, and Quarters.

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Although the Protelstants universally complained, that *Saxe*, adjusting his own affairs, and re-assuming his old inclination to the *Austrians*, arrogated to himself the disposing of the affairs of the Empire; nevertheless he, accusing the necessity of things and times, which permitted not wonted forms, drew by his example the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Luneburg*, with many of the free Cities, and especially *Ulm*, *Francfort* upon *Maine*, and *Nuremberg*, to accept the Peace. After this, sending his Army against the *swedes*, he offers *Bannier*, who commanded them, a million and two hundred thousand Dollers, if without expecting Force, he would be gone out of *Germany*; but he, interposing excuses and delays, found himself pursued and shut up in *Pomerania*. *Baudissen*, that commanded the Electors Army, besieges *Damitz* in that Province, to dislodge the *swedes* out of the strongest places; but as he was opposing the succours, which *Banier* attempted to bring into it, was in a manner wholly defeated, and being beaten a second time in his Retreat at *Chintz*, was forced to leave *Pomerania*, and the places which he had before taken. On the other side, the Imperialists passing the *Rhine* with a great Party under *Jean de Werth*, made an Incurion into the Borders of *France*, while in the mean time, *Carlo*, Duke of *Lorrain*, to whom they had assigned the body of an Army, possessed many places in *Alsace*, and *Gallas* with considerable Conquests along the *Rhine* and in the *Palatinate*, recovered *Frankendale*, *Gustaveburg*, *Spire*, *Worms*, and other places. *Heidelberg* had not run a differing Fortune, if, while the Castle resisted, *Gallas* had not thought progress elsewhere more profitable. *Mentz* was preserved, because *France*, seeing so great a storm at hand, sent to joyn with *Weimar* an entire Army under the Cardinal *de la Vaullette*, who putting on Arms above his Purple, appeared among the Armies and the *Lutherans*. *Binghen* was rendred to him, for that *Gallas*, to invite him to advance, feigned to retire, and afterwards on a sudden with a numerous body of Horse pursued him in such sort, that he was hardly able to save himself with so long a march as obliged him to leave nine of his Cannon in the hand of his Enemies. Such a Retreat differed not much from a Rout; so many were of the men lost by the way through weariness and the want of Victuals.

Richelieu was afflicted at these accidents, and because Author of the War, he was himself esteemed in a manner guilty of the success. Nevertheless setting Art and his Wits more strongly to work, and binding himself more closely to the *swedes*, he perswades *Oxenstern* to come to confer with him at *Compeigne*. Where, contrary to that which commonly results from such Conferences, both confessed the interview had reciprocally increased confidence, and added weight unto Fame. Having like inclinations, parts, and interests, they easily agree upon the continuance of the War, of which having the same ends, they had also the same causes. They therefore agree upon a Treaty to confirm the old, binding themselves by new obligations, *Not to make a separate Peace, and to make use of all their*

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Force not to render any thing of that whereof they were now in possession.

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The Duke of *Weimar* was sometimes wavering, great advantages being offered him by the *Austrians*; but *France* confirmed him, disbursing to him a great sum of money for the maintaining an Army of twelve thousand Foot, six thousand Horse, and Artillery suitable, which he was to imploy in their Service. *Alsace* was left to him in prey, and *Hagbenau* by *France* it self, which was possessed of it, was delivered to him, with a special promise not to make Peace but by a common agreement, and without which that Province should remain to the Duke. With this ballance of Arms *France* hindred, that the *swedes* should not be beaten out of the field, though already overcome, nor the *Austrians* enjoy the advantages of Conquests. But if by the foresaid accords the means were settled for War, those of Peace remained much more difficult. To propose and manage it, it may truly be said, that there appeared no party in Christendom undefiled with Faction, but the *Pope* and the *Venetians*; and therefore the parties turned their eyes and minds towards them, soliciting them, both with open endeavours and private intreaties, to undertake the Mediation of so dangerous a Discord.

The *Pope*, who for the affairs of *Lorrain* had the years past sent *Giusio Mazzarini*, his Nuntio Extraordinary, to *Paris*, by his means in that Court, and by his ordinary Ministers in the others, exhorted all with his powerful intreaties to Peace; and the *Republick*, by its offices and equal instances pressed it, extending them also to the Princes of different Religion, whether those of *Urban* could not come, and particularly to the *Provinces of Holland*. To *Oxenstern*, who sent to *Venice* the Count *Galeazzo Gualdo*, Prior of *Vicenza*, to communicate the straights in which the party was, and to desire assistance, the Senate gravely offered remonstrances of the same nature. *Giovanni Crasti*, Counsellor of the Court, passing at this time in the Name of the Emperour to the Princes of *Italy*, enemies to *Spain*, to perswade them to Peace, exhorted also the *Republick* to cooperate in so great a good, and had for answer precise expressions of the desire she had of Peace, and the imployment, which with all her power she contributed to the Mediation.

Ferdinand truly desired Peace in proportion as it closed with his interest; for, affairs being in a better condition, he hoped to make, without disadvantage, and to transmit to his Son the Succession more quiet and secure. And for that cause he was not against the suspension of Arms, which the *Pope* proposed betwixt *France* and the *Austrians*; but the Favourites of *France* and *Spain*, having reduced their private grudges into publick contests, reciprocally believed the Treaty not sincere, and the Peace not secure. Nevertheless at the request and example of *Urban*, who publishes the Cardinal *Ginotti* his Legate à *Latere*, Plenipotentiaries were named by the Princes to treat of an Accord, and by so much the more willingly by *Richelieu*, as that, seeing the *French* themselves apt to blame the unprosperous

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After this, Meetings being renewed, the Negotiation about the Confines was taken in hand again, the *French* Ambassadour *Monsieur de La Thuillerie* treating about it in *Venice*, with the two formerly deputed, *Nani* and *Soranzo*, proposing to draw a Line, which, always terminating upon the Land, left no other difficulty but to adjust, that the Channels of the *Po*, changing their course, and passing the Line, if that of the *Donzella* should pass to the other, it should be understood to belong to the Dominion Ecclesiastick, and contrariwise, that of the *Goro* coming to this side, it should belong to the *Venetians*. But the *Popes* Ministers, after having in the course of the Negotiation several times changed their minds in the closing with the foresaid Proposition, pretended, that *Portoviro* should remain on their side. This is but the remaining sign of a narrow Chancel, or rather a moorish Ditch; but because it bore a good deal within the Line, and was a place of the unquestionable Jurisdiction of the *Venetians*, they would not joyn their consent to the liking of the *French*, who shewed themselves, by reason of the novelty of the pretension, offended with the *Pontificians*. But this and all other Negotiation was broken off with *Rome*, by a more important occasion happening towards the end of this year; for the Ambassadour *Luigi Contarini* was scarce gone out of the City, having had leave of the Senate to go to certain Baths in *Tuscany*, and thence home, leaving, till a Successor should arrive, *Francesco Maria Rossi*, his Secretary, at the Court, but there appeared in the Royal Hall (this is the Nobles Room in the *Vatican*, where the Ambassadors of Kings, which are termed of *Obedience*, are received by the *Pope*) an alteration of the *Elogium*, which commemorated the Merit gained by the Republick in the defence of *Pope Alexander* the Third against *Fredrick Barbarossa* the Emperour, almost five Ages agoe happily subdued by Arms, and constrained to a Peace.

Rome it self was amazed at such a novelty, because the Inscriptions, by which were explained the Pictures in the Hall of the most memorable actions of Christendom, had been made choice of in the time of *Pope Pius* the Fourth, by a Consultation of Cardinals and other Learned persons, and that in particular had been extracted by *Alexander* out of the most ancient proofs, the consent of Authors, Inscriptions, Pictures, Marbles, and out of authentick and infinite Memorials, and though in these late times called into doubt by Cardinal *Baronius*, yet the credit of the History remained, and out of it redounded praise to the Republick, and to the Church renown.

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Now the *Pope*, changing the *Elogium*, altered the matter of Fact, suppressed the Victory of the *Venetians*, and was silent in all that which advanced their deserving and the benefit imparted to the Church. Upon the advice hereof, which came to *Venice*, mens minds were unspeakably moved, and the thing was not only weighed in the Consults of the Senators, and gravely reflected on; but in common discourses many of the Citizens authorized themselves to aggravate, that the *Pope*, after having given so many other arguments of disaffection to the Republick, had at last resolved to vent his anger against Marble-stones, and disquiet the ashes in the Sepulchres, abolishing out of the World, as much as he was able, the Memorials, and cancelling the Glory of their Ancestors.

Some complained, that *Urban* should deny to acknowledge that Merit of the Republick, to which his Predecessors had not disdained to confess themselves obliged. Others, that in the doubtful state of Religion, in so many parts oppressed, in the discords of Christendom, and the general corruption of Manners, he should apply himself to dispute reputation with the dead. All confessed, that the Republick could no more send Ambassadors to venerate, as is the custom, in that Hall the Vicars of Christ, so long as their most Illustrious Memorials should remain suspended, if not condemned. But the Senate presently commanded *Rossi*, that he should come away without taking leave of the *Pope* or of the Court; and the Colledge, that they should deny Audience to the *Nuntio*, and communicating to Princes the real resentment of what had happened, declare, that no other course or expedient could ever satisfy it, but the entire restitution of the ancient *Elogium*.

A N N O M D C XXXVI.

In the beginning of this year happened in *Venice* a thing, almost not to be spoken of, if it had not been tossed up and down variously in discourses, more perhaps than it deserved. The long habit of the *Patricians*, by custom of immemorial time, retains the reverence and gravity of the ancient *Togati*; and in Magistrates of Eminency was distinguished, as to Authority and Respect, by the colour and largeness, whereupon such a Garment was called *Ducale*, or more vulgarly with *Large sleeves*. Those that came out of the Charge of Counsellors, or of the *savii* of the Council, which among those, belonging to the City and Policy, have the chiefest ranks, and who in Ambassages to Kings had done Service to the Country, bringing back the degree of Knighthood, continued to use the same form of Garment, but black, during their lives. When this custom had its beginning, is not known, or whether there was a Law for it, obliterated by time, or that time had given it the authority of a Law. The number now seemed somewhat enlarged, whilst a certain virtuous desire to render themselves distinguished from the common, provoked many to sollicite the chief Employments of the City, and to merit them, animated to undertake those abroad, that were more difficult

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difficult and burdenson. Some began with whispers, afterwards with more open discourses in Companies and the idle Market-place, to blame the custom and the distinction not authorized by a Law, nay rather to accuse it, as an ambitious invention of those, who not being able through the wise Institutions of the Republick to continue in the Magistracy, had yet a mind for ostentation to bear the Badges of it. They said, *That in these Garments was not manifested that moderation of a private life, in which the interchangeable course of command regulates the equality of the Citizens. Whence was that Law, which in the Republick, if liberty exempts from the command of Strangers, moderates and restrains the pride and avarice of private men? Can possibly Honours be wanting to Citizens, or can Citizens be wanting for Honours, where, in the quality of Birth, they all enjoy the ornament of liberty united to the dignity of command? Their service being as a debt, which is lent to the Country, ought to pass without reward, and if the employments be short, to the end that the exercise of them may be modest, why should a perpetual distinction be desired? That in the moderate minds of the Citizens were more firmly grounded the Ornaments of Dignity, the Monuments of Glory, the Badges, and the Praises.*

Others dissented from that opinion, believing that with the uniformity of Garments was intended the taking away the degrees and difference, not only from Persons, but from Merit, in such sort, that actions and persons should undistinguishedly be confounded. Nevertheless by *Anthony Veniero* and *Andrea Morosini*, Counsellors, *Giovanni Baptista Foscarini* and *Giovanni Cernovicchio*, *Capi de Quaranta*, was proposed to the great Council a Decree, that laying aside the *Ducals* by those that wore them, and not continuing them for the future, when out of Office, they should only be reserved to the *Procurators* of *St. Marco*, the Eldest Son or Brother of the Dukes, and to the Great Chancellor, to whom they were already permitted by the Laws. To Knights, in honour of the degree, it was granted, that under the Vest should be worn Garments of red, and the Welt of the Robe, with the Ornaments of the Girdle, gilt. Conformable to the inclination of the major number it was embraced, though the Duke, and *Francesco Basadonna*, *Giovanni Pizani*, *Domenico Ruzzini*, Counsellors, together with *Francesco Earbarigo*, *Capo de Quaranta*, proposed, that this very ancient custom should not be abolished, but rather reformed, yielding that Vest in future to him, that should have twice undergone the Charge of Counsellor, or four times that of *Savio* of the Council; reckoning also within that number Embassies and Governments. Immediately with a notable Example of Punctuality was seen the day following the Habits laid aside, some remaining, from age, their grey hairs, and their merit, taken notice of by the people, much more adorned and distinguished, than they were before by the Garment. A while after an attempt was made by *Girolamo Trivisano*, *Girolamo Pesaro*, and *Marino Bragadino*, *Avogadori* of the Commons, to suspend the resolution, to the end it might be proposed anew with some kind of reformation; but

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but it being confirmed, no more was said of it, which signified, that in the debates of businesses the Understanding is in the Citizens, the Father of divers opinions; but, after Decrees past, the Will is in all equally, the Mother of obedience.

Re-assuming now the discourse of the War betwixt the Crowns; Forces not inferior to the hatreds were in preparation; nor had advantages served on the one side to pacify them, or losses on the other to suppress them; but from ancient experiences and new successes, the Forces seeming rather equally poised, the emulation of minds was so much the more inflamed. In *Italy* the *Spaniards* during the Winter were very strong, both by the arrival of new succours, and because the passages for *Germany* and for *Flanders* being shut before them; they were forced to entertain the Army in that Province. On the other side the *French*, partly consumed before *Valenza*, and partly by natural impatience disbanded, appeared to be greatly weakened. Nevertheless there wanted not several Factions of War. The Marquess *Villa* lodged with the Troops which served for Convoy to those of Duke *Edward* in the *Piacentino*, and had order to made an Inroad into the *Modonese*, to revenge the adherence of that Duke, and the sending of Souldiers to the *Spaniards*.

To have a pretext for it, he desires quarters might be given to a part of his Troops, and that being denied him, he falls of a sudden into the Territory of *Modena* with a thousand Foot and as many Horse, plundering *Castelnovo* and other places, and carrying away the Booty. The Duke, from the flames and flight of the Peasants informed of the assault, was greatly surprised, because the mischief was done him by the Troops of the Duke of *Savoy*, his Uncle, and he was obliged to revenge himself upon him of *Parma*, his Neighbour, Kinsman, and till now Confident. He and his Country were taken unprovided of men, and if he invited the *Spaniards*, he knew the succours would cost him dear. Having recourse to the *Venetians*; he found, that if amidst the discords of Strangers they kept themselves neuter, they would much less take other part amongst the Princes of *Italy*, than to persuade and sollicit Peace; so that he was forced to address himself to *Leganes*, the Governour of *Milan*; and he, readily embracing the invitations, sends him two thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse with his best Commanders, which were *Vincenzo Gonzaga*, the Baron de *Batteville*; and the Count *Arese*. To these joyning between three and four thousand men tumultuously got together of the Country-Militia, under the Prince *Luigi* his Uncle, who by leave of the *Venetians* was come into that Country, he sends them into that of *Parma*; whither *Villa* was withdrawn, who assaulting them with great bravery in their march towards *Parma*, forced them to a Retreat, *Gonzaga* and almost all the *Spanish* Officers being hurt. Nevertheless *Rossena*, which is a little District beyond the River *Lenza*, belonging to *Parma*, remained in the hands of the *Modenese*, in recompence of the damages, or rather for a fair pretext for a Treaty. In effect, the Dukes, *Edward* and *Francis*, had little inclination to break into

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War betwixt themselves and the *Savoyards*, letting pass this resentment as in complacence to the *French*, cared not it should go further; whereupon Monsieur *Mellino*, Bishop of *Smola*, being sent by the *Pope* to sollicite an adjustment, though for that time, in regard of the interests of the *Crowns* who desired, to have their parts in it, he obtained it not; yet he effected, that animosities should be laid aside, and hostilities tacitly suspended. But the Territories of *Parma* were more severely afflicted; for that to free the *Modenesi* from harms, or rather to punish that Duke for the hostility undirectly attempted, and to bring him also to a Peace by force; *Leganes* sent between four and five thousand men, with *Carlo della Gatta*, into the *Piacentino*, who possessed the Castle *St. Giovanni*, *Rottosfondo*, and some Villages, dispersing the Troops every where to plunder and burn the Country with as much mischief as could be. At this very time *Vincenzo Imperiale* passing the Mountains of the *Genovesi*, takes *Val Ditato*, as a Country to which the Family of *Doria* pretended right.

Edward was still at *Paris*; so that upon so many Invasions, the Dutchess his Wife, who governed in his absence, being in disorder, fearing *Gabioneda*, requests the Duke of *Mantua* to send a reinforcement thither, possibly believing, that making use for that purpose of the Troops of the *Venetians*, they might interest themselves in the maintenance of that place, which gave jealousy to so many. But the Senate not consenting that they should elsewhere be disposed of but for the Garrison of *Mantua*; Monsieur de la *Tour*, who for *France* remained with the Duke in quality of General of his Troops, persuades him to send thither two hundred Foot of his own, which were of the Garrison of *Porto*. But they were no sooner brought into it, but they were sent back to *Mantua*, either because there was no need of so slender succours, or because those of *Parma* conceived it better in all events, that *Sabioneda* should depend upon themselves, without bringing into it the Troops of a Neighbour, who pretended right to it, and had interest for it.

The lamentable condition of the Country of *Parma* being come into *France*, the Duke parts Post, loaded with hopes; but being come into *Italy*, found that he had brought from Court more liberal promises than he could receive ready succours. He passionately desired, with the *French* Troops and *Savoyards* joining, to assault the *Milanese*, and, opening the way with his Sword, revenge at once the damage done his Country. *Crequi* excuses himself upon several pretexts, sometimes alledging the scanty number of men, and then shewing an unsuperable intrenchment, which, to dispute the passage, the *Spaniards* had raised, and well fortified along the *Serivia*. He promises nevertheless to assist him by diversions; whereupon the Duke, to defend his own, was forced, *incognito* and accompanied but with few, by the River of *Genua* and by *Lunigiana*, to get into his own Country, where he was received by the people with great applause.

Most effectual Orders were surely sent from *France*, not to let *Edward*

Edward be brought to despair, or his Country be lost. The Duke of *Rohan*, to make a diversion, was the first that advanced towards the *Lago di Como*, where, taking *la Toretta*, which is near the Fort *Fuentes*, and afterwards the Town of *Golico*, made that Fort useless, to the great trouble of the *Spanish* Ministers, and terrour to the Country. But the Duke could not long remain there, having not only want of means to advance and subsist, but doubting, lest, if he went too far off, the *Germans* should come through *Tirol* into the *Valtelline*, where the people, though he had declared by a publick Edict, that other Religion than the Catholick should not be practised, hated the Nation and the General, being many ways vexed by the insolency of the Souldiery. So that contenting himself to have plundered *le Pievi* and other Towns of *Valfaisna*, he retires. He had demanded of the *Venetians* passage, that through a Friends Country to rights and with more speed he might go to the succours of *Parma*, not that in truth he did believe he should obtain it, but that by the negative the Crown might better justify itself to the Duke. The *Spaniards* also, to oppose him, asked the same for the *Germans* which were to come out of *Tirol* into the *Milanese*. But the Senate, to one and t'other, refuse it, on the just pretext of the Plague, which no less afflicted *Tirol* than the *Valtelline*.

Rohan being not yet retired, *Crequi*, to strengthen the diversion, enters into the *Milanese* on the other side, having, besides some Troops come to him out of *France*, persuaded the Duke *Vittorio* to join Forces; so that the Army consisted of ten or twelve thousand Foot, and betwixt two or three thousand Horse. *Vigevano* was threatened, and being furnished but with a slender defence, the taking of it was judged easie, to the so great terrour of the whole Country, that in the City of *Milan* fear at last was turned into tumult. *Leganes* was therefore constrained to hasten thither with all his Forces, calling back those which made spoil in the *Piacentino*, and leaving *Sorbellone* a few Troops, that intrenching himself at *Mus*, he might make head the best he could against *Rohan*, and, if need required, succour the Fort *Fuentes* by the *Lago de Como*: He then encamps at *Abbiagrasso* to cover the innermost parts of the State, and keep off hostility from that fruitful and delicious Country. The Territories of the Duke of *Parma* by this means taking breath, the Marquess *Villa* had not much to do to recover *Castel St. Giovanni*, and plundering some Villages of the Country of *Pavia* to join without opposition the Army of the Confederates.

They, in the opportunity of undertaking many things, stood unresolved and in suspense, what in particular was fit to be undertaken; nor did the Duke of *Savoy* and *Crequi* agree. Whereupon quitting the thought of *Vigevano*, and threatening in several parts, they engaged in none. At last with changing quarters and running to and fro, having for some Weeks spoiled the *Lomellina*, they advanced into the *Novarese*, and took *Fontanetto* a place of little note, but shall for the future remain famous by the death of *Thoiras*, who

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The Cardinal *Trivulso* getting on Horse-back, with his Credit and Authority, which he had very great amongst the Citizens, running up and down the streets, animated some, strengthened all, and distributing Arms to the Inhabitants, appointed Guards, and gave out Orders, restrained the fright, and in a great measure quieted the Tumult, which the *Spanish* Ministers, retiring themselves, feared rather to irritate with their presence. The City raged against *Leganes*, that with an Army so well appointed having not hindered that passage, carelessly amused himself in beholding the dangers and the damage; but, as it happens in such emergencies, fear reigned every where more than counsel: for if in *Milan* they were astonished, the Confederates were also perplexed, whilst the number of their men was not proportionable to the design of besieging that City, and their chief purpose was vanished, which in truth was to joyn with *Rohan*, and with united Forces to advance, either before *Milan*, or into the bowels of the Country to carry fear into it, and bring back some notable Conquest; but *Rohan* too soon, and *Crequi* too late being come into the *Milanese*, the one being not able to subsist there, and the other not to make any progress, were the occasion of more noise than hurt. Besides this, they wanted Victuals, and

and above all, the inclination of the *Savoyards* did not conspire in the same ends. Nevertheless *Leganes* was exercised with many thoughts. To go nearer with the Army to *Milan*, he feared to carry famine and commotion thither; if he drew nearer to the Confederates to hazard a Battel, he considered in the uncertain issue the certain loss of the whole State.

At last after several days, perceiving by the Enemies not advancing, that their thoughts were in disorder, and their Forces not so strong, perswaded rather by universal reproaches than the opinion of his Counsellors, he resolves to rise from *Abbiagrasso*, and advance towards the Enemy, without other design than to reap the advantage of the occasions. He found, that for conveniency of Forrage the *Savoyards* were returned to the other side of the River; whence he judged it seasonable to set upon the *French* on this side. Charging therefore a part of their Cavalry, which was roving without the Camp, and obliging them to retire, he afterwards attacks the Trenches and Forts. The fight was obstinate and irksome, in a long days work, and in the heat of *June*, to such a degree, that after many hours both Armies being weary, the *French* could no longer resist, nor the *Spaniards* prevail. In the heat of the Battel, it seemed as if *Leganes* had had the better; but the Duke *Vittorio*, having repassed the *Tesino*, brought *Crequi* succours so seasonably, that Fortune began to waver. But night separated, and *Leganes*, not having a more convenient Quarter near, returns to *Abbiagrasso*. Betwixt both the parties, about three thousand men were killed, and of the *Spaniards*, *Gerardo Gambacorta*, General of the *Neapolitan* Horse, a valiant and prudent Person. To determine who had the advantage in the fight, whilst each ascribed it to himself, it was fit to observe the consequences; and because in an Enemies Country it seems, that he that makes no progress is the person worsted, the advantage was at last adjudged to the *Spaniards*, because the *French*, though they staid some days in their Quarters, yet at last repassed the *Tesino*. Their desires thereby were, in prosecution of the same end, to open the way into the Vallies formerly mentioned, to possess *Anghiera* upon the *Lago maggiore*, or *Romagna* near to the *Sesia*; but neither succeeding, they thereupon retire, *Crequi* to *Breme* with a very few Forces, and *Vittorio* to *Vercelli* to defend his own Country. Discord between them brake forth more and more; the Duke upbraiding the *French* with the service of having saved them at *Tornavento*, and *Crequi* ascribing to the *Savoyards* the having missed occasions and successes. But if the Duke felt the dissatisfactions of the Confederates, *Piedmont* resented the injuries of the *Spaniards*; for that *Philippo di Silva*, General of the Horse, over-running the Country, recovered *Annone*, possessed by the Confederates when they first moved, and made himself Master of *Cattinara*, carrying ruine and desolation where-ever he came. He of *Parma* enjoying a short suspension of mischiefs, assembling some of his own Troops, and some *French* being come to him by the River of *Genova*, attempts to recover *Rottosfredo*; but *Martino d'Aragona* coming upon him

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But the affairs of that Kingdom were in so great turbulence, that there was but faint hope to obtain assistance; for the *Spaniards* invaded *Picardy*, and *Gallus*, with the Duke of *Lorraine*, spoiled the Dukedom of *Burgundy* and *Champaigne*, the people miserably suffering the punishments of faults, which were not their own. The French having renounced neutrality with the County of *Burgundy*, under pretence that in *Alsace* that Province had afforded assistance to the *Imperialists* and *Lorrainers*, the Prince of *Conde* had laid Siege to *Dole*; but after having reduced it to great extremities, by losing much time with his great slackness, he frustrated the enjoyment of so near a Conquest; for *Lamboy* and *Merci* being come with powerful Forces to its Succours under the Emperours Colours, whilst the *Spanish* Army plaid the Conquerours in *Picardy*, obliged the King to recall him, and command him to raise the Siege. The *Spaniards* under Prince *Thomas*, and with the assistance of *Piccolomini*, sent by the Emperour with a good number of men, had besieged *la Chapelle*, forcing the Governour, the Baron *de Beck*, to give it up after eight days Battery. The *Catelet* followed the example, but with less defence. They afterwards attacke *Corby* to assure the passage of the *Somme*, and whilst the Siege lasted, *Jean de Werdt* and *Piccolomini* made a course as far as *Pontoise* with the Cavalry, burning and plundering every where. The place being taken sooner by much than it ought to have been, there was no other obstacle betwixt that and *Paris*.

But Armies, though victorious, have always greater suspicions and difficulties than are conceived by the conquered. Therefore applying themselves to ransack the Country, and to raise the cry of the people against the Author of the War and the evils thereof, they put *Richelieu* into a great straight, but gave him time to ward the blow. He in the beginning was in great trouble, and knowing the City of *Paris* easie to be stirred, hard to be governed, oftentimes suspicious to the King, and always troublesome to the Ministers, had thoughts of carrying the King and Court to *Orleans*. But in Council being boldly in this extremity reproached by others, that if he had brought the Kingdom into danger, he ought not to leave it without remedy, taking heart, he applies himself to the defence. From the hatred against him proceeded in great part the present mischiefs; for of the Governours of the places taken it was believed, that some of them had been corrupted before they were besieged, and that others had hastened the Surrender to burden with ignominy and infelicity the Director of the present Government. He therefore applies himself in his adversity to other Arts, than those which are usually practised in the prosperity of Fortune. He takes away

away the Gabels, puts Arms into the peoples hands, gives the command of Armies to the Princes of the blood; that their consideration and credit might invite Souldiers, and keep them under the Colours, which, by reason of his Government, were abhorred. *Soifsons* was the first, who, having near to *la Fera* augmented in haste the Army which he already commanded, attempted to oppose the incursions of the Enemy; but they beating the Regiment of *Piedmont*, he was forced to retire to *Noijon* to defend the Country, till *Orleans* should come into the Field with greater Forces. Under the Marshal *de la Force*, greatly beloved of the *Parisians*, twenty thousand of them took Arms, to haste to prevent the mischiefs, which *Burgundy* and *Champaigne* lay under.

Gallus, after by burning and pillaging he had given vent to the natural cruelty of the *Polonian* Cavalry and the *Croats*, came with an Army of forty thousand men to lodge at *Fontaine Francoise*, and, to fix his Station there by some considerable Conquest, endeavours to possess *St. John de Lofue*; but *Richelieu* calling *Weimar* and *la Valletta* out of *Germany* to succour the Kingdom, sent the Count of *Ranzau* so seasonably into the place, that withstanding the first attacks of the Imperialists, it gave time to the French to strengthen themselves with so many Troops, that being equal to the Enemy, or rather more considerable, by reason of the knowledge and advantage of the situation, obliged him, without the hazard of a Battel, to retire, loaden with pillage and much more with blame; spoil alone seeming a recompence disproportionate to the occasion, to fortune, and to so powerful an Army. Yet it is true, that *Gallus* had just excuses, though not then discovered, having secret Commission from the Emperour to hazard nothing, and not to engage the Army just at that time, when at *Ratisbone* the election of a King of the *Romans* was ripening, to the end to make use of the countenance and power of the Army for encouragement of the business, if need required.

The Forces also in *Picardy* being wearied and weakened by running to and fro and plundering, the *Infanta* was not able to make any further progress, distracted also from the side of *Holland*; for that *Orange*, having after a long Siege regained *Schink Schans* upon conditions, was in complacency to the French in the Field, threatening certain Forts, which not far from *Antwerp* lye alongst the *Scheld*.

Orleans therefore had the opportunity to recover *Roye* after ten days attacke, and thence laying the Siege before *Corby* in a short time takes in the outworks. The King was at *Amiens* to encourage the enterprize, and afterwards came to the Camp, to be present at the surrender, which the *Spaniards* could not hinder, though they threatned *Dourlans*, because *Soissons* opposed them. Thus the fortune of the Kingdom and the Cardinal breathed again, in as much as also on the other side near the *Pireneans*, the *Almirante* of *Castil* having with a great Army besieged *Bayonne*, the Count of *Grammont*, Governour of *Beirrh*, had obliged him to raise it. Domestick affairs

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affairs notwithstanding grew somewhat turbulent, many in *Zaintonge* and other Provinces rising against the Impositions: So that eighteen thousand men were actually in Arms under the Marquess *d'Isoudun*, Brother to *Charlois*, whose head some years past *Richelieu* had caused to be cut off. Nevertheless one part of these Mutineers was quickly quieted, and the other suppressed.

The discontents of the Princes that had commanded the Armies had yet a worse appearance; because the *Campania* was no sooner at an end, but they were aware, that they had enjoyed employment not to advance them to command, but to keep them quiet, and that *Richelieu* had only made use of them during the stoim, leaving to others the pains and the dangers, and reaping to himself the reward and the credit. *Orleans*, who before he made an end of the Siege of *Corby*, perceived that he served not in the Army but for a shadow, was gone to *Blois*, but coming after the giving of it up to the Court, to congratulate with the King, departs of a sudden without seeing him, together with *Soissons*, both publishing to have certain advice, that a Prison was to be their recompence.

The Cardinal applies his Wits to reconcile in the first place the King to his Brother, who was not gone further than *Blois*; nor was it difficult for him to do it, under promise that the marriage with the Sister of *Lorraine* should be approved. The Count then weakened by the separation from the other, received it for a favour, that he might for four years abide at *Sedan*, where he appeared to be. *France* now in this year, by new Treaties, closes more nearly with the *Swedes*, concluding one in *Wismar*, wherein all the former being confirmed, the War was distributed into the hereditary Provinces of the *Austrians*, *Bohemia* and the Provinces adjacent being allotted to the *Swedes*, and to *France* those that were nearest the *Rhine*. *William Landgrave of Hessen* came into this Treaty, *France* agreeing to pay him a great Pension, and two hundred thousand Dollars for the subsistence of his Army. Whereupon he made no small progress; for he not only obliged the Catholick Army, which besieged *Osnauburg*, to withdraw, but surpris'd *Minden*, and brought succours seasonably into *Hanau*, besieged by *Lamboy*. Nevertheless, these ballanced not the advantages of the *Saxons*, who after a long Siege got *Magdenburg*, and afterwards *Verben*; *Banier*, who saw himself very much weakened, being obliged to go towards the Sea to receive a powerful renfort that was sent him out of *Swede*.

The King of *Hungary*, leaving the command of the Army to *Galus*, going to *Ratisbone*, obtains at last the Crown of King of the *Romans*, promoted by the reputation and glory gotten in the Wars, and the being adorned with all those virtues which rendred him the most worthy Heir of the Piety and Crowns of his Father. The *Spaniards* employing plentifully Gold and endeavours, the Electors were induced to it from the common danger, lest the Emperour coming to dye, amidst so many confusions and accidents, there should not remain liberty for a new choice. *Bavaria*, at first averse, now, almost seventy years old, having taken to Wife *Maria Anna*, the

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the Emperours Daughter, by the birth of a Son enjoyed the first fruits of his posterity. Whereupon, to secure also to his Successors the Electorat, he promoted with more earnest the Affairs of the *Austrians*. Some of the greatest opposers were gained with money and presents; nor availed it ought, that the *French* remonstrated the Empire was rendring it self successive in that House, which, having a long time enjoyed it, hence-forward would pretend it by right and custom; nor, that they offered the Forces of the Crowns confederate, to maintain the liberty of their Votes; nor, that in the name of the Elector of *Trier* they interposed their protest of Nullity: for the Election passed with the full consent of the others, and general applause of the whole Empire. Whereupon arose in the Treaties of Peace a lasting difficulty; whilst *France*, by reason of the exclusion of the Elector of *Trier* from the Diet, would not acknowledge the new King of the *Romans* but for King of *Hungary*. Neither were other lets wanting, the confederate Crowns pretending (after the fears were over in *France*, during which *Richelieu* had shewed great propensity to Peace, to becalm with the Treaty the fury of the Armies,) Pass-ports for the *Hollanders* and the Protestants of the Empire their Confederates, and the Emperour and *Spaniards* denying them to these, as to Vassals, and to the others as to Rebels, and therefore incapable to appear in the assembly in quality of Sovereigns.

But, notwithstanding that difficult and tedious obstacles were foreseen, the Pope dispatches to *Colen*, the City appointed for the conference, the Cardinal *Ginetti* his Legate, who passing through the Territory of the *Venetians*, and being received with meet honours, sent to the Republick a Letter from *Urban*, which with much urgency perswaded it to co-operate in the mediation of the Peace. The Senate, distinguishing its own disgusts from the common interests, accepted it, and complied with it, making choice at the instances of the Ministers of *France* and *Spain* of *Giovanni Pesari*, Cavalier, for Ambassador at the meeting. In this year the memory of things past being now abolished by the Peace, by time the Ministers of the Emperour and King of *Spain* began again with those of the Republick the ancient correspondence, with the wonted parity of usage; whereupon *Giovanni Grimani* was sent to *Vienna* Ambassador in ordinary, and from the Emperour was sent to *Venice* *Antonio*, Baron di *Rabbata*.

A N N O MDCXXXVII.

The distraction of the *French*, and their retreat out of the *Milanese*, had put the Duke of *Parma* into very great straits: for *Leganes* sends an Army upon his back under the command of the Cardinal *Trivultio*, who, besides publick respect, had particular motives of hatred against *Edward*. At the same time *Martin d'Arragon* roved with the Cavalry betwixt *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and taking *St. Donnino*, a City which enjoys the dignity of a Bishops See, wasted the

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Country called *Pallavicino*; for it formerly had been confiscated from the Dukes of that Family, and *Gille de Haes* in another part had gained *Rivalta*, though well fortified by force. The body of the Army attacked *Puiglio* upon the *Lenza*, and finding resistance, would not stop there, but carried the seat of the War and the force of their Arms to the Siege of *Piacenza*. The Duke shutting himself up there, and providing the Citadel, had therein alone placed the hopes of defence; but after some little contest in the very beginning of the Siege, lost, together with certain Mills, the Island, which the *Po* formed over against the City, and which, besides the offence it gave the Town it self by Batteries, hindered the Navigation upon the River. The Duke now began to perceive, that he had been more greedy to undertake a War than able to defend himself. Nevertheless was not wanting to sollicite for succours in several Courts. The Pope, Sovereign of the Country, exceeded not mediation and Offices for Peace by the means of Count *Ambrogio Carpegna*, who by very secret and private Commission from the *Barberins* conveyed offers to *Edward* of secret Subsidies of Money, provided he would yield to their Houlie certain Towns belonging to the Dukedom of *Castro*. The great Duke also sends to *Piacenza* *Dominico Pandolfino*, that he might interpose in the adjustment, and by persuading the Duke to it by necessity, positively denied him all assistance.

Nor would the *Venetians* alter their neutrality, judging, that whilst the Pope, as Sovereign, the great Duke as Kinsman, the *French* and *Savoyards* as Confederates, did not lend him their hand, there was no more effectual argument for them not to out-run the others. And the *spaniards* with many flatteries assured them, that as the Incursions into the Dukes Countries were only resentments of the damages done by him to the *Milense*, so if the Fortune of the War should make any conquest, it should either be restored or deposited, as a generous testimony of that moderation, with which it was to be understood their King exercised revenge against an inferior Prince. And in effect, they straightened the place but slowly, rather to bring the Duke to an agreement, than to take it, as well knowing into what disorder in that case, by reason of the pretensions of the Church, they should put themselves, and what jealousies would thereupon be raised in the minds of the Princes of *Italy*. The Duke also falling very sick, inclined at last to an Accord, not seeing succours any where in a readiness; for although the Fleet of *France*, now at Sea, appeared with some number of Ships in the *Mediterranean*, making as if it would attempt to disembark, and thrust in succours to him; yet the *Spanish* with Forces equal disputed it, and *Leganes* by Land had so fortified the passages, that it would be difficult, and a work of time to force them. In the beginning then of the year, excluding *Carpegna* from the Treaty, as little acceptable to the *spaniards*, by reason of his inclinations to *Urban*, and not more to the Duke, by reason of the projects of the *Barberins*, the agreement was by *Melo* and *Pandolfino* concluded, and

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and almost at the same instant approved and executed by both the parties; for desiring not to be discovered in the Negotiation, they equally endeavoured expedition and secrecy; the one, that the *French*, who had their Garrison both in *Parma* and *Piacenza*, might not give them any disturbance; and the other, because *Sabioneda* being by the Duke to be put into the power of the *spaniards*, they doubted lest the Duke of *Mantua* should take jealousy, and in his regard the *Venetians* resent it. From the effect only and the execution was argued the substance of the Conditions.

The Garrison of the *French* in *Piacenza* was sufficiently strong, and in a condition, if it had been aware of the Treaty, to have crossed it, and to have resisted, if they had attempted to turn them out by force. The Duke therefore, obliged not only to make use of secrecy, but of care, calling together the Souldiers, with *Monsieur Paulo* who commanded them, into a place apart, under pretence of giving them a months pay, and there turning the Cannon against them, excusing in a few words the necessity of the agreement, with courteous expressions gave them their discharge. To those that were in *Piacenza*, passage was permitted through the *Milanese* towards *Piedmont*; the others that were in *Parma*, retired to *Viadana* in the *Mantuan*, and from thence through the State of the *Venetians* passed by small parties into the *Valtelline*. And now the Duke was restored by the *spaniards* into those Territories taken by them, and into Goods, which at the beginning of the War he possessed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and had been confiscate. With the Duke of *Modena* misunderstandings ceased, *Rossena* being rendered back to *Edward*. He on the other side gives up *Sabioneda* as the price of the Peace and the Restitutions, withdrawing his Garrison out of it, and receiving an hundred thousand Crowns of the Governour of *Milan*, under the notion of repairing his expences. *Tiberio Brancaccio* was hereupon observed to enter into it with *Neapolitan* Foot, it being given out, to take away from the envy of the fact, that by the Testament of the old Princeps of *Stigliana*, who at this time dyed, he was named Governour; whereupon he had levied those Souldiers for the custody of it, till amidst many Pretenders the cause should be decided by the Emperour.

Time quickly discovers the dissembling, it coming clearly to be known, that the Revenue being left to *Anna*, a young Princess, as hath been said, and she married to the Duke of *Medina de las Torres*, Vice-King of *Naples*, the Governour and the Garrison depended upon the *spaniards*; who with the Art of patience and opportunity came at last to the possession of that, a sole thought whereof had formerly raised jealousies and fits. Great was the sorrow, with which in *France* they understood the agreement; *Richelieu* comprehending, that to retain the old friends faithful, & to acquire new ones in *Italy*, no means could have been more powerful, than vigorously to have maintained and protected him, that with so much fervency had discovered himself to side with that Crown. But if *France* with its distractions excused the abandoning of the Duke, he with his necessity

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Nevertheless the reputation and interest of France had hereupon a great down-fall every where in Italy; whilst the *Grisons* also, perceiving that they were rather oppressed than succoured by *Rohan*; shoke off the yoke, obtaining of the *Spaniards* those Conditions; which in the Treaty of *Monzone* they were to have had of the French. Out of the supposition to be restored to the possession of the *Valtelline*, or rather by the promise made them by *Rohan*, they were perswaded to receive the Bridle of the Forts, and to concur in the Enterprize with Arms. The Duke then being pressed by the three Leagues to put the Valley into their hands, now making excuses, and then proposing Treaties, to the end to unite the minds of the people to their ancient Lords, affected delays. At last he succeeded to adjust an agreement, in which they consented, the Judicature remaining to those of the *Valtelline* and the exercise of the sole Catholick Religion being permitted in the Valley. *Richelieu*, who, by reason of his designs upon Italy, desired to retain that purchase, interposed several delays, and at last disapproves of some of the Articles. Whereupon the *Grisons*, out of the desire to recover the Valley, passing to impatience, and from thence into fury, plunge themselves into the utmost extremities; the Duke, who after his Retreat out of the *Milanese* had layn a long time sick, not being able, by reason of his indisposition, to employ himself in person for dispersing their Assemblies, and Authority afar off serving for little, after having promised the *Grison*-Militia, which mutined for want of pay, satisfaction within a time prefixed, the money not coming, they remained so much the more provoked and in disorder. The Commons thereupon meeting publicly in Flanks, sent Deputies to *Innsbruck* to demand assistance to drive away the French, and the Duke causing himself to be carried to *Coira* to restrain and delude them with new Propositions, found, how difficult it is, that a people should suffer it self to be long deceived; for he saw himself environed with Guards, though at large, yet in such sort, that it was not thought safe for him to return into the *Valtelline*, where *Monsieur de Leques* remained with eight thousand Souldiers. This wary proceeding of his was greatly blamed in France; it seeming, that the state of affairs required, that resolute and hazardous counsels should have been preferred before those more prudent and cautious. There is no doubt but if *Rohan* could have joyned the Army in time, he might easily have suppressed that multitude, which, though it blustered boldly in the Diets, would have been found dejected and confused in the field. But time being given them, and with it boldness, there was concluded in the Court of *Innsbruck* by the Deputies of the three Leagues, with *Frederico Enriques*, Ambassadour of Spain, a Treaty in which the Governour of Milan was obliged, To pay to the *Grison* Souldiery such advances as they pretended from the French; to drive them out of the *Valtelline* with united Forces; restoring it to the three

three Leagues, with reserve of the passages to the Spaniards, with a perpetual alliance betwixt the Milanese and Rhetia, besides certain pensions to be paid by the King to the Commons and to private persons, and the obligation to entertain in his service a body of Souldiers of that Nation.

The Agreement was hardly made, but the Country, without expecting the ratification, was seen in Arms, and the *Grison* Troops revolted against the French Commanders; so that *Rohan*, the way towards the *Valtelline* being stopped, was forced to retire into the Fort of the *Rhine*, with eighth hundred men of *Zurich* of the Regiment of *Smith*, and two hundred French. Into some of the Passes that were abandoned the *Grisons* immediately entred; then, with six Regiments of that Nation, compleated with money from Spain, and with the assistance of certain Troops sent from *Gallar*, they invest the Fort. *Serbellone* advances to the *Lago di Como*, to keep *Leques* in distraction, who wanting orders from the Duke, besieged in the Fort, was an idle Spectator of so important an issue, for which being highly blamed by the Duke himself, who having in vain demanded succours of those of *Zurich*, whilst all were well pleased that the *Grisons* should recover their own, was forced for want of Victuals to capitulate the surrender. The conditions were, That there should remain a Garrison of Swisses in the Fort for six weeks, within which the French were to go out of the *Valtelline* and *Rhetia*, the Duke to be the Hostage.

The shortness of the time prefixed was sufficient to give advice of it into France; but not expect the remedy. Nevertheless, the French offered the restitution of all, provided the three Leagues would renounce the Treaty newly concluded with Spain; but they, calling to mind the vanity of past promises, would not at all alter it. *Leques* therefore was forced to go out of the Valley, and *Smith* delivers the Fort, though tempted by the French to declare himself, and keep it for the Crown, with a supposition suggested by *Rohan*, that *Weimar* advancing into those parts, though the Fort should be rendred, would yet repair again this insult. But *Richelieu*, intangled in more difficult matters, thought, for the present revenge was not to be minded. Thus, after many years of cruel Commotions, the Passes, so much desired, remained open to the Spaniards, and the *Valtelline* returns to the subjection of the *Grisons*, condemned for no other cause to so many and so long miseries, but to serve for an inlet into Italy. It was some time nevertheless before the Agreement was fully accomplished, because some difficulties being risen betwixt the Ambassadors of the *Grisons* and the Governour of Milan, the business was remitted into Spain, where at last after two years it was determined, That the alone Catholick Religion should be practised in the Valley; that for the judicial proceedings there should be chosen two persons, the one to be named by the Governour of Milan, and the other by the Leagues themselves, to whom those might have recourse, that should think themselves grieved by the sentences of the *Grison* Magistrates.

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The loss of the *Valteline* was in some measure recompensed by the recovery of the Islands of *Eves*; for, thirty seven Ships come out the Ocean into the *Mediterranean*, and some Gallies, joined to them to distract the designs of the *Spaniards*, fell upon the Island of *sardinia*, taking *Oristan*. The Squadron of *Gianettino Doria* hastes thither with some relief, and *Leganes* sends from *Milan* Officers and Engineers. But the *French* not hoping for any progress in *sardinia*, nor willing in that unwholesome air to consume their Forces, set sail towards *Provence*. *Henry* Count of *Harcourt* commanded the enterprise, one of a hot spirit, full of courage, and nevertheless prudent. Against a Fort, which guarded the place of landing, were the first batteries of the Ships directed with so great fury, and in so great abundance, that in a short time the defence by razing of the Parapet being ruined, and under the darkness of the smok the men landed, and an assault given, the Garrison was constrained to abandon it. The Fort of *Montereii* (for the *spaniards* had built many there) ran the same fortune. The Royal, and that of *Aragon* held out with a better defence. This maintained the Siege almost for a month, and then, a breach being made, capitulated. The other, by a longer resistance, gave time to *Michael Borgia* to come near with the Gallies for its succours. But not daring to engage with Ships, turning head, leaves the Fort to be taken. The Governour, named *Michael Sardo*, after a Siege, for several weeks sustained with bloody factions, capitulates, that if in eight days there came not in succours of a thousand Foot with Victuals for a month, to give up; as he did with about nine hundred Souldiers. And now, without delay, the other Island of *St. Honorat* was invaded; and there being but one sole Fort there, *Giovanni Tamaio* after a few days renders it.

At Land, to recompence the successes of the foregoing *Campagna*, the *French* invaded with three Armies the Provinces of *Flanders*, aiming chiefly at the taking of *St. Omar*; but found the Town so provided, and environed with so many Forts, that they thought best not to attempt it. *La Valetta* and *Candale*, who, being idle in the service of the Republick, had obtained for some time leave from the Senate, with greater good luck took in *Chateau Cambresis* in *Hennault*, and having laid Siege before *Landrecy*, a small place but of great importance, *Meilleray* arrives with powerful Forces to participate of the glory, so that it was constrained to yield. The great Town of *Mauberge* falls into the hand of *Candale*, who permitted his Army to use all cruelty in the sacking of it. In *Lutsemburg*, *Danvilliers*, a good Town, after some days of Siege, made its terms with the *Maréchal de Chatignon*; and upon the Frontiers of *France* *la Valetta* recovers *la Capelle*.

Nor did the Arms of the *Hollanders* enjoy less felicity; for with the force of Gold the negotiation of a Truce betwixt those Provinces and *Spain*, being anew rescinded by the *French*, *Orange*, having first in vain attempted the surprize of *Hulst*, and of the Fort of *Philippine*, turns himself afterwards upon *Breda*, with so much force and expedition

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expedition, that the Cardinal *Infante*, not being able to succour it in time, nor dislodge the Enemy, applies himself to the taking in of *Venlo*, and *Ruremond*, which, as weak places neglected by the Prince, fell easily into his hands. But in the month of *October*, *Breda* treated its delivery, a place, which *Spinola* being nine months in taking, and that with so much commotion of *Europe*, and so great a consumption of treasure and men, came now in nine weeks to be regained without the least disaster.

The truth is, fortune every where confounded the counsels of *Olivares*, who, contrary to the opinion of some, that thought it not a course of advantage to attract the Arms of a potent Enemy into that part where he that provokes is the weakest, resolves to divert the flood out of the Low Countries, to draw the *French* to the Confines of *Spain*. He formed an Army of those Troops formerly destined for the strengthening of *Orleans*, and now calling from *Naples* new and powerful reinforcements, and from *Milan* the Count *Serbellone* to command, together with the Duke of *Cardona*, Viceroy in *Catalogne*, sends them in the month of *August* into *Languedoc* to the Siege of *Leucate*, with hopes of a most certain Conquest, by reason of the situation amidst Lakes and Fens, which by possessing certain narrow Dikes easily excluded succours. Nor did the *French* Fleet appear ready to supply it; and the place it self was so ill provided, that, notwithstanding the notable constancy of Monsieur de *Ravii* in the defence of it, it was ready every moment to be taken. But *Schomberg*, Duke d'Alvin, and Governour of *Languedoc*, in so great a danger assembling the Gentry, and the Militia of the Province, and of others that were near, with ten thousand Foot, and not many above a thousand Horse, comes close to the Trenches, and, without giving time to the *spaniards* to take a considerate view of them, assaults them, forcing them in a very narrow passage. By which entering in the evening, they were forced, night coming upon them, to halt within the Enemies Camp. The *spaniards* surpris'd could not or had not the skill to oppose them; but rather, considering that the day following it would be impossible to avoid a Battel, silently under the favour of the night retire, leaving *Leucate* free, the Camp empty, and forty piece of Cannon, with infinite Provisions in the power of the *French*.

From so many fortunate successes some flattered themselves, that the Cardinal having thus provided for his glory would more easily incline to Peace. It appeared nevertheless, that he became no less amorous of new Conquests, than *Olivares* was irritated at this his adversity. And for this cause, although in both Courts a truce was proposed by the Ministers of the Pope and the *Venetians*, and that the General of the *Minims* carried secretly from *Paris* to *Madrid* projects betwixt the two favourites, yet nothing was concluded; because in the Truce, the *French* would have their Confederates comprehended, and keep what they had gotten, and both the one and the other was denied by the *spaniards*, not to treat with the *Hollanders* as equals, nor accustom their Enemies to a peaceable enjoyment for so many years of the places possessed. Here-

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Hereupon arose quickly new difficulties, the *French* denying, as hath been said elsewhere, to acknowledge *Ferdinand* the Third for King of the *Romans*, and successor into the Imperial Crown of his Father, who in the month of *February* of this year, being the fifty ninth of his age, yields to the frail condition of Mortality. This Prince had experienced such various accidents of things prosperous and unfortunate, as may be equally observed, both for a testimony of divine Providence, and an example of humane vicissitudes. From slender beginnings and a very narrow condition, he rose to great hopes, and afterwards to greater power, amidst the oppositions and treacheries of Strangers, and of Subjects; but they being brought under, and the other conquered, for the overcoming also of jealousy and envy he wanted nothing but the moderation of counsels. He had a trial therefore of the reflux of Fortune with such blows, as made him see his Greatness panting under the Forces of a King almost unknown and despised. But the death of *Gustavus*, ascribed to a blow from Heaven; the Victory at *Northingen* no less seasonable than great; and the Peace of *Prague*, which contented the chief of the Protestants, confirmed to the Son all the Dignity of the Father. It was looked at as a great miracle, nay rather a singular protection from Heaven; that the Election of a King of the *Romans* should succeed so opportunely, and that after so great agitations and so many calamities the Patrimony untouched, together with an hundred and ten thousand men in Arms should remain to the Successor.

It cannot be denied, but that to *Ferdinand* the Second may be assigned a most deserved station amidst the best deserving Princes, who have received Splendour and Renown from the Catholic Religion; for that with fervent zeal he propagated it in the Hereditary Provinces, nay rather may be said to have restored it by Example, by Laws, and by Arms. He was singular in piety, constant in virtue, and inflexible in all Fortunes. Some laid to his charge a too much yielding to the opinions of others, with a too violent heat in execution; an undistinguished liberality in giving; and a too patient tolerance of so many excesses, with which his Souldiery and Generals afflicted *Germany* and *Italy*. But his virtues were his own; his faults were ascribed to Fortune and the Times.

And now *Ferdinand* the Third taken into the Empire in the nine and twentieth year of his Age, the *Venetians*, to congratulate him, sent *Renieri Zeno*, Cavalier and Procurator, and *Angelo Contarini* Cavalier, by whom they solicited the concession of Pass-ports to facilitate the agreement of a Meeting for Peace, and the King of *Poland* also cooperating therein with his endeavours; those for *Sweden* and *Holland* were consented to by the new Emperour, but upon condition, that they should not be delivered to the parties, till after *France* should have dispatched his own, for his Ministers, with Titles and Quality of Emperour. But the Meeting being still more and more prolonged; military successes were in this year reciprocally ballanced in *Germany*; for the *Suedes* having pursued the *Saxons*, taken *Erfordt* in *Thuringia*, and advanced into *Francony*, were by them

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joyned with *Gallas*, forced back to the Frontiers of *Pomerania*. There *Banier*, re-inforced with *Wranghel*, makes head a new, obliging the others, through want of Provisions and Pay, to retire back. After this *Hermestain*, kept by the *French*, being rendred to *Werdt*, was deposited into the hands of the Elector of *Collen*, till the cause of him of *Triers*, to whom that place belonged, should be decided. *Werdt* after this draws near to *Hanau*, and *Weimar* hastes with speed to its succours, wherein he was not able to succeed, though he beat the Duke *Carlo* of *Lorrain*, who had attempted to hinder him in his way.

The Duke therefore turns his march into the *Franche Conté*, attempting to possess *Besanzon*, an Imperial City, but in vain; and thereupon goes into *Alsace*, leaving *Hanau* to be taken by *Werdt*. He after the place gained follows him, joyned with the Duke of *Savelli* and other Chiefs, and seeing *Weimar* engaged under *Rheinfeldt*, attacks him, obliging him with the loss of his Cannon to rise. In this Encounter *Rohan*, who was with Duke *Bernard*, received such a hurt, that he a while after dyed, leaving the Arms, he was wont to wear, to the Republick of *Venice*, as a gift of affection and Monument of that Renown, which inrolled him in the number of the most famous Captains of the World. The Imperialists not contenting themselves with this success, by pursuing the Victory lost it; whilst at *Laufenburg*, whither *Weimar* was gone, they attacked him, and he made appear of what importance is the Courage of an excellent Captain; for, inferior in Reputation and Forces he encounters them, and fights them with so great resolution, that he defeats them, putting almost all to the Sword, possessing Cannon and Baggage, taking the Colours, and numbring amongst the Prisoners of Quality *Werdt* himself, and *Enchefurt*. *Rheinfeldt*, under which *Weimar* returned, was the reward of the Victory, and after that *Neoburg* and *Friburg* followed.

That nevertheless happened in the year following; but for the present in *Italy* the War being transported out of the Country of *Parma* into the *Monferrat*, *Leganes* feigned to himself great progress, finding himself strong eighteen thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, with all sorts of other provisions. But his hopes were not seconded by the event. In the *Langhe*, *Martino d'Aragona* took in *Ponzone* to open the way of succours by Sea and the Communication with *Final*. *Gilles de Haes*, intending to surprise *Nizza della Paglia*, arrived there so late in the day, that he was easily discovered. And not thinking it honourable to retreat, fortifies himself in a Convent, obliging *Leganes*, who by the weakness of the place hoped for a short conquest of it, to repair thither with the whole Army. Nor was he deceived; for after four days the Governour renders it, there going forth four hundred *Monferrins*, two hundred forty *French*, and some Horse *Savoyards*. Thence passing into the Territory of *Asti*, orders *Philippo di Siloa* to take in *Algiano*, which easily succeeded. With the Duke of *Mantua*, who complained of the Invasion of *Monferrat*, and with the *Venetians*, who did not willingly

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hear of his prejudice, the Governour of *Milan* justified himself, alledging, that he was not bound to use respect, where he found Garriſons of that Nation, which with moleſtations and jealousies afflicted the Frontiers of the *Milanese*. But the progress of the *Spanish* Arms quickly terminated in this period; for *Cregui* returned out of *France*, where he had been to justify his past conduct, joyning with six thousand Foot and two thousand Horse *Savoyards*, attempted *la Rocca d'Arasso*, a little before taken by the *Spaniards*; but *Leganes* coming near with all the Army, he was constrained to retire. This Campaign afterwards ended with certain Incursions and some Encounters betwixt *Brem* and *Vercelli*, which were of no small moment, where *Villa* beat *Arragona* with the death of some Officers on the *Spaniards* side, and among them *Spadino*, the known Promoter of the first Siege of *Casali*; and the same Chiefs not far from *Monbaldone* putting it to a new trial, *Aragona* went away with the worst, who hardly saving himself by flight, abandoned six Cannons and his Baggage.

After these the accidents of Nature promoted new and unthought of successes; for *Italy*, greatly afflicted by the death of two of its Princes, opened the bosom to new strokes. The Duke *Vittorio* in *Vercelli* upon the seventh of *October*, in the one and fiftieth year of his Age, ended his days with various judgments upon the nature of his sickness, there wanting not some, who imputed it to poison, given by *Cregui*, either for private hatred, or the publick distrusts of the Crown; and they drew their argument from an invitation, where were with the Duke the Count *de Verrua*, his most confident Minister, and the Marquess *Villa*, the most faithful General of his Army, of which falling sick together with the Duke, the first dyed, and the other hardly by the strength of his complexion overcame the accidents. Others believed, that the powder of Diamonds, given him some time before, had corroded his inward parts. But besides that the *French* are abhorring such Arts, it ought not to seem strange, that the Duke, macerated with many cares and tedious indispositions in the decline of his age, should run the common Fate; so that in such cases of doubt and concealment, it is more becoming to give credit to Nature than authorize falshood. Let it be as it will; he left with three Daughters two Sons, both very young, and to them War for an Inheritance, and for a Patrimony the hatred of one of the Crowns, and the distrust of the other, without support of any sincere friendship. *Francesco Giacinto*, the eldest, having scarce tasted the benefit of life, but not of command, was after a few months snatched away by death, leaving the Title to *Carlo Emanuel* his Brother.

Vittorio dead, the Tutelage and Regency were assumed by the Dutchess *Christina*, alledging the Will of her Husband expressed in his Testament, which committed it to her alone. The Princes, *Maurice* the Cardinal, and *Tomaso*, pretended to have a share in it, and pressed it so much the more as believing the life of the little Duke doubtful, by reason of his tender age and weak constitution, and

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and because by the Laws of the Country Women being excluded, they were encouraged to conceive great hopes, that the Succession might devolve to them. For which cause the Cardinal, who resided at *Rome*, leaves the Court, notwithstanding that the Pope, doubtful of what happened, endeavoured to stop him with offers of imployments and advantages. He, come to the Borders of *Piedmont*, and finding an Order there from the Dutchess, that he should retire further off, with a promise, if he did, of satisfaction and an Appenage, things being not yet in a condition to use force, retired into the *Genouese*.

King Lewis, freed from those suspicions, in which the deep and wise Conduct of the Duke *Vittorio* held him, was glad to see his Sister Regent, who, since she could not adhere to her Brothers-in-law, nor put trust in them, remained constrained to shelter her self under his protection. On the other side the *Spaniards*, by reason of this dependence and conjunction of Blood, endeavoured to have her excluded, or at least that she might govern with an Authority so limited and restrained, that she might not be able to bring prejudice to their interests. Expecting therefore accidents from time, *Leganes* was not solicitous to make advantage in that Conjunction with Arms, save only that he took in the Castle of *Pomar* in *Monferrat*, which he abandoned so soon as he saw *Cregui* joyned again with *Villa*. These two Chiefs were joyned, notwithstanding their disgusts, grown even to publick distrust, from the time that *Cregui*, taking occasion from the death of the Duke, had attempted to cast a Garrison of *French* into *Vercelli*, and *Villa* had prevented him by bringing in a strong Renfort of *Savoyards*. The other accident, which gave no less apprehension to *Italy*, was the death of *Carlo*, Duke of *Mantua*, upon the 21. of *September* in the sixty and one year of his age. He, whilst he lived privately, had had several thoughts and designs of a great Prince; but having attained the Principality with great hazard, governed himself amidst great troubles with the spirit and manners of a private man.

The Succession fell to *Carlo*, Nephew of the Duke deceased, and Son of the Prince *Carlo*, Duke of *Rhetel*, yet in Minority, and therefore recommended by Testament and by a Codicil of the Grandfather to the protection of the *French* and the *Venetians*, and to the Regency of the Mother, a Princess of a most prudent understanding, who, altering nothing of the present state of things, requires the Oath in the name of the Son, and sends to *Venice* the Senator *Paraleoni* to obtain the continuance of the assistance and the direction of the Senate. The Republick doubling, to the end to preserve that State, their diligence, passed immediately effectual offices with the Emperour to divert all thoughts of novelty, and in *Spain* used remonstrances, to the end the *Infanta Maria* should have no thoughts of returning to *Mantua* to sow unreasonable suspicions. Nor was it difficult to obtain it; for although the *Spaniards* were not pleased at the assistance of *Monsieur de la Tour*, a *French* Commander in *Mantua*; yet fancying to themselves greater advantages on the side of

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Piedmont, they thought it best as yet not to promote disturbances on that of *Mantua*. The Republick by this means remaining quiet and secure, reformed and diminished the number of their Army, which was very considerable at Land, and recalling the General *Giorgio*, left *Michael Priuli* with Title of *Proveditor*. It applied it self besides, according to its Institutions, so much the more to the Arts of Peace, by how much it was esteemed to excel in those of disburdening the Treasury of those many debts contracted by the long expences of the past Wars; it being its ancient custom in times of Peace to recover strength, to the end to use it more powerfully, where Fortune should present new occasion of troubles. It had therefore laid up no contemptible treasure for important accidents and extremities, taking rather money at Interest from private persons, who as well Subjects as Strangers took for undoubted security, that of the publick Faith. Nor were they at all deceived; for it was resolved to take a million of Gold out of the publick Coffers, with which and other sums, which were to be raised by the sale of certain Goods, was to be satisfied in the first place that debt, for the annual Interest whereof was paid seven and six per Cent, with choice nevertheless of the Creditors to continue it in the Cantore, but with the profit of five per Cent only; whereupon the publick Charge decreasing, the over-plus was employed to pay off the principal of the debt it self.

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The Count of *Monterey* transporting himself from the Viceregency of *Naples* by Sea into *Spain*, and passing by *Genova* in the beginning of this present year, the Ministers of *Spain* met at *Pegli* in a secret and grave Assembly concerning the state of affairs and the direction of the future Campagna, in which occasion was opened to them of great advantages. They sent to *Madrid* their opinions about invading *Piedmont*, and in that interim, whilst Orders and Answers should come, resolved to drive the *French* out of *Breme*, that the Frontiers being secured, the whole strength of the *Milanese* might with less distraction make War upon the Countries of the *savoyards*. In the month then of *March* was the Fort first invested, and afterwards very suddenly environed with the whole Army, and to take away succours from it, the Bank of the *Po* was so fortified, that *Crequi* attempting to send in by Boat a relief of some Souldiers, their passage was hindered. He not able to rest so satisfied, had a mind to make a new tryal, when, as he was viewing the situation for planting of a Battery which might oblige the *Spaniards* to retreat, being taken with a Cannon-bullet left his life upon that place, together with the opinion of a Captain, that for so many years past had rather had a name in *Italy* than been fortunate. Wanting then a head, almost all the *French* Souldiers, who were not many, disbanded, and the Officers repassed the *Alps*; so that *Leganes* had now liberty, almost without opposition, to continue the Siege.

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Siege. The Garrison without hope of relief defended it self but weakly. Five Batteries were raised with twenty pieces on them. A Scalade having been attempted in vain, approaches were opened, and an Out-work, called Horn-work, being gained, could not be kept, the besieged still recovering it.

The place at last being more pressed by the attaque of *Carlo della Gatta Neapolitan*, than elsewhere, was rendred. The Garrison, which went out to the number of eighteen hundred men, was conveyed to *Casal*, and there the Governour, whose name was *Montgaiard*, had his head taken off. To him, who of mean birth was raised by the favour of *Crequi* to so important a Government, was imputed, that he had weakened the defence by appropriating to himself more pays, and hastened the surrender to save the money he had gotten, so that he made good by his punishment, that baseness seldom finds an escape, especially when too much covetousness is that which procures it. To divert the new Regent from joyning her Forces to attempt the preservation of the place, and to make it believed, that *Piedmont* was in no danger, *Leganes* had sent to *Genova* the Abbot *Vasques*, that with the Cavalier *Ogliani*, sent thither from the Dutchess at the suggestion of the *Spaniards*, the means might be discoursed of to compose the differences with the Brothers-in-law and with the Crown of *Spain*. But it being difficult in discourses to keep dissimulation long concealed, the Meeting was quickly dissolved, the *savoyards* perceiving that all tended to retard *French* succours, and give time for the Orders from *Spain*. And they came at last very positive, that the Armies should be employed in *Piedmont*; that the Princes should be encouraged, calling back from *Rome Maurice*, who was returned thither, and *Thomaso* from *Flanders*, to the end, that not only with military skill, but with the authority of the name, and the affection of the Subjects, the proceedings of the Crown might be facilitated. The Dutchess found her self now in very great straights, environed with suspicions and with treacheries, the minds of the people alienated, and the succour scanty, which she hoped for from *France*; for that *Richelieu*, to bring her to his will, chose to leave her in danger. *Leganes*, by the taking of *Breme*, proud to have driven the Enemy out of the *Milanese*, and by the Intelligence he had in it hoping certainly to get himself into *Casal*, advances to *Vercelli* in the month of *May*.

The Dutchess was now forced to cast her self into the arms of the *French*, by concluding a Treaty that obliged her, To make War for two years with the *Spaniards* and the Princes their adherents, joyning three thousand Foot and twelve hundred Horse to thirteen thousand five hundred men, which the King, without pretending repayment of charges, but rather paying for his Quarters, obliged himself to maintain in *Italy*. The King promised not to make Peace but by common consent, and without the Investiture should be conferred on the Duke by the Emperour in the same manner as his Father had obtained it.

Notwithstanding the limitation of time mentioned in the Treaty, it was yet visible, that *savoy* was in such sort engaged with *France*, that

An.Dom. 1638. that it had no means to dis-intangle it self; *Piedmont* remaining a free and open field for the *French* Armies, which should not only enjoy Quarters at discretion, but have every place ready to open the Gates to them. Nor was the conjecture groundless; for the Dutchess not knowing in whom among her Subjects she might put confidence, of a sudden under the shew of giving a months pay, brought a good number of *French* for her security into *Turin*; and levying a Regiment of that Nation in her own Name to colour the Juggle, committed to them the keeping of the Citadel. A while after the Cardinal de la *Vallette* arrives in *Italy* to command the Army; but not followed with Forces proportionable to what was needful, nevertheless applies himself immediately to view and strengthen the places, and coming into *Casal*, discovers the contrivance, which *Leganes* framed there, whereof *Ottavio Montiglio*, with the consent of the Princess Dowager, being the Author, who commanded there for the Duke of *Mantua*, by seizing upon him the design to introduce the *Spaniards* was broken.

But of succouring *Vercelli*, the Cardinal found himself not in a condition to hope for a happy event; because, besides the weakness of the *French* Forces, all things in *Piedmont* were transacted between confusion and jealousies. In the Town they endured great wants; for from the very beginning of the Siege they were unprovided of many things, with a Garrison unequal to the largeness of the circuit. The Marquess *Dogliani*, the Governour, with skill and courage supplied some of them, by maintaining some Posts, and with frequent Sallies keeping the Enemy at a distance. Nevertheless *Leganes* having perfected the Circumvallation, which was extended into a great compass, in regard of the situation and of the River *Sesia*, which formed certain Islands and Flats, prosecuted the Siege in great earnest. The Cardinal, who assembled his Army with great difficulty, by incessant rains retarded his march for some days. At last, the Dutchess being come to *Crescentino*, to encourage the undertaking, he presents himself before the Line, but not having vigour to force it, *Leganes* amused him by skirmishing with his Horse, not intermitting at all the Siege, but having pierced in several parts into the Ditch, took two Half-moons by assault, and lodged his men upon a Bastion. *Dogliani* for all this made an undaunted resistance, seeing succours at hand, and *Vallette* in sight, that endeavoured to bring it in, traversing about, viewing Situations, and possessing Posts with greater application than force. The Cardinal, having corrupted, as was said, a Sentinel, sends into *Vercelli* through the middle of the *Germans* Quarter, negligently kept, a thousand Foot. But they not suffering to slacken the Siege, some Officers being exemplarily punished, that were found guilty of negligence, *Leganes* redoubled his Force, closed up his Lines into a narrower compass, hastened the Works, and the *French* for a diversion threatening the Fort of *Sandoval*, he assembles another body of an Army, commanded by the Cardinal *Trivulso*, and composed of some *Switzers* and Foreign Souldiery to maintain it. So that *Vallette*, not to be taken

An.Dom. 1638. taken in the middle betwixt them was forced to withdraw further off; but for the last attempt, in concert with the besieged he endeavoured to possess a certain Island of the *Sesia*, and that design not succeeding, he had a mind in another place with a furious battery to incommode the Enemies Camp. But all in vain, for the Town having lost the Outworks, and having breaches open, and mines ready, and the Enemies lodged upon a Bastion, the Cardinal plundering *Palestre* retired, and *Dogliani*, in the end of June, renders upon honourable conditions.

The *French* upon this success discouraged, and the *Savoyards* in disorder, *Leganes* had opportunity and time for greater progress. But, applying himself first to provide and repair *Vercelli*, afterwards falling sick, leaves to *Francisco de Melo* the command of the Army, which made no other Conquest but *Pomar*, where they demolished the Castle. The *Venetians*, who, after the ill seconded confidences with this House, observed the interests of *Savoy*, without taking further care of it watched so much the more diligently upon the Affairs of *Mantua*, where, it seemed, quiet began to be disturbed by the various disgusts of the Princess at the *French*. She, presently assuming the Government, let it be seen, that she would no longer depend alone upon that Crown; but desired also the friendship of *Spain*, and, under the shadow and confidence of the Empress Dowager her Aunt, rely upon the Emperour with greater security and honour.

It seemed, that the *French* were now, both in *Casal* and in the *Monferrat*, rather givers of the Law than protectors. Whereupon she sets on foot at *Vienna* and in *Milan* secret practices, and to make her self absolute in the command, confides to the Marquess *Guerriero*, that depended on her, the Government of *Porio*, and commits the education of the Duke to the Count *Scipio Arrigoni*, which charge the Marquess *Cauriani* had first supplied.

For these considerations, the *French*, touched with a vehement distrust, sent to *Mantua* Monsieur de la *Thuillerie*, who resided Ambassador in *Venice*; though the Senate did not believe it as yet reasonable to irritate any further with troublesome instances the mistrustful mind of that young Princess, jealous above measure of her authority. But, the *French* thinking to break all Treaty, by shewing they had discovered it, did but hasten it. *La Thuillerie* demanded, that the new Ministers being removed, she would continue to make use of the old, and most trusty to the Crown; and the Princess mingling reasons with excuses, under pretext that she would inform the King about it, took time, suspending in the interim for some days the Marquess *Guerriero*, for a shew, from the Government; and joining to *Arrigoni* the Count della *Roschie* Chamberlain to the Duke deceased.

The *French* nevertheless were not content; for the *Spanish* Ministers, and at *Venice* particularly the Ambassador della *Rocca*, assuming in a manner publicly the protection of the Regents, pressed the Senate, that it would interpose to remove those molestations and instances

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instances, which tended to exercise with the Prince's prepotency and command, rather than friendship or counsel. The said Prince's dispatching to *Venice*, as Ambassador extraordinary, to communicate the succession of her Son, the Marquess *Nicolo Gonzaga*, strengthened those Offices; nor was the Senate wanting, by the means of *Angelo Carraro* Cavalier, its Ambassador at *Paris*, and by *Luigi Molino*, sent Ambassador extraordinary to *Mantua*, to employ themselves by all means possible, to sweeten the disgusts, and qualifie embitterments. But the Bishop of *Casal* being sent from *Mantua* into *France*, to inform the King how things stood, and at the same time the Marquess *Giovanni Sigismond Gonzaga* to *Vienna*, to demand the investiture, there came to the Prince's the Count *Frederrick Altimis* with a Secretary in the name of the Empress her Aunt, under pretence to counsel; her and from *Milan* arriving *Diego Saavedra* under colour of a complement, a secret Treaty was made betwixt them and the Prince's her self, which aimed at driving the *French* Garrison out of *Casal*. And now the Ministers of that Crown having discovered it, but willing to dissemble it, departed from *Mantua*; *la Tuillerie*, because Monsieur de *Huffé* had succeeded him in the Ambassage of *Venice*, retiring himself to *Padua* for his health, and *la Tour* for devotion taking a Voyage to *Loretto*. The Prince's, glad to have removed their assistance farther off, sends the Count *Arrivabene*, her chief Secretary of State, to *Venice*, to let the Senate know, that for many disgusts, which she pretended, she could no longer admit *la Tour*, but that her self, having assumed the Generalat of the Army, had no need of another person of that Nation to command it. She complained, that *Montiglio* had been beheaded in *Casal*, by order of the *French* Ministers, and that it was believed at *Paris*, that her self had not only knowledge, but was author of the contrived betraying of the place. On the other side, Monsieur de *la Tuillerie*, being returned to *Mantua*, solicited, that she would put the Marquess *Guerriero* from the Government of *Porto*, to which he was restored, and also one *della Valle*, believed a partaker of the intelligences discovered in *Casal*. The Prince's, professing her self ignorant of the Plot, rejected the instances, as contrary to her liberty and the dignity of her Son. *La Thuillerie* acquiesced not; but perceiving at last, that the Emperor had declared, that he would send a Commissary of his to *Mantua*, if the Ambassador of *France* should abide any longer there, he departs, leaving the Count *Bonzi Florentine* as Resident.

The *Venetians*, seeing that these troubles might break forth into worse accidents, re-inforced the Garrison of *Mantua* to the number of five thousand men, and sent another party to the *Confines*, to be ready to be brought in, if there should be need. About this time hapned a notable encounter at Sea, betwixt the Gallies of the two Crowns. *Roderigo Velasco* with fifteen of the *Spanish* had disimbarqued Souldiers at *Pado*; and in his going thence was overtaken over against *Genua* by Monsieur de *Poncurle*, who with an equal number followed him. The Fight was bloody separating with a number

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number in a manner equal of hurt and dead, but with a different loss of Ships; for the *French* took five, and the *Spaniards* three. But the success of the Armies either weak or unfortunate, which happened elsewhere, had not the same issue; for the Marshalls *Chaffillon* and *la Force* being come before *St. Omer*, Prince *Thomas* seizing on a situation fit to incamp his Army, brought succours twice into it; and afterwards forcing a Quarter, obliged them to retire: so that the Campaigna ended in the *Low Countries* without other Conquest but of the weak Castle of *Renti*, which was demolished, and of the *Catlet*, which being re-assieged by Monsieur de *Halier*, was after the springing of two Mines recovered by assault, and the Garrison of six hundred *Spaniards* cut to pieces.

The *Hollanders*, to second these enterprises, being by concert come into the field, 5000 men under Count *William* of *Nassau*, directed their course towards the *scheld* to take in those Forts, which defending the Dikes preserve the Country from Inundations, and surprised some of them, particularly that of *Callo*; but being come to the other of *Santa Maria*, the *Spanish* Troops flocking thither, they were defeated with the loss of many drowned in the low Lands, and others taken Prisoners. The Prince of *Orange*, not daunted with this unhappy success, attempts with the gros of his Army the Town of *Guldre*; but the Cardinal *Infante* coming to its succours, together with *Lamboy*, who brought to him five thousand Imperialists, assaults the Quarters of Count *Henry Casimir* de *Nassau* with so great success, that passing over certain Trenches not yet perfected, he took him Prisoner, and put in such relief, as obliged the *Hollanders* to rise and abandon some pieces of Cannon in the waters, which being let in several ways by the besieged, overflowed the whole Country.

Nor was the Fortune of the *French* much better on the Frontiers of *Spain*, whether, to carry the War into the Enemies own Country, the Cardinal had resolved to bring an Army. The Prince of *Conde* having in *Guyenne* assembled a body of twelve thousand men, comes to the Port of *Passage*, where possessing himself of certain Ships, which were there ready built, he burnt others which were in building, laying Siege afterward to *Fontarabie*, a Frontier place, and the Key of *Navarre*, placed, like a *Peninsula*, in a very strong situation, where the *Vidaso* disburdening it self, opens a passage to receive the flowings of the Sea. It is beyond belief, in what a commotion the Kingdoms of *Spain* were, being not accustomed to be sensible of an Enemy at home, and under the guard of opinion and pride to enjoy a peaceable calm. Whereupon the Nobility and Souldiery flocking to strives from all parts, an Army was quickly formed under the Admirant of *Castille*; which, consisting of puissant Forces, draws near to the *French* Camp. The enterprise, by reason of weakness and the disunion of the Chiefs, proceeded more slowly than was imagined, giving time to the *Spanish* Army to present it self, which appearing at unawares, came before the Line to give an assault. *Conde* knowing that on that side some Troops had the Guard of the

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Trenches;

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1638. Trenches, the Chiefs whereof, and among them the Duke of *Valet- te* especially, he had in suspicion of Intelligence with the Enemy, sent others to re-inforce those Posts; but the first being resolute not to give them place, they turned their discontent and arms against one another, leaving almost without contest the passage to the *spaniards*. The Marquis *de Torrecuso* was the first that attacked the Line; but he of *Mortara* had the honour to get in before him on the other side, seconded afterward by the whole Army, with so little blood, that sixteen only were killed, and one hundred and fifty reckoned to be hurt. On the *French* side all was confusion, flight, and fear, leaving to the Conquerours the field full of Booty; Arms, and other Provisions.

The News was received in the Court of *France*, both for the loss and the dishonour, with great trouble of mind, because it looked as if the fidelity and prudence of the Chiefs had rather been wanting than Fortune or the Force of Arms. *Conde* was sufficiently blamed for negligence, and that not disjoyned from the great greediness of gain, with which he had carried on the enterprise, and he upbraided the Duke *de la Vallette* with infidelity and want of care to such a degree, that he, to avoid the threatening anger of the Cardinal, retired himself to *London*, and his Father, the Duke of *Esperson*, was obliged to betake himself to a private life, abandoning his Government of *Guyenne*. So joyful a Victory being applauded in *Spain* with great Festivals, the King rewards the *Conde* Duke with extraordinary pre-eminences and advantages, as if the Fortune of the Army had taken its life from his alone direction, not without the murmuring of those, who having been exposed to dangers and the engagements in the field, saw one alone in the idleness of the Court go away with the recompenes and the glory. The War being scattered and spread into so many parts, the variety of relations, which for the most part delights, interrupting at present too often the series of discourses, make them in a manner seem tedious.

Weimar aspired in *Germany* to establish for himself a Sovereign State, and although with money and assistance from *France* he managed the War, he nevertheless directed it to his own advantages. After the Victory formerly related, with the places taken, he possessed almost all *Alsace*, a Province of the ancient Patrimony of the House of *Austria*, both by its situation and extent held to be of great importance. He now sets forth to besiege *Krisach*, a place very strong, with a Bridge over the *Rhine*, and by consequence convenient for the Navigation of the River and for passage by Land, and driving the Siege to a conclusion, forces it to render, having frustrated all diligence of the *Austrians* to relieve it. This was the most renowned action which happened in *Germany*; for in consequence of it, *Oxenstern* being passed into *Sweden* to dispose and solicit the Senate for succours, landed in *Pomerania* with new supplies for the Army, with which *Banier* being rendered more vigorous and bold, possesses many places, which *Galls* retiring abandoned

Charles Lodowick, Son of the deceased *Palatine*, who was elect King

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1638. King of *Bohemia*, with the assistance of the King of *England* and the favour of the *Swedes*, who assigned to him for his place of Arms *Minden* and *Osnabrug*, had raised in *Westphalia* ten thousand men, with which, joyning with *Melander*, General for the *Hessens*, he designed to attempt the recovery of the *Palatinate* or the Conquest of some other Country, which might be equal to it; but being met, so soon as he began to march, by the Count of *Hatsfeld*, General of that Circle, and for the Catholick Electors, was in such sort defeated, that his Troops could never re-unite, and *Osnabrug* rendered it self to the Conquerours, who with very little blood obtained a very notable Victory.

Amongst the Prisoners remained in the hands of the Imperialists *Robert*, Brother to *Charles Lodowick*, who conducted to *Lintz*, obtained of the Emperour to be exchanged with *John Casimir*, Brother of *Vladislaus*, King of *Poland*, fallen into the hands of the *French* as he was passing by Sea out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But *France* would not yield their consent; for pretending for cause of the arrest, that the Prince went to bear Arms in favour of the *spaniards*, and remembering the mischiefs heretofore done by the *Polack* Cavalry under the Emperours Colours, *Richelieu* thought it a very seasonable occasion, treating with that Kingdom to make a friendship, and drawing profit from the accident, hinder the *Austrians* of those conveniences, which they were wont to enjoy in *Poland*, especially *Levies*. And therefore were of little avail for the liberty of the Prince the offices of the *Venetians*, who being expressly desired by the King *Vladislaus*, through the means of the Baron *Biboni* his Envoy Extraordinary, to interpose themselves, had for that purpose made choice of *Angelo Contarini* Cavalier for Ambassador Extraordinary to King *Lodowick*: But getting knowledge of the inclination of the King and of the Minister, the Mission was suspended; whereupon *Vladislaus* was obliged to dispatch thither an Embassy express, by which he obtained the liberty of his Brother with a solemn promise, that he would never more bear Arms against *France*; that the King and the Kingdom should not pretend disgust by this arrest; that by *Poland* Levies should not in future be permitted to the Enemies of *France*, nor Alliances made with them to its prejudice. The business of the Peace languished this year as formerly, notwithstanding the pressing of the Mediators to obtain the Pass ports; because, besides the Fate of great businesses, to find the beginning always full of trouble, delays and difficulties, were on all sides affected, to gain time for designs and the hopes of their Arms.

But in the month of *March* was concluded in *Hamburg* betwixt *Monsieur d'Avo* for *France*, and *John Salvis* for the *Swedes*, a Treaty with promise, Not to send their Plenipotentiaries to any Meeting without Pass-ports first had for their Ministers, and for those of their Confederates in the form required; that in the Treaty they should proceed paripassu in the Interest of both the Crowns, concluding or breaking conjointly; that in case of a long Truce, each should remain in the possession of what they held, and a Peace coming to be concluded, the one Crown should

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The accident, which was most taken notice of, and rendred this year memorable, was the Birth in *France* of a *Dolphin* upon the 5. of *September*; who, after many years of fruitless Wedlock, given from Heaven to King *Lewis's* piety, infinitely rejoyced that Kingdom, and seemed to serve as an Augure of future felicity; for the Arms managed hitherto with equality and a ballance, brought Fortune afterwards to incline to the favour of *France*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

A *Murath* the Fourth ruled at this time the *Ottoman* Empire, in the prime of his age, and the height of ambition, nourished by warlike spirits, and a capacity no less for Arms than Counsel. He had his mind fixed on the glory of his Ancestors, ruminating on their Chronicles, and studying incessantly the Annals and famous Actions especially of *Soliman*. The strength of his body, the arrogance of his mind, the desire of Empire, and the greediness of wealth, equal to that of blood, rendred him venerable to the Barbarians, amongst whom Terrour possesses the place of Virtue. He cast in his mind vast designs against Christendom, and if at all times the concord of Christian Princes uses to be the Guardian of the Barbarians faith, *Amurath* conceived he might violate it without danger now, that he saw it torn into pieces, and weakened with unquenchable hatreds. But, for the present leaving them involved in their discords, he applied himself to shut the door, by which the *Persians* might advance deep into several Provinces of the *Ottoman* Empire. They had possessed, more by intelligence than force, *Babylon*, famous for its name, though it be but a heap of the reliques, and a shadow of its ancient stateliness, whilst the *Turks* during the former years made an unsuccessful War with the *Polacks*.

Amurath had once before attempted it with a formidable Army, but after some inconsiderable Conquest, unworthy of his presence, and of so great preparations, the season, the want of victuals, and many

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many other difficulties fighting against him, he returned to *Constantinople*, rather irritated than dissuaded by the infelicity of the enterprise. In this year he returns with such a disposition of things, as shewed the power of a mighty Prince, and the wisdom of an excellent Captain; for to an Army, which was said to exceed three hundred thousand men, not only Arms, Cannon, and Ammunition abounded, but Victuals, and every other kind of provisions and things that might be needful, with such order and method, that the multitude was not disordered in their march, nor did the length of the way, or the extent of the vast desarts waste the multitude. So great preparations at Land weakned the arming at Sea; whereupon, to the end that that might not remain unguarded and exposed, he had enjoined the Pirates of *Barbary* to come with their Gallies into the *Archipelago*, to join with the *Ottoman* Squadrons. They were encreased to such a degree, that they were now at last able to command the Sea, rather than commit spoil in it. For in the *Mediterranean* the Christian Fleets, by the War betwixt the Crowns, by factions, and by other accidents being weakned, gave liberty to those of *Barbary* to strengthen themselves daily with Booties and with Slaves. They sent sixteen in obedience to the Turks, which, though they were called Galliot, exceeded nevertheless in the greatness of bulk, number of oars and men, the ordinary sort of Gallies. They were divided into two Squadrons equally; those of *Tunis* were commanded by *Safader*; the other of *Algiers* by *Ali Picciminio*, a Renegado Christian, who, when they were all joined, commanded in chief. They then set sail towards the *Archipelago*, but having an eye always on the occasions of prey, and hearing that the *Venetian* Fleet was in *Candia*, changing their course entred into the *Adriatick*, to make advantage of a sudden course before they could be pursued and overtaken.

The common opinion was, that they designed the rich spoil of the Chappel of *Notre dame de Loretto*, a place as good as open, defended only by Religion, and the powerful arm of him, that by a wonderful miracle transported so rare a pledge thither. Nevertheless, as they passed they bent towards *Nicotra* in *Puglia*, and landing there plundered the Town and Country there about, carrying away many Slaves, and amongst those some religious Women, whom they violently espoused to their lust. Thence passing to the other side of the Gulph they came to *Cattaro*, where one Vessel fell into their hands, and their design was, after having plundered *Lissa*, or some other Island of the *Venetians*, to pass over again towards *la Marca*, and there having pillaged *Loretto*, and all that should have offered it self to their rapine, with the same expedition going out of the Gulf, rescued themselves from punishment. Heaven first armed the winds and afterwards men against such wicked intentions; so that having stayed there some days, and meeting with a desperate storm, they put into *Valona*, giving time to the places most exposed to fortifie themselves, and to the *Venetian* Fleet to come up to them. It consisted of twenty eight Gallies, and two Galliaffes, but not all in a body, eight of the nimblest being divided into several Posts.

Marino

Marino Capello, or whether it were *Anthony* called *Terzo*, who as *An.Dom.* *Proveditor* commanded it, understanding, that there were *Corfaires* 1638. in the Gulph, parting from *Candia* with all speed, arrives at *Corfu*, while they were yet in the Port of *Vallona*. This Town is subject to the *Turks*, and hath a Haven capable to receive a considerable Fleet with safety, by reason of the situation and a Castle, which being raised on a Hill, commands it. *Capello* nevertheless resolves to go thither; for the Treaties with the *Turks* permitted the *Venetians* to pursue in all places, and chastise the Pirates, forbidding the *Ottoman* Commanders to receive them, or shew them any favour. He defies them, and plays upon them with his Cannon; but that doing little hurt at a distance, and the Forts by some shot declaring they would defend them, the *Venetians* withdrew; yet coming to an Anchor not far off to keep them besieged, and fight them when they should come out. This happened about the last of *July*, and on the third of the following month the Pirates attempted an escape, coming out in the morning with the advantage of the Sun, which shining full in face to the *Venetians*, permitted them not to discern the number of the Enemies Forces nor their order. However *Capello* weighing his Anchors, and encouraging his Captains, resolves to attacke them, first playing on them with his Cannon, and afterwards endeavouring to board them; but the *Corfaires* seeing that resolution, changing their course, took Sanctuary again under the Fort, which played upon the *Venetians* in flank, and by a shot split a Mast, the pieces whereof brake the Arm of *Lorenzo Marcello*, Captain of the Galliaffes. Other hurt there was not much, save that the *Corfaires* were put to repair in the Port five of their Gallies very ill handled by shot. *Capello* was obliged to return to his first Post, and they not daring to expose themselves again to flight, or to a more close Encounter, in hope that the wonted accidents of the Sea would oblige the *Venetians* to retire, were deceived by an unusual and long calm, which gave opportunity for more than a month to keep them besieged. During this time the Pirates did not only new-fit their Ships, but ordered their defence; for, fearing lest the Slaves coming to mutiny, might carry away the Gallies, they disembarked them, securing them in a Fort and within certain Trenches, by which they were a protection to the Gallies, besides the countenance of the Forts, into which the Commanders, corrupted by presents, gave the Pirates not only access, but permitted them the custody and command of it. The Chiefs of the *Venetian* Fleet were in this interim in a difficult consultation; for the insult done by these *Barbary* Pirates being not to be endured, their chastisement seemed no less honourable than just, lest, if they should this time go scot-free, and through impunity and strength increase their insolence, the Dominion would be no more respected, the Sea secure, Navigation protected, and the Islands and Provinces preserved; but all Christendom would quickly become sensible of these assaults, and Piracy being turned into War, there would be a necessity to subdue them as Enemies, that might at present be punished as Pirates.

On

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On the other side there appeared difficulties in the undertaking, above all the respect to a Fort and Haven of the *Ottomans*, which though unjustly and contrary to the Peace it protected them, yet the Pirates, rather seeking the occasions than the causes of War, might possibly greedily embrace this opportunity to execute their pernicious designs against Christendom. The prudence of the Commanders fluctuating amidst these weighty considerations, was from necessity induced to more resolute courses; for the Pirates having advertized *Bechir*, Captain *Bassa* of the Sea, by express Messengers dispatched by Land, of the danger in which they were, implored succours, remonstrating to him, how much the honour of their common Master would be undervalued, and his service injured, if they should be lost in a Haven and under a Fortrefs, which bore the *Ottoman* Standard, and that that Squadron should be ruined, which without charge to the Grand Signor served for a troublesome exercise to the Christians, and a seasonable strengthening to the *Turkish* Fleet. *Bechir* upon this advice and by such reasons instigated, moves with twenty two Gallies and two great Hulks, besides some other Vessels, to come towards the Gulph, to favour the coming forth of the *Corfaires*; upon knowledge whereof, *Capello* putting speedily to a consult, what was fit to be done, it was resolved to prevent being caught betwixt two Fleets, and forced either to a dishonourable Retreat or to a disadvantageous Engagement, which at last with an unhappy beginning might break forth into a War. There was no other way to fight and overcome the Pirates but by entering into the Port, and that course the *Venetians* pitched upon, doubtful nevertheless whether it were more expedient to burn those Ships, or bring them away. But of that the resolution being put off till they should see the success, the Fleet on the 7. of *August* in the morning was ranged into a Half-moon, on the points whereof were placed the two Galliaffes to cover the lesser Gallies from the shot of the Fort, and so entred courageously into the Haven, where the *Corfaires*, astonished at so great boldness, and those thereupon who had the guard of the Ships, flying in confusion to Land, they made their defence only with Cannon and Muskets from the Fort and from the Trenches.

The Fort was not sparing of its Cannon; but the two Galliaffes halting themselves under the Wall, and with greater Pieces, some shot whereof fell particularly into the Church to the great resentment of the *Turks*, restraining its Battery, covered the Gallies in such sort, that they advanced under the Boltsprits of the Enemy. There finding them empty, some Mariners of *Persafo*, incensed at the remembrance of the spoils done to their Country not long before by these very Pirates, leaping into the water, cut the Cables and the Chains, which tying the Ships one to another, made them fast to the shore. So all the sixteen being taken and towed away with incessant shooting on both sides, but little shedding of blood on the *Venetians* side of persons of account, *Giovanni Minotto* only, a Masters Mate, being hurt with a Mullet, they carried them to *Corfu* in great Triumph.

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Triumph. There was found upon these Gallies Cannon, Arms, and Provisions; over and above all, the Furniture belonging to the Ships themselves and some booty which was presently divided. The Hulls of the Gallies, to the end both the *Corfaires* and the *Turks* might lose the hopes of ever having them again, were afterwards all sunk for the making of the Mole at *Corfu*, except the Admiral of *Algier*, which was sent to *Venice* to be kept in the Arsenal as a Memorial, and another which was known to belong to a great Man of the *Turks*, carried away formerly into *Barbary* by one *Cicale* a Fugitive. The gallantry of the action was universally magnified, especially in the Kingdom of *Naples* and by the Subjects of the Church, who acknowledged themselves preserved from cruel mischiefs. The news coming to *Venice* by the Galley of *Martin Molino*, Master of it, the Ministers, Residents of Princes, came to congratulate, and the Pope sent an express Brief, commemorating the glorious enterprises of the Republick for the maintenance of the Faith, and numbered this present action amongst the most famous and advantageous to Christendom, offering his Forces, whatever should happen upon it.

The Nuntio, as the occasion required, was admitted to present it at an Audience, and the Senate corresponded in giving thanks. Greater signs of joy were not publicly permitted in *Venice*; than to give God thanks by the Sacrifice of a solemn Mass. *Molino* being rewarded with a Chain of Gold, *Capello* honoured with the dignity of a Counsellor, and *Marcello* with that of Censor, and a thankful commendation given to the rest; the Senate remained in suspense, what resentments and resolutions the *Ottoman* Ministers were to shew upon it. Ordering therefore an exact Watch every where in the Islands and on the Borders, they communicated to the Christian Princes the success, shewing in this occasion also to have practised their ancient custom, to prefer honour and common safety before dangers and their own interest.

At *Constantinople* mens minds seemed in truth variously affected; for upon the first report of the Pirates being besieged in the Port, the *Turks* had made a shew to be somewhat sensible of it; but judging that the Sea would either open a way for them to escape, or would hinder the *Venetians* longer stay there; *Musse Bassa*, who in the Kings absence governed in quality of *Caimacan*, that is, Lieutenant of the *Grand Visier*, made himself ignorant of what had happened, not so much out of a dexterity, as because Forces being far off, and the King engaged against a powerful Enemy, he thought it not fit for him with complaints and jealousies to provoke him thereby against others. But when the certainty came of all that had happened, with the carrying away of the Gallies, artifice being outdone by Nature and Barbarity, he brake out into excess of anger. The whole fact coming afterwards to be published, the principal Ministers and all sorts of persons were moved at it, exasperating the violation of the Port, of the Fortrefs, and of the Church, besides the carrying away of the Ships appointed for the *Grand Signors* service.

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There happened a while after a commotion amongst the *Corfaires*, some of which, and in particular the Son of *Piccinino* in a mournful semblance and a pitiful habit, as is the custom of that Nation, with tears and crys, filled with lamentations the *Divan* and the principal houses of the great men, describing the insult, deploring the loss of the Gallies, the dispersing of the Slaves, and reckoning amongst the losses, the lost hopes by roving at Sea to plunder and devour the Wealth of the Christians. The Ministers hereupon greatly moved, arrogantly required of the *Bailo* the restitutions of the Ships; but he, (it was that *Luigi Contarini* Cavalier, who had grown old in the experiences of almost all the Courts of Europe) with as much calmness and constancy denied it, and brought his reasons, interposing time to fury, and also with dexterity shewing, *The right to punish him that dare come into another mans house to steal. He alledged the Articles and Agreements, attributing the blame of the evil that had happened to the Turkish Commanders, that had, contrary to the Peace, given the Pirates protection, and therefore he rather demanded, that they might be exemplarily punished as guilty, through an insatiable covetousness of prey, and in contempt of the Orders of Amurath, to have gone out of their way, and violated the Dominion of a Prince in friendship with the Ottoman Port.*

In effect, minds being a little quieted, many within a while detested their imprudence and temerity; nay at *Algier*, *Ali Piccinino* was condemned, as having gone beyond his Commission, if he should fall into the power of that Government, to lose his head. The Ambassadors of the other Christian Princes presented a Writing of one and the same tenour to the *Caimecan*, inveighing bitterly against these very *Corfaires* for the mischiefs received by every of the Nations, which frequented the Ottoman Havens, though in perfect friendship with the Port; whereupon approving as just the chastisement received, they appeared to interest themselves in the maintaining what the *Venetians* had done. It seemed thereupon, that the accident was communicated to the King with some sort of moderation. But with so much the more bitterness did the *Sultana*, Mother and the other Women of the *Seraglio* exclaim against it; for, either corrupted with gifts by the *Corfaires*, or longing, that, to exercise their authority nearer hand, and enjoy their wonted pleasures, he might quickly be restored to the *Seraglio*, they all laboured, that, abandoning the remote undertaking of *Persia*, he would employ his Arms on this side against Christendom.

Amurath was at this time come to the Frontiers of *Persia*, where, *Bairan the Grand Visier* dying, a man of a moderate spirit and naturally averse from complaints, he had substituted in his place *Mehmet, Bassa of Diarbeckir*, one more lofty and unquiet. He agreed better with the inclinations of the King, rendred by his severities terrible to his Ministers and to all; for under the shew of Military Discipline he vented without distinction his cruelties for the lightest offences, executing sometimes with his own hands hideous punishments. He particularly could not endure the smoke or smell of Tobacco,

Tobacco so much used by the *Turks*, and having forbid it, he punished with death him that durst use it. Always entertaining himself either with suspicions or tortures, sometimes *incognito* and by night he went into the Camp, and walked betwixt the Circles and the Tents, observing what was said and done, and then on a sudden punishing, with atrocity of torments, sometimes one sometimes another. Death, with the blow of a Sword, from the hand of the common Hangman seemed to him too gentle and merciful. He rather, to the barbarous manner of the *Turks*, of the *Gancio*, the *Palo*, and *Fleaing*, often added new inventions of punishments. However all this served him for respect with his own, and terror to his Enemies.

There is no doubt, that had he not been so far engaged against the *Persians*, what for the business of *Vallona*, and the instigation of the Sultans, he would have returned to *Constantinople*, and turned his Arms against the *Venetians*. But being not so soon able to disengage himself there, by an express dispatch he commands, that for the present the *Bailo* should be put in arrest; that the *Corfaires* should in some measure be recompensed with ten Gallies of his own; that, to preserve the remainder of the Slaves, they should be conveyed to *Constantinople*, to go forth in the Spring together with the *Ottoman Fleet*: In his absence nothing else was to be altered, protesting with severe threatnings upon the heads of the Ministers, whom he suspected of venality, not to hearken to any proposition, that contained not the effectual restitution of the Gallies carried away. So that, will and violence serving the *Turks* for just and right, the Order did no sooner arrive, but the *Caimecan* sending for the *Bailo*, shewing a visible trouble to be the unjust Minister of a most unjust command, intimates to him his imprisonment, keeping him all night in the house of his *Checaia*.

Nor was it to any purpose, that the *Bailo* with great constancy did with his great reasons mingle complaints, for the violence done to common right, and the breach of faith; nor, that the other Ministers of Princes greatly offended, did make effectual instances about it: For *Mussa*, confessing the proceeding unjust, but excusing himself by the danger of his head, caused him to be brought into a little house of *Galata*, keeping him there with Guards, and placed some at the *Bailo's* ordinary place of Residence, but leaving the Family in liberty, and permitting him visits of conversation and business. The Ships of the Nation being at the same time stopped, were after a few days released, the *Turks* having considered, that the interruption of Commerce and a reciprocal arrest tended equally to their own damage. As to the *Corfaires*, the promise of ten Gallies was not performed; for doubting, lest, if the Slaves were carried to *Constantinople*, the King should make use of them for his own Gallies, they avoided it with several pretexts, and had news of thirty Ships of *Barbary* in the *Archipelago* come express to fetch them away, with design to winter in those Seas, and offer in the Spring to join with the *Turks* against the Republick. But they, perceiving

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the *Corfairs* already too powerful, and fearing lest they should superfluously provoke in that conjuncture the Christian Nations, or break off all Commerce with the *Ottoman* States, discharged them. The Ministers of *Constantinople*, knowing that the *Venetians* had sunk the Gallies which were taken, to avoid troublesome instances for restoring them, insolently required of the *Bailo*, that as many of their own might be delivered to them, otherwise threatening War.

The Senate, in order to it, by Heralds of War received the advice of the arrest of the *Bailo*, together with the same demands; but constant not to consent to any thing of prejudice or indignity, resolved rather to expose themselves to any how unfortunate soever engagement. They communicated to the Christian Princes the fury of *Amurath*, the arrest of the *Bailo*, the arrogant demands of the *Turks*, and their own resolves, to the end that great and universal dangers impending, they might equally dispose their Forces for succours, and their minds for Peace; it seeming both reasonable and of necessity, that against the common Enemy there should be an agreement even of the greatest Enemies. The resentment was every where not inferior to the approbation. Yet some offered only to mediate, and others excused themselves upon the conjuncture.

The *Spaniards*, and the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* offered their Forces; but these appearing to be weak, and those distracted, the Republick was given to understand, that they could not for the present make any certain state, but of their own strength. It being a safe counsel never to despise the same and threats of the *Turks*, the Senate for that cause was willing to govern it self with such prudence, that, for their own security making advantage of the absence of *Amurath* and of time, the evils by superfluous jealousies might not be hastened, or that Prince diverted from his present engagements. Willing then not to provoke him, nor leave him cause of offence, as provisions were not omitted, so they were not greatly divulged or speeded. Command was given to the Islands, and in *Dalmatia*, that all should be in a readiness for the occasions; that in *Candia* sixteen Gallies should be effectually armed; that to the Gallies two should be added, the one commanded by *Antonio Pisari*, who had the command of them all; the other by *Sebastian Veniero*. In the Arsenal every thing for a greater arming was disposed into an order, and the Maritime places were provided with recruits of Foot and Horse. The custody of *Cattaro* was committed to *Giovanni Paulo Gradenigo*, and to *Marino Molino* that of *Novogradi*, as Providers extraordinary. Not omitting amidst the orders for defence, the more secure way of Treaty, the Senate wrote Letters to *Amurath*, and to the Grand Visier, aggravating the assault and boldness of the Pirates, justifying with expediency and the capitulations their chastisement, and professing a sincere and constant will not to interrupt the ancient friendship with the *Ottoman* Empire. But the undertaking in *Asia*, upon which the counsels and resolutions of the *Turks* were chiefly to depend, proceeded with steps faster than was supposed; for, *Amurath* appearing no sooner in the Confines of *Persia*, but

but the Town of *Revan*, weakly guarded, was rendred to him.

At the same time, by instigation of the *Turks*, *Osbeck*, a Tartar, and the Grand *Magor* took Arms against the *Persians*; from whence it became so much the more easie for *Amurath* to incamp himself under the Walls of *Babylon*, a City on the Banks of *Tigris*, of a most vast circuit, and fortified by the *Persians* with three ditches and three inclosures of wall, but without that order and art, which in this present Age renders places invincible, even of a much less circumference. *Emir Fatta* was Governour, with a Garrison of little less than thirty thousand Souldiers. Nevertheless, they sufficed not to hinder *Amurath*, in November, from encamping there; and he having advertisement, that the King of *Persia* with sixty thousand Horse was on his march to attempt the relief, prevented him, sending a great number of his men to take possession of the avenues and passages. On the other side over-running the Country with many parties, and with good Guards keeping the ways secure and open for his Victuals, he diverted from his Camp that necessity which he feared much more than the Enemy. Distributing afterwards three attacks, with as many Batteries, against the Town, he gave the command of one to the Grand Visier; assigns another to *Mustafa*; and committed the third to *Deli Ussuin*.

The King had a mind with his own hand to give fire to the first Cannon, and with a fierce stoutness assisted, and was present every where giving orders, rewarding and punishing with a most exact vigilance. To these beginnings the besieged making no opposition, but only with Cannon, endeavouring to hinder their approaches and ruine their works; the *Turks*, covered with Trenches, were able to advance to the first Ditch. And then the *Persians* made a sally, with great numbers and much fury, penetrating into the very Trenches, where they cut to pieces six thousand *Janissaries*, and would have done greater mischief, if *Amurath*, hasted thither with the Chiefs, drawing with him the flower of the Army, and the greater part of the Souldiers, had not with as much violence repulsed them. It is the custom of the *Turks* in Sieges to overcome Art, and conquer Nature with fatigue and industry; for prevailing in numbers and strength of bodies they weary out the defenders with indefatigable pains, win places with works and miraculous labours, and, if other means fail, they use to make Bridges, fill up Ditches, and raise Engines with the very bodies of the slain. In this Siege they undertook to fill up a very great Ditch, and effected it after twenty three days of continual labour, and many oppositions of the besieged; by the benefit whereof making a breach of fifty paces in the Wall, they made way to make themselves Masters of the first inclosure. Two others remained, probably of greater difficulty, so that it was of necessity, for filling up another Ditch, to employ great endeavours; and raising a great Cat with many Cannons on it, commanding the Wall, they attempted to dislodge the defenders; but they opposed another not inferior in height, and with an equal number of Cannon silenced the Battery of the *Turks*.

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And now *Amurath*, vexed that blood was spilt so slowly, resolves to give a general assault, and with one fury alone force both the Ramparts. Making then choice of the day, on which Christians celebrate the Nativity of our Lord, and was the fortieth of the Siege, he orders the Town to be assaulted on both sides. Himself in person had a mind to lead on the Troops, and was not easily diverted from it by the chief Bassa's, promising solemnly to expose themselves, and sacrifice their own lives, so he would spare himself. The Grand Visier took the charge of one side, and *Mustafa* of the other. The Visier, having given proof of all possible force in vain, was killed upon a heap of dead bodies. The other seeing almost all his men dead about him, taking in his hand in a fury one of the Royal Standards, climbs up the wall, and plants it there. The Souldiers followed with great boldness, and killing some of the *Persians*, they entered the City, meeting with no other difficulty to make themselves way in several places; for the defenders, overcome in one, abandoned all. The *Turks* pursuing entered also the third inclosure, with the cruelty which not only Nature and the Victory suggested, but fury and blood also. In the City were killed without distinction the armed and the unarmed, the Inhabitants as well as the Souldiers, preserving only alive the *Persian* Governour, with a few others, to satisfy the pride of *Amurath*, and adorn the Triumph. In the Assault, which lasted a great while, the fight being obstinate and with much valour, with Sable in hand thirty thousand *Turks* were slain, and more than ten thousand hurt.

Amurath having his mind sweetened with the flatteries of glory, and so noble a Conquest, suffered it to be carried away with an unwonted scene of clemency, ordering that the slaughter should cease, and the Inhabitants be pardoned as to life; when *Mustafa*, immediately taken, as the reward of his courage, into the place of Grand Visier, remonstrating to him how much danger from commiseration towards a people so numerous and an Enemy might be expected, whilst, when the Army was retired, the Garrison might at some time or other be overpowered, he gave way that twenty four thousand men more should be slain. Thus was *Babylon* lost, losing without that boast, which some gave it, never to have been taken by assault. *Amurath* made his Entry over the bodies yet warm, of so many slain, and amidst their blood, almost reeking, barbarously rejoicing to triumph over a City formerly so famous and stately. The pillage lasted three days, and the King commanded, that sixty thousand bodies should remain unburied, that a *Persian* Ambassador, whom he expected, might be terrified at the horrible spectacle of so great a slaughter. Thus pride induces barbarous Princes to shew their

their greatness by those means, through which, believing themselves to be exempted from the common condition of Mankind, they fall into that of Bruits.

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In *Constantinople*, with all sorts of jollity for twenty days was the Victory solemnized; after which it seemed not to be at all doubted, but that *Amurath*, from so happy success elated in his mind and confidence, would think of adding to his *Persian* Triumphs, those also which the disunion of Christendom promised him. In this conjuncture of so great haste arrived to him the Letters of the *Venetians*; to which, with an express Currier (the *Turks* call him *Olaccho*) he answers; but not making the least mention of the arrest of the *Bailo*, if he were a Conquerour of *Asia*, he no less threatened *Europe*. Whether through ambition or scorn, he touched not a word of an adjustment. Diversity of enterprises offered themselves continually to his thoughts; for, the incessant Piracies of the *Cossacks* in the Black Sea provoked him against *Poland*, and the discords of *Germany* allured him towards *Hungary*; besides an old design to dispossess the Prince of *Transylvania*, and put another in his place of greater confidence with him. Under pretext to communicate to the Emperour the Conquest of *Babylon*, he sends to him *Indan Aga Capigi Bassa*, but in effect to spy the state of those Affairs, and understand how they stood. Certain it is, that which way never he had turned that furious torrent, he would have overwhelmed and carried every thing by force. In this interim he commands, Commerce should be forbidden with the Territories of the Republick, and their Ships and Merchandise to be sequestred, and that a good number of Gallies should be built in the Black Sea, ordering all sorts of provision for a Naval Army, and in particular a vast quantity of Bisquet. To all this was the *Caimecan* obliged to furnish what was needful with unceasing diligence, and fearing the displeasure of the King, having no ready money in the Treasury, he disbursed it of his own.

For the greater credit upon so great Naval preparations, *Amurath* nominates for Captain Bassa his Favourite *Salitar*, believing with his name, which was most acceptable to him, he should induce the Souldiery to follow him more willingly at Sea. Nor could the War of *Persia* detain him any longer there; for that King advancing, a little after the taking of *Babylon*, with forty thousand Horse, had hoped to reap some of those advantages, which in new Conquests the negligence of the Conquerours, either disbanded to plunder, or lead away with the Festivals, or negligent in their Watch, is wont sometimes to offer. But *Amurath*, watchful over all, sends against him ten thousand *Janissaries* with forty thousand Horse, and there was like to have been a Battel, if the excessive swelling of a River, which ran betwixt them, had not hindered the Encounter. The *Persian* hereupon thought fit to retire, and, applying to the thoughts of Peace, being, besides Foreign distractions, molested with seditions at home,

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home, he sends an Ambassadour to *Amurath*, who received him in *Babylon* with that horrid Ceremony before mentioned. The answer to the Propositions of Peace was not less haughty, declaring, that he would entirely desolate that Kingdom, if he did not give up to him all that, which in other times had been possessed by the *Ottomans*.

Nor did the *Mogor* speak of milder Conditions, demanding the Province of *Candahar*, for which he made War. The *Persian* nevertheless, inferiour in strength, went on fencing in the Treaty for the gaining of time, which happened fitly to his advantage; because *Amurath* was forced to draw further off those Confines. God, who above all hates the pride of men, uses to punish it with the self same instruments of their vanity. And that was seen in *Babylon*, where those unburied Carcasses caused such a terrible plague, that the Air being infected, men perished in infinite numbers. *Amurath* gone, and the *Grand Visier*, left on the Borders, and a great Garrison in the City, comes to *Diarbechir* to pass into *Europe*. According to his motion the *Venetians* hastened also their provisions and the care of their defence. About the end of the year past, the Pope congratulating the Victory, had voluntarily sent the Republick the continuation of the Tithes upon the Clergy, which was wont to be renewed every nine years.

The Nuntio *Vitelli* was permitted to present this Brief in the Colledge, and he making use of the occasion, Insisted upon the zeal of *Urban* towards the common Cause; extolled his resolutions to assist the Republick, if assaulted by the *Turks*, and with all his care to procure peace amongst *Christians*. But the Mediation being common to them both, there was a necessity that the Ministers of both should confer together. But in what Method that might be adequate to the necessity, could that be practised, since the affections of the Princes seemed so much disunited amongst themselves? That the Mediators would neglect their duties, if themselves at discord and divided, did not persuade others to Peace with authority and with examples. That the projects to be made use of in the Courts ought to be ripened at *Rome*; there ought to be concerted the defence and motions against the common Enemy. That the Pope desired hereupon the counsels of the Republick, no less than the informations of the *Turks* proceedings, to direct the resolutions of what ought to be done. Nor amidst so many cares were to be omitted applications to *Italy*, reduced to the point of a grand Crisis by the affairs of *Piedmont*, where the inward affections of that Family made sport for Strangers. What remained now entire in *Italy* and faithful to *Christendom*, if the Pope and the Republick at least should not conspire with unanimity and counsel to preserve the one with Negotiations of Peace, and the other with the junction of Arms? The Senate therefore was from the conjuncture of the times, the universal necessity, and the desire of the Pope, invited to send Ministers to him, to the end, that interests and opinions being made common, the remedy of the present evils might be fully considered.

Upon these motives the *Venetians* resolved to send to *Rome* an Ambassadour

Ambassadour Extraordinary with exprets charge, that keeping only to that which concerned the Cause of the *Turks* and the Negotiating the Peace of *Christendom*, he should abstain from whatsoever business, that might tend to the proper interests of the Republick; which, in regard of those that were common, it was willing at present to lay aside and suspend. *Giovanni Nani*, Procurator of *St. Marco*, was made choice of, to the end that by that natural dexterity he had, and consummated experience, gained in the most weighty employments of the Republick, he might promote affairs of that great importance. He was received by the Pope with joy and singular testimonies of honour; but *Frederick*, Cardinal *Cornaro*, Patriarch of *Venice*, being his Fore-runner, sent (as is the obligation of Custom) in imitation of the Apostles, induces *Urban* to cancel the Inscription placed by him under the Memorial of Pope *Alexander* the Third. But to restore that which was anciently there, he would not, tacitely leaving it to the consideration of his Successor, since he abolished that whereof himself had been Author. The Senate, esteeming this, for so much as it was the first step, necessary for the finishing of the work, omitted not to express it self, that nothing else could content it but the renewing of the former Elogium. Upon this overture of correspondence with *Rome*, the Senate assents also to dispatch the Bulls for divers Prelates, upon whom, during the past uncertainties, Bishopricks and other Benefices of the Church had been conferred, and a certain difficulty about the usual proposing of Bishopricks being moved in the Consistory, because it was the desire of the Senate, that that Function should be performed by the Cardinals *Venetians*, of which *Cornaro* alone was then in Court, it was as an act of confidence agreed, that together with the National, the Cardinals also of the Palace, Brother and Nephew of the Pope himself, should do it.

But as to the affairs most important, the Ambassadour demonstrated to *Urban*, what the danger was which impended from the *Turkish* Arms. That *Babylon* was taken, and therefore in *Persia* the War at an end, or Peace very near. It was not to be doubted, but that *Amurath*, puffed up and elated in his mind, ambition and power would suggest new designs and bold attempts. The long intestine discords of the Princes had these many years served for pastime to the Barbarians, who carefully observe the conjunctures, by assaulting the weakest to make way to invade the more powerful. War was scattered in *Italy*, and in every other part; *Christendom* appeared all bathed in blood, nor were other reports heard of, but those of deadly Battels and lamentable Sieges. Why should so great slaughters be endured for unprofitable Conquests, nay for great damages, if we will compare them to the progress which the common Enemy promises himself? That *Christendom* can save it self from this present shipwrack but by Peace alone. That it was *Urban's* duty to apply the prayers, and engage the Authority of a common Father and a Prince, to pacifie his Sons and unite them against the Power of the Barbarians. That it was his office to calm the World, appease the Kings, pacifie the Princes, quiet disturbances, and compose the people.

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An. Dom. 1639. The Republick would not spare pains and endeavours to second those pious intentions and his most prudent judgment. She saw her self threatened by the unjust rage of the Turks, but what was her Country but the out-works of others? She maintained with a long Frontier the Guard of the Confines of Italy and the violence of a furious Torrent. If she should yield to necessity, or fall under force, what would become of the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, nay the State of the Pope himself? This Country, the Guardian of Religion, the Seat of Liberty and Honour cannot be invaded by the Turks in one part but it will be oppressed all over. Their dreadful Arms are to be compared to that poison, which by one sole touch creeps irresistably over the whole body. That the Senate for a common benefit promises a constancy in maintaining the War equal to the Generosity of provoking it. The proud pretensions of the Turks had for their aim to extort from the Republick Ships and Gallies, to offend Christendom with the very instruments of their own defence. In case of denial, War ensued; of granting, the power and strength of the Enemy was increased, who not content with the usurping of so many spoils, lies in wait for the last breath of languishing Christendom. That the Republick had given an absolute denial to their demands, yet knew their Forces unequal, and by consequence the danger great: Nevertheless put their Arms in order, prepared for resistance, with a firm hope, that that War being from God, and the cause undivided betwixt the Church and the Republick, blessings from Heaven would abound, nor would warlike assistances be wanting, in particular that of the Vicar of Christ.

The Pope heard all with grave reflections; discoursed of many things; and although more difficult to resolve and put them in effect, nevertheless affirmed, that urgency coming upon them, he would not suffer his endeavours and forces to be wanting. For the present he permitted the Levy of three or four thousand men in his Country, and to promote more vigorously the Mediation of Peace betwixt the Princes, he sent Extraordinary Nuntios to the Courts with vehement intreaties and effectual considerations to bring them to some Conditions of Peace, and, if that should be found too difficult and long, to a Truce, or at least to a suspension of Arms by Sea, by transmitting their powers to Rome, to the end, that under the eye and direction of the Pope the Treaty might with as much care, as the necessity required, be brought to perfection. The Ambassadors of the Republick cooperated in the same, the interposition of Urban proving faint and not acceptable. For a pretext of particular diffidence served the distaste, which was pretended by the Emperour, by France, and by Spain; for there being named in the promotion of Cardinals by the Emperour the Prince Rinaldo d'Este, and by one of the Crowns Giulio Mazarini, and by the other the Abbot Peretti, the Pope denying to comply with the instances, and, to cover the little inclination he had towards those persons, alledging that they were not National, deferred the promotion, though there were many places vacant.

The Crowns herewith not at all content, insisted on the Nomination with so much heat, that being at variance in all else, they agreed only in

in this, to force the will of the Pope; and passing from intreaties to protests and threatnings, gave out, they would forbid their Subjects to accept of that Dignity, as often as the nominated should not be comprehended. The French in particular pressed for Mazarine, who, besides what he had negotiated in Piedmont, had in his extraordinary Nunciature of France so gained the favour of Richelieu, and had declared himself so partial for that Crown, that, having drawn the Cardinal Anthonio to the dependence upon it, he not only passed in Rome for the most confident Minister of France, but being called to Paris, was declared Plenipotentiary at the Meeting for Peace, notwithstanding the disgust and murmuring of some of the Nation, that for the Purple and weightiest Employments Strangers were preferred, as if Merit and Capacity were wanting in so many persons of the Kingdom.

To exasperate minds the more, there happened afterwards other lesser accidents, which yet in the Court of Rome take the place of greater matters; for the Master of the Horse of the Marechal d'Estré, Ambassadour of France, being out-lawed for having taken away out of the hands of the Serjeants a Friend of his, was killed in the Country, while he was yet in his service, and his head publicly exposed in Rome. Whereupon the Ambassadour taking himself to be slighted, intermitted going to Audiences, from whence came, that in France also they were denied to Monsieur Scotti, Nuntio Extraordinary, with much rigour and severity. This disgust was at last composed with the punishing some Officers, and with the offices of respect and esteem, which the Cardinal Barberin passed with the Ambassadour in his own house, going thither to visit his Wife. After this, upon the old diffidences with the Spaniards were sowed new discontents; so that the Ambassadour, Marquis di Castel Roderigo, suspended in like manner the Audiences with Barberino, because, he being the Cardinal Protector of the Religion of the Franciscans, had, by the Authority of the Pope, assumed to the Generalat a Brother that had not the Royal approbation; and the displeasure was so much the more increased, by how much the same Ambassadour, the night of the Nativity, caused in Rome fast by a Church to be arrested the Prince of Sans, of the House of Dorsici, a Neopolitan, accused to frame with the Ministers of France (not without the knowledge of the Barberins) concerts against that Kingdom, and being sent to the Vice-King had his head publicly cut off.

From all this the Negotiation of Peace grew cool, besides that through the difficulty of the Pass-ports the meeting of the Assembly was prolonged; and as for the general Truce, which was to be managed in the Court of Rome, the French, though their Confederates of contrary Religion could not come thither, shewed themselves ready to send their powers; conscious nevertheless, that such a proposition would be adhorred by the Spaniards, as afterward happened, King Philip declaring himself, that he could not open his mind in confidence to Urban, whilst one of the Cardinal Nephews shewed himself

An.Dom. himself so partial to *France*. The Mission then of Extraordinary Nuntios, rendered unprofitable by the difficulty, and little pleasing by reason of the disgusts, was of no other use but to give a change in *Vienna* and *Madrid* to those in Ordinary. The weight of the Mediation falling almost wholly upon the Ambassadors of *Venice*, the Truce was by them point blank proposed in *France* and in *Spain*, but was encountered with the wonted disagreements; for *Richelieu* desired it for eight or ten years, and that every one should remain in possession of what he was seized; and *Olivares* pretended it for a very short time, for the negotiating of the Peace only, or, if it were to last for a long term, that Conquests should be restored. Nor was there better success in the suspension of Arms by Sea, which was also proposed, to give the *Turks* some apprehension; for the intentions being no less differing than the interests, whatsoever inclination the *Spaniards* shewed to it, furnished the *French* with an argument to reject it, out of a belief, that they were induced to yield their assent from weakness and the fear of their Naval preparations. So that during all this present year nothing else was wrought out for the Peace, but that the Emperour at the instance of *Giovanni Grimani*, Ambassador for the Republick, consented a safe conduct to the *Palatine*, to send his Ministers to the Meeting.

As to that of the *Spaniards* for the Provinces of *Holland*, after the Cardinal *Infante* had by several means sought, but in vain, to bring them to a Treaty, he dispatched it, but it was not by them accepted; for expressing, to grant it to the Deputies of the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*, they pretended, that it should have been said, To the Ambassadors of the *States General* of the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*: And upon this contest they dwelt long, *Spain* not assenting to the Character of Ambassadors, thereby not to authorize their Sovereignty, but willing rather to leave a blank for the quality, to the end, it might be inserted by the States themselves, as they desired it. But that pleased not *Holland* neither; so that careless of the dangers of the Republick, and the threatenings and preparations of the *Turks*, so far was it from facilitating Peace, that some rather doubted, that the *Venetians* applications to the affairs of the Sea did much promote the Princes designs to disturb *Italy*. And to say truth, she underwent strange and dangerous accidents; for Prince *Thomas*, being come the beginning of the year out of *Flanders* to *Milan*, held with the Cardinal his Brother *Triulzio*, the Governour, *Aragona* and the Great Chancellor assisting, a close and secret Meeting, in which it was resolved to make War in *Piedmont*. The difficulties they met with about the manner were not small, because the Princes, what with the disposition of the people and with Intelligences, hoped to make a Conquest of the Country for themselves, and the *Spaniards*, who furnished the money and men for it, pretended, that the advantage of the Conquests should be theirs, to ballance it with the losses which they received or feared elsewhere. It was at last agreed, that what should come to be conquered by the Kings Forces should be kept by the same,

same, and as much as should voluntarily submit, should be at the disposing of the Princes, who, transported by their interests, consented, that the two Crowns, the one with open Hostility, and the other under the pretext of succours, should rent *Piedmont* into pieces. An.Dom. 1639.

The *Spaniards* could have desired, that the Emperour would have sent a body of his Troops into *Italy*, or at least a General to command those of the *German* Nation, which they had in their service in the *Milanese*, to the end, that the cause might have received authority from the Emperours Name, and he have been constituted Judge betwixt the pretended Tutors of the little Duke; but Count *Trautmanstorff*, *Ferdinand's* most favoured Minister, kept him off from meddling in the Affairs of that Province, the Emperour complaining rather of the *Spaniards*, that for the interests of *Piedmont* the more weighty ones of the Empire were neglected, and in particular those of *Alsace*, which so much concerned the House in general. Nevertheless, to comply with them, he declares null the Testament of the Duke *Vittorio*, and decrees the Princes Tutors to the Nephew. They under this colour publish a Manifest to gain them the people, and disannulled all the acts of the Regent, who, with other Writings and contrary Edicts, maintained her right and authority. But, passing quickly from the Pen to the Sword, the *Spaniards* getting first into the Field, one part of the Army, with *Martino d' Aragona*, went to besiege *Centio*, not so much to open the passages, as to draw the applications and *French* Forces into those parts. The enterprise was carried on by *Antonio Sottello*; for that *Aragona*, taking a view of the Town of *Salicetto*, near to *Centio*, with the shot of a Musket was killed. In this while Prince *Thomas*, with *Spanish* Troops only, surprises the Town of *Chivas*, not far from *Turin*, and it was firmly believed, that he held intelligence with the Governour; because, though he brake down the Gate with a Petard, there did not appear, in those within, a disposal of those Orders for the defence, which in case of sudden and unexpected accidents use to be given out by those that have the command. The Prince *Cardinal* conveyed himself thither, to stir up the people in his favour nearer hand, but the Garrison and the Governour were placed by the *Spaniards*. *Tomaso* losing no time to go on, takes *Chieri* and *Moncalieri*, so soon as he came before them. The Town of *Aglié* making resistance was plundered, and *Inurea* taken by force after a short defence. *La Valle d' Agosta* declared it self to be at the Princes devotion, and because both hearts and Gates were opened to them, *Verrua* and *Crescentino* were given up, the Inhabitants in this last hindring the *French* Garrison to defend it. To open the Navigation of the *Po*, *Pontefura* in *Monferrat* was taken in.

Thomaso, coming near to the City of *Turin*, filled every thing with alteration, and such a muttering, that the Dutchess was more afraid of a tumult of the people, than the assault of the Enemy. Nor did this so much arise from the felicity of the late successes, and from the satisfactions which accompanied the Name and Arms of the Prince, as from the great number of Partisans and Confidants he had

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had in *Turin*, some whereof first with secret and now with open discourses stirred up the minds of all against the present Government. For this cause the Regent, sending the little Duke and the Daughters, for greater security, to *Monmelian*, was forced to commit her self wholly to the custody and direction of the *French*. *La Valetta* orders the defence, Sentinels, and Guards; whereupon the people, that fluctuated amidst various affections, were restrained rather by fear than fidelity. The Prince, seeing no commotion in his favour, retires. While he layed at *Valentino*, the *Nuntio Caffarelli*, who resided for the Pope in *Turin*, brought him, in the name of the Dutchess, advantageous conditions of Peace; but without effect, they excluding his coming into *Turin*, and participation in the Regency, which the Prince pretended. The *French* tempted the Cardinal, accounting it great advantage, if they could but separate him from his Brother; in him, as in the eldest, residing the more legitimate title to the succession and the tutelage.

But in the pitch of so propitious fortune the Brothers, not willing by dividing to weaken their hopes and the party, linked themselves rather so much the faster with the *spaniards*; and *Thomaso*, in conjunction with *Leganes*, marches to besiege *Moncalvo*, and, before it was rendred, separating with some Troops surprises *Villa Nova d'Asi*. Both the Brothers afterwards go to *Asi*, a City furnished neither with Fortifications, Provisions, nor a sufficient Garrison; but there being within it certain Companies of *Piemontois*, who at the name of the Prince flying away, both Arms and Colours rendred without defence. The Commander *Balbiani*, who was the Governour, retired into the Citadel, but kept it not above three days; it being weak, little, and commanded by a small Fort upon the Hill, possessed by the *spaniards*. Nevertheless, because he expected not the Cannon, he was suspected, that he had before the Siege been overcome either by affection towards the Princes, or some other interest. The Citadel remaining in the hands of the *spaniards*, the City was delivered to the Princes, either in order to the Agreement, because it rendred voluntarily, or rather because, being exposed to whom was Master of the Field, *Leganes* did not care to employ a Garrison there, keeping it under with the Citadel, which remained in his power. The Cardinal fixes his residence there; but beginning, together with his Brother, to be aware, that they were made use of, as instruments of their own and the Country's slavery, they desired to raise a body of men to act apart from the *spaniards*, take places, and form a third party, which might render them more valued by Strangers, and acceptable to the people; and demanded of *Leganes*, in conformity to the Agreement, money to make Levies. He furnishes it but scantily, to the end, that having Forces of their own, they might not take the liberty and courage to free themselves from the *spanish* party. In the mean time making profit of the Enemies disorders, and of the countenance but rather weakness of the Princes, he promoted the advantages of the Crown, making progress in the *Monferrat*; so that having forced the Castle of *Moncalvo*,

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calvo, he came to the Siege of *Trino*. A thousand Souldiers which were within it were not sufficient for the great circuit, and the many fortifications which environed that place. For which cause, *la Valetta* having not been able to prevent the Siege by succours, the *spaniards* had the good luck not only to take the Out-works by assault, but to enter into it, mingled with the defenders as they retired.

By this means *Casal* remained blocked; whereupon *la Valetta*, having received out of *France* some little renfort, carefully put into it eight hundred Souldiers, and assigns the Government to Monsieur de la Tour, the Duke of *Candale* being dead there, who first had it. But not having Forces to be able to resist in several places, he provides *Carmagnola*, *Chivasco*, and some other places, more commodious or suspected, abandoning *Alba* with some other Towns, not possible to be kept. *Cuneo* also declares it self in favour of the Princes, which served to open them the way to *Villa Franca*, and exclude *French* succours by Sea; and *sant'Ja* gave it self to the *spaniards*: so that, except the Metropolis, scarce any other remained entire in *Piedmont*. To oppose himself to so many losses, *la Valetta* goes out of *Turin*, recovers *Chieri*, cutting the Garrison in pieces, and together with the Duke of *Longueville*, come out of *France* with some Troops, marches towards *Asi*, where by Intelligence he hoped to surprise the Town, and take the two Princes Prisoners, who were then within it. Understanding in his march, that the Plot was discovered, changing his way he goes to *Chivas*, and sits down before it.

The succours, which *Leganes* upon knowledge of it sent, came not in time; nor availed it, that he, to hinder Victuals, lodged with his Army betwixt that place and *Turin*; much less, that assailing the Lines, he attempted to force them. Wherefore they being stoutly defended, he was constrained to abandon it; so that the Baron de *sebach*, the Governour having want of provisions and relief, surrenders. During this Siege, the Prince Cardinal, invited by the Governours of *Villa Franca* and *Nizza*, going towards these parts, taking in his way *Ceva* with other places, found, that his reception into the Towns fore-mentioned came to be hindered by the *French*, who with 18 Gallies and 24 Vessels lay before them, when, at the appearing of certain *spanish* Ships, removing to chase them, the Governours opened the Gates, the Citadel of *Nizza* only resisting for some days. The *French* intended with the whole Army to attempt the relief of it; but not coming in time, having in their march taken the Castles of *Bene*, *Fossano*, and *Mondovi*, resolved to attack *Cuneo*, notwithstanding the Intelligence, they had within it, had been discovered. But such conquests and attempts could not countervail the losses and the dangers; whereupon, the Dutchess making great complaints to obtain more vigorous assistance from *France*, Monsieur de *Chavigny*, Secretary of State, arrives at *Turin*, not so much to comfort her as to intimate to her, That there was no other way of safety for her but that of putting her self and the Country blindfold into the Kings

An. Dom. 1639. Kings trust, who then ingaged in reputation and interest, would with a strong hand and all his Forces come to her relief.

This was Richelieu's counsel, who equally fixed in the advantages of the King, and implacable in his own revenge upon the Savoyards, preferred the profit, offered him by the occasion, before all other considerations. The Dutchess resisting as much as she could, was at last forced to abandon Carmagnola, Savigliano, and Chierasco to be garrisoned by French, for so long as the Spaniards and the Princes should retain their Conquests; and it was agreed, That the King, coming towards Italy the end of the year, should somewhere near the Alps speak with his Sister to concert the succours, and give her reputation among Strangers and the people by so evident an appearance of his protection and kindness.

But a more lamentable accident confounded and cast affairs into greater disorder; for that Leganes marching to relieve Cuneo, and divert the French from that enterprise, Prince Thomas secretly separates from the Army, with a thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, and with Ladders and Pettards coming to Turin, where he wanted not Intelligence, climbing by night that which was called the Green Bastion, and, throwing down the Gate of the Castle, putting some few French to flight, which upon the sudden Alarm were flocked thither, takes the Town. The confusion was such; as in surprises uses to proceed from the darkness, the noise and fury of the Conquerours, and from the distraction and terror of the conquered. The Prince restrains, though with trouble, the Souldiers from pillage, not to provoke the people so well affected to his name. Upon this success the French were forced to rise immediately from Cuneo, and come near to the Citadel of Turin to strengthen it, and to withdraw the Dutchess, who had scarce had time that night to save her self, half clothed, with some Ladies and certain Ministers.

Leganes, with excess of pride for so great prosperities, coming into Turin, would have the Citadel besieged; for, that taken, as it seemed not difficult to him in that constitution of things, French succours would be excluded out of Italy, and Casal remain a secure conquest to him. But in regard he pretended to garrison it with his own Souldiers, the Princes with opposite ends, ere they would apply themselves to the Siege, required security, that that and other places, gained undoubtedly rather by the reputation and favour of their presence, than the power of the Spanish Arms, might be consigned into their hands. Thus discord beginning to insinuate it self; the felicity of those Arms was then at a stand, when it appeared to proceed with the greatest prosperity. This state of things caused great apprehensions in Italy, it being doubted, lest, all at last making way for the advantage of the more powerful, the Spanish Greatness would extend it self to the Alps. The French making use of this reflection, stirred up the Princes of Italy, both with the fear of the progress of Spain and with the hopes of their succours, to take part in the Cause of the Savoyards.

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An. Dom. 1639. The Pope, doubting that all tended to divide that Country betwixt the two Crowns, endeavoured by all sorts of offices to reconcile the Princes to their Sister-in-law. Nor were the Venetians, notwithstanding the distraction towards the Levant; exempt from the intances of both the Crowns; for Monsieur d'Ussé for France solicited, that they would give assistance to the Duke of Savoy, and conspire in the aims of that Crown; nay from instances passing to the considerations of common concern and weighty dangers, he did in a manner upbraid them, That forgetting their ancient Customs, they neglected the publick good for private offences. That the present business did not concern Vittorio deceased, but an innocent Orphan. Do then hatreds betwixt Princes last eternally? The friendship of the Republick was deserved by all those that equally loved the liberty of this Country, and have a common interest in it. That the question now was concerning the enslaving of all Italy, and while uncertain dangers were feared from the Turks side, evident mischiefs were advanced by the yoke of Spain. To what purpose had she heretofore defended Piedmont, and in Piedmont Italy with money, blood, and counsel, nay with endangering her self, if, at last neglecting it, she should now leave all in prey to the Spaniards? That in other times on appearances and threatnings, and not only upon Invasions, she had been justly moved; had called in Friends; stirred up the World; opposed Forces; but now unlike her self, forgetting in a manner the recent Hostilities of the one, and abhorring the ancient friendships of the other, carelessly beheld the issue of things. By the Conquests of Monferrat and Piedmont succours are excluded out of Italy, and the Alps shut up to France; but what does that import King Lewis, bating his great care of his friends, who might elsewhere more profitably extend his Confiner, and enlarge his Conquests? The Senate was to consider of it, and the other Princes to give their minds to it; for the disadvantages were at present such, as could not be repaired with good offices, much less with desires or counsels. That states were defended, Friends preserved, and Publick Good protected with resolutions, with arms, and with actions, not with cautions and reserves, interpreted by the Enemy for fear and a superstitious awe.

To such apprehensions the Count della Rocca, the Ambassadour of Spain, to remove Jealousies, opposed a Discourse no less effectual; he assured, That his King had no intention but to assist the Princes for the advantage of the Duke, whose Countries, under pretext of aid and protection, were now possessed by the French. That the Governour of Milan did not, though on a subject so just, ingage so much of his own accord, as exhorted, intreated, and implored by the Princes themselves and the people. Whilst the Dutchess opened the Gates and the Towns to French Garrisons, why should it not be lawful for the Spanish Armies to oppose and prevent those that designed, by the Usurpation of Piedmont, the oppression of Italy? Are then the Spanish Garrisons more to be suspected by the Princes than the supplies of French Forces? Let them behold in Pignarol and in Casal what was the issue of the Tutelage or of the assistances given by that Crown. Let there be a compo-
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sure of all things; let its own be restored by all, to the House of Savoy and

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and of Mantua; let Italy be put into its pristine state, and the disturbers of the publick quiet excluded, and let the World afterwards be Judge, which of the two Kings, with a mind more upright, is inclined to Justice and to Peace.

He pressed besides, that the Count della Manta might be admitted to Audience, sent by the Princes to Venice, under pretence to inform the Republick of their Reasons and Rights; but aiming per-adventure more secretly to procure them some private assistance, to form that party, which they had in their thoughts, independent from the Crowns. But the Senate refused to hear him, answering as to the rest in the same expressions equally used to the Ambassadors of France and Spain, exhorting to a general Peace, and above all to the tranquillity of Italy. They alledged their just suspicions of the Arms of the Turks, which, if at present they involved the Republick in apprehensions and troubles, tended to greater advantages against all Christians. If such reasons had any force to render the two Kings satisfied with the Republicks Neutrality, they availed nothing for conciliating a Peace, it appearing every day more clearly, that for the same causes, for which there was a breaking into War, it was likely to continue a long time. The Venetians therefore being to expect little succours in their necessity, whilst they saw the danger slighted, applied themselves to some kind of compofure with the Turks, which might at least be able to retard that mischief, for which there appeared as yet no remedy in a readines.

Amurath, as hath been said, being come to Diarbeckir, intended to continue his way to Constantinople; for the plague raging more and more, had almost consumed all the Army, and the remaining Souldiers were mutined against the Grand Visier, murmuring at the King himself, as if, wont to palliate his avarice with his cruelty, he had abandoned his Souldiers to the plague and to sufferings, expressly to defraud them of those recompences and gifts, which were wont to be bestowed by the Ottoman Kings on those that well deserved, and the victorious Armies. The Grand Visier having had much ado to quiet them, solicited from his own danger, counselled Amurath to remain in those Provinces, prognosticating otherwise, that the Souldiers in his absence would lose all discipline and respect, and the Conquests would with as much shame be exposed, as they had been gotten with glory. But the self same considerations expressly hastened the Kings departure, both to withdraw himself from the grumblings of the Souldiers, and not to be a Spectator, without force, of that, which the Persians might attempt. To take away every shadow and every chief, which might but in name give countenance to sedition, since the Turks are not accustomed to seek Kings out of the Ottoman Family, he dispatches, as he was upon the way, order to Constantinople to take away the life of his Uncle Mustapha.

This unhappy man having twice scarce-tasted the Empire, was kept in a most strict prison, always hating life, and every moment fearing death. The order, as usual, was immediately executed, though there remained none of the Blood Royal but one Brother of Amurath,

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Amurath, believed a Fool. The King, pursuing his Journey, made a solemn Vow to his false Prophet, not to lay down his Sword till he should have subjected the Christians to his Empire and Law. But God hath set limits to the fury of man as well as bounds to the Sea. Amurath, through the strength of his body sottishly fierce, gave himself up as a prey to every excess, particularly that of Wine. His Genius was his Law-maker, though to the contempt of the Alcoran, which expressly forbid it; and his example prevailing over the Authority of the Law, drunkenness became familiar with the Turks. The complexion of the King, though of the strongest, not able to bear incessant disorder, was at last shaken, and on the way subjected to a dangerous sickness. He found himself weakened in such sort, that moderating the pride of his mind, he inclines to thoughts of Peace. At Smith, not far from Constantinople, his pleasure was to hold a Council about it, and there it was fully considered, *The Army in Asia destroyed, the War of Persia not as yet ended, the difficulty to put to Sea a powerful Fleet, thirty Gallies to bridle the Cossacks being to be employed in the Black Sea: That the Venetians had advantageously made use of the time, provided for the Islands and Towns, increased their Fleet, and had ordered and in a readiness all sorts of Provisions.*

It was then secretly resolved to stoop to an accord; but such is always the custom of that Government to shew it self averse to it, to maintain its faste, and meliorate the conditions. Their great preparations therefore made a great noise, and the Venetians did oppose as great, having chosen Provveditor General of the Sea, with Authority of Captain General, Luigi Giorgio, Procurator of St. Marco, to the end, that he should arm and go forth, according as he should be clearly informed of the Turks hostile intentions. The Tartars, called Crim, depending upon the Ottoman Port, made at this time, to revenge themselves of the Cossacks, and to arm the Turkish Gallies with Slaves, an Incurfion into Russia, bringing away a great Booty and number of men, which they sold (as is their custom) to the Turks at a low rate.

But Amurath being come to Constantinople, made not his entry with any designed Triumph; because, weakened with the late accident, he could not sit vigorously on Horse-back; some principal Prisoners only were brought in, and a great quantity of Gold, which stupendiously exceeded the sum expended for the War of Persia: So much are the Ottomans wont to make profit by their Armies, which to other Princes serve to consume their Treasure. He presently let the Bailo know, that he held him no more a publick Minister, but the Hostage for Ships hostily taken within his Port. Displacing Mustafa the Caimecan, he nevertheless orders Mustapha, substituted into the same Charge, that he should not shut his ears to a Treaty. Contarini was admitted to Audience, and the Bassa quietly hearing the reasons of the fact and the fixed resolution of the Senate, not to deliver up in exchange their own Gallies, condescended at last to an adjustment, which consisted, *In the Bailoes promising some money as*

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in reparation of the hurt done at Vallona, in restoring that Vessel which was in being, as properly belonging to the Turks; as to other things, that all sorts of pretensions should be silenced; that the Corsaires should be commanded not to molest the Venetians and the Governours of Fortresses, not to receive them in the Ports, till first caution given, not to make any disturbance. That the Commanders for the Republick might punish the said Corsaires in conformity to the ancient Capitulations; that Commerce should be renewed, and the Bailo be restored to his liberty and house: As was done, the Caimecan sending him back with a Velt of Gold, which is an Honour used by the Turks.

The advice of this agreement coming unexpectedly to Venice, raised in mens minds (as it happens in great things and unlooked for) diversity of thoughts, whilst some were not wanting, who confounding the reflections of the Government with the discourses of the Vulgar, judged that it would have been good counsel to have secured themselves with Arms rather than with Money, out of a doubt, that the Turks making a shew of Peace, would by this false security protract their revenge, and under a feigned tranquillity, till a better conjuncture, cover their hatreds and disquits. But the Senate, from the experience of former times and the conjuncture of present things, undeceived as to the hopes of Christian assistances, soberly weighing the dangers, the charges, and the consequences of the War, which might be carried on rather with good courage than with equal Forces and good successes, having formerly commanded the Bailo to endeavour an accord, approved the conclusion, participating to the Princes to have resolved to procure honest conditions of Peace, since the state of Christendom understood the trouble of such a War unseasonable. The resolution was approved of all, and by the Pope, judging that the Peace had been prudently managed by the Venetians, and with commendations equal to the Generosity with which they had encountered the danger.

It happened at the instant the accord was ready to be executed, that the Turks on the Confines of Dalmatia, for private disputes which are frequent amongst those Neighbours, entered armed into the Territories of the Republick, so that Marino Molino, who had been assumed into the Charge of Proveditor General of the Horse, to repulse them and repair himself, attacks them in four places; and in those Factions, Mustapha the principal Disturber of quiet being killed, the Hurlburly with his life ended. At Constantinople all proceeding against the Republick and all preparations for a Fleet ceased, but not the suspicion, that there was not some design against Christendom elsewhere; for that Amurath, recovered somewhat in his health and strength, fought for Peace with the Persian. That King, after Amurath was gone, had retaken Revan, and having made Peace with the Tartar Osbeck, had the luck to beat the Mogor and to keep the possession of Candabar. Nevertheless, because War with the Turks uses not to be advantageous to the Persians, he desired Peace, and to negotiate it, had sent Ambassadours to the Port, where the Grand Visier was also arrived. The difficulty about Revan consisted,

ed, that Amurath desired it should be restored, and the Persians retaining it, understood, that the Capitulations made in the time of soliman should only be confirmed. Amurath determines to remand the Ambassadours into Persia together with a Minister of his own, that might sound intentions and observe affairs, for the future better direction of his Counsels and Arms, since that in Europe he saw rising up several accidents, very seasonable for his end to employ them against the Christians.

The Prince of Moldavia had obtained of the Port, by the wonted means of money, to give up that Province to his Son, and himself to be substituted to the Wallachian; but he publishing, that the Order came not from the King, but from the corrupted Ministers, puts himself in defence, and marching against that other, defeats him and drives him away. Amurath, that knew not what was doing in Wallachia, or at least to cover the dishonour of the success, feigned, not to know it, vents his wrath against the Caimecan, as if bribed by the Moldavian he had concealed the business from him, and caused him to be strangled in the seven Towers, confiscating all the Estate he had. He could not for all that digest the affront, and disposed things, framing pretexts to disturb the Wallachian again, in assurance to break out into a War against the Christians, either in Hungary or in Poland, because it was believed, that the Transylvanian and Polacks would not suffer that Prince to be destroyed, and it might well be, that the Emperour, though greatly employed elsewhere, might be engaged in it.

But Heaven diverted this blow; for Amurath was surprized with a more dangerous sickness, in the fears whereof being exhorted by the Musti and his Mother, he vowed to abstain for the future, from Wine, and, for the earnest of his Oath, brake the most precious Vessels wherein he drank. Being scarce recovered, and unmindful of the danger he had run, and of his promise, he falls again to such exorbitant disorders, that relapsing he dyed the 7. of February of the year following in the night, in the two and thirtieth of his Age, and the fifteenth of his Empire.

Of several Sons which he had had, none remaining alive, the Empire fell to his Brother Ibrain, who was seven and twenty years old; but either for fear of death, which he expected every moment, or through the solitude of the Prison where he was kept, amused in childish exercises, was of a stupid and dull Understanding. He was not easily induced to believe, that the Empire was fallen to his lot; but fearing rather to be haled away to be strangled, he would not go out of his Chamber, till the body of his Brother was brought to him, at the sight whereof he cried out, (uttering words not so simple) that a great King was dead, but withal a most cruel Tyrant. Passing thereupon in a moment from a Prison to an Empire, new to himself, much more to business, he leaves the direction of them to his Mother and Mustapha the Grand Visier.

The Republick, according to custom, appoints Pietro Foscarini as Ambassadour Extraordinary to congratulate with him, and Girolamo

An. Dom. 1639. *rolamo Trevisano* to succeed to the *Bailo*. Upon this mutation of Government at *Constantinople*, it in truth looked as if Christendom might have a breathing, but it was afterwards seen, how blind the judgments of men are, and that where force prevails, it is rendred more formidable, if reason step not in to correct it. But that shall be reserved for the following years.

In *Turin* the spreading of the Troops had given means to the *French*, to whom the Dutchess had wholly committed the defence of the Citadel, to put a better Garrison and Provisions into it; whereupon the Peace being rendred more difficult, because the proposition of the Princes fell to the ground, that together with the City the Citadel should be kept by Subjects trusted by both the parties: The Nuntio at last prevailed in the consent to a Truce, from the fourth of *August* to the twenty fourth of *October*, which was punctually executed in *Italy*, though in *France* and in *Spain* it was with unanimous opinions, but for differing causes, censured. To the *French* nevertheless it was of great advantage; because the Duke of *Longueville*, with the Troops destined for *Italy*, was able in *Burgundy* and *Alsace* to make considerable Conquests; so that *Leganes* was so much the more blamed in *Spain*, by how much that, besides the putting a stop to fortune in the most happy course of prosperity and keeping the Forces employed in *Italy*, he gave time to the Enemy to strengthen themselves, and draw advantages from elsewhere. The Marquess *delle Fuente* was then sent from *Madrid* to *Milan*, to the end, that reproaching *Leganes* with his error he might more effectually enjoin him to apply himself to *Casal*, without the conquest whereof *Olivares* wrote plainly, that, notwithstanding so many successes, he accounted nothing of moment done. But in *Italy* things proceeded not with the facility which from far off the *Condé* Duke imagined; for by the attempting that place, many Princes might grow jealous, and to use force, Prince *Thomas* was to be perswaded to it, who, if doubting lest the Citadel of *Turin* should fall into the *Spaniards* hands, had precipitated the conclusion of the Truce, and forced the Governour of *Milan* to consent to it, it was not probable that he should co-operate sincerely in the taking of *Casal*, which seemed the high-way to the slavery of *Italy* and the oppression of *Piedmont*: nevertheless *Melo* was by *Leganes* sent to *Turin* to perswade him to it. The *Spaniard* intricated in these Negotiations, the Emperour experiencing most sensible mischiefs complained highly both of the Truce in *Italy*, and of the engaging the Army in that Country, whilst he lost *Alsace*, and *Banier*, increased to little less than thirty thousand fighting men, was wandring towards *Bohemia* to gain quarters there.

The *Spaniards* counselled the Emperour to go himself into the Field, and command the Army, being in great disorder through the discords and emulations of the Chiefs; and in requital of the succours, which they received from him in *Flanders*, besides the payment of six thousand *Hungarians*, they furnished him with a great sum of money. But *Ferdinand*, abhorring the charge and the danger which the

the assuming of the command of the Army carried with it, allots it to the Archduke *Leopold Guilielmo* his Brother; but to make an effort capable to drive the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, he had recourse to the Pope, demanding of him a powerful assistance. *Urban* excuseth himself, because the differences of the *Venetians* with the *Turks* being not yet appeased, he professed, that for that cause, abandoned by every body else, he was engaged to employ his mind and all his Forces. The hopes then of *Ferdinand* depending upon *Spain* alone, and the recovery of *Alsace* highly concerning him, he sends *Hannibal Gonzagha* Ambassadour Extraordinary to *Madrid*, by whom a Treaty was concluded to raise at common Charge an Army for that purpose to be commanded by *Melo*. This Levy went not forward to designs of War, the hopes of a Treaty intervening; for Duke *Bernard of Weimar* dying at *Neoburg* in the thirty sixth year of his Age, snatched away by a short sickness, in the greatest progress of Glory, the *Austrians* believed with money and advantages to gain *Erlach* and other principal Commanders, that had the Command of *Brislach* and the places of consequence.

But *Richelieu*, with his wonted Ascendant of Wit and Fortune, concludes a more speedy and happy Treaty with them; for captivating with a vast sum of money the mind of those, to whom the Duke in his Testament had committed the care of the Army, he agreed with them, That they should accept the Duke of *Longueville* for their General, and be obliged to make War for the advantages and interests of France, who was to pay the Army and Garrison of *Brislach*, which, under the Government of *Erlach*, should be composed of Germans and French.

It happened, that *Charles Lodowick Palatine*, who was then at *London*, no sooner heard the News of *Weimars* death, but posting incognito through *France*, endeavours to get to that Army, in hope not only by conformity of Religion; Manners, and Tongue, but by money and promises from the King of *England* to induce it to accept him for their Chief, by which means he afterwards proposed to himself, either by Force or Treaty, for the exchange of *Alsace* to recover the *Palatinate*. *Richelieu*, who by many Spies had his eyes every where, being advertised of such an intention, caused him at *Molins* in the *Borbonnois* to be arrested, and did not release him, though the King of *England*, not without complaints, pressed it, till the Treaty with the *Weimarians* was finished. Thus in a moment fell into the power of *France* a Town, a Province, an Army, not without great reflections of the *Swedes*, and greater of the *Germans*, who would have wished that Crown an Assistant and Neighbour, but not so much advanced into the Empire. Neither were other prosperities in the Provinces of *Flanders* wanting to the same; for though in the beginning of the Campagna *Piccolomini* had beaten *Monsieur de Fichieres*, who besieged *Thionville*, and with many Arts brought him with many others into that Town Prisoner; yet on the other side, *Monsieur de la Moillerey* passing through the County of *St. Paul*, incamps with ten thousand Foot and eight thousand Horse before

Hesdin;

An.Dom. 1639. *Heslin*, a place of great account, and having sprung two Mines and given three assaults, took it; being rendred on conditions.

The King, who to countenance the action abode with the Cardinal at *Abbeville*, entering into *Heslin* by the breach, and adding reward to Merit, created him Marshal of France. The *Infanta* having taken Post at *Bourbourg*, had attempted in vain to succour it; for *Orange* seconding the design, sometimes threatening to attack *Guelder*, and then attempting to disembark at the *Sas of Gant*, he had been obliged to divide his Forces. The chief counsel of *Richelieu* consisted in incommmodating the *Spaniards* upon their own Frontiers, demonstrating to King *Lodowick*, That the Enemy being invaded at home, would discover his weakness, and that Monarchy want strength to supply in so many parts foreign accidents; that many Provinces would quickly appear mutinous, all groaning under the Government of insolent Ministers, with few Fortresses, and they without trusty Garrisons, with Souldiers for the most part mercenary, and Strangers, especially when they should be aware, that they were under a Government burdenson, in Peace and in War unhappy. An imagination which came to pass perhaps beyond the belief of the Author himself, through such casualties and sad emergencies, that the World had occasion to believe, that though for the most part humane counsels depend upon events, Fortune did adjust events to the counsels of *Richelieu*. He laid the foundations of it in this year, by sending the Prince of *Conde* towards the *Pirenei*, who took *Salces*, the first place that lies nearest to the *Mediterranean Sea*, on the Confines of *Spain*, though after some months it was recovered by *Philip Spinola*. He had conceived greater hopes of the Naval Army, which, commanded by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, in number about sixty Vessels, plyed to and again upon the Coast in the Ocean; but the effects proved not suitable, for it effected nothing but the landing at *Laredo*, taking and burning certain Ships, and plundering some weak maritime places.

On the other side, *Spain* received a notable blow; for after *Bordeaux* was retired into the Ports of France, 67 Ships, amongst which, some were of a vast burden, spread their Sails towards *Flanders*, having upon them many Souldiers, a great quantity of money and other provisions, to carry a powerful relief into the Low Countries. The way to pass into those Provinces by Land being on all sides stopt, and to provide them money, the exchange devouring a great part, it had been resolved in *Madrid* to make an effort by Sea, in concert with the King of England, who jealous of the Greatness and of the Designs of France, desiring to see them succoured and provided, permitted retreat and security for the *Spanish* Ships into his Ports. But this Fleet no sooner appeared in the Chanel, but *Martin Tromp*, Admiral of *Holland*, with thirteen small, but nimble and well appointed Ships, comes up with it, provoking it with incredible boldness to fight. Sixteen others a while after joynd themselves to him, and by the nearness of the Ports of *Zeland* and *Holland* receiving daily Renfort, was quickly increased to such a face of a strong Fleet, that

Antonhia

Antonhia Oquendo, General of the *Spanish*, though superiour in number and in the bulk of Ships, thought good to retreat into the Downs in England, hoping that the *Hollanders*, obliged to keep the Sea, would by ill weather and winds be constrained to go further off. *Tromp* not only kept his course, but battered the *Spaniards* with his Cannon, being supplied with powder, which he wanted; by the French from *Calis*. A Mist at last was so favourable to *Oquendo*, that thirteen great Vessels, with a good number of Souldiers and with all the money, passed without being discovered to *Dunkirk*. *Tromp*, who now found himself strong one hundred and six Ships, troubled above measure at such a passage, was so much the more careful, that the remaining prey should not escape him. The King of England, who, for the honour of his Port, was greatly troubled about the issue of this accident, orders forty Ships to come into the Downs, that placing themselves in the midst, they might hinder fighting, and without breaking with the *Hollanders*, who exclaimed with threatening protests, might countenance the Retreat of the *Spaniards*. *Tromp* for all that, not quitting his station, *Oquendo*, forced to fight or be consumed to nothing, attempts under the obscurity of a very foggy Mist an escape towards *Spain*. But he escaped not at this time neither the vigilance of *Tromp*, who first pressing with Fire-Ships into the midst of the Enemy, and afterwards with Men of War, burnt some of the *Spaniards* and took others, besides those, which running on shore were plundered and burnt also.

Oquendo with a few recovers *Dunkirk*, the remainder got the Coast of *Spain* torn and ill handled by the Enemy and the Sea, there having perished above six thousand men, Mariners and Souldiers, with the greater part of the Ships. *Tromp*, bringing sixteen with a vast Booty in Triumph into *Rotterdam*, was received there with great joy, this Victory being reckoned amongst the most famous of those which have happened at Sea. The last close of this Campaign ought to be concluded in *Italy*, where it had its beginning.

King *Lodowick* arriving at last at *Grenoble*, according to the concert, the Dutchess of *Savoy* comes thither also, to depose again with lively tears her own interests and those of the Duke in the arms of her Brother and of *Richelieu*, beseeching them to protect this innocent Cause with the same power and generosity, by which they made the French Crown formidable. It was given her to understand, that the depositing of *Monmeilian* was required, and insinuated, that her Son should be sent to *Paris*, that he might be brought up with the *Dauphin* in safety and with honour. She answered with no other reasons but a flood of tears; whereupon the King moved in his affection and compassion towards her, it was pressed further, and she was left, the Court returning to *Paris* in great hopes of speedy and powerful succours. The Army of *Italy*, (the Cardinal della *Vallette* being dead) remained in that interim recommended to *Henry of Lorrain*, Count of *Harcourt*, who was equally valiant and prudent.

The Venetians, for the diversion of greater evils, solicited the

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Pope

Pope to use such earnest in procuring Peace, that it might appear to be the duty of the Princes of *Italy*, for their own safety and the common defence, to employ their entreaties and offices, and, need requiring, their Arms also. *Urban* contented himself to send *Antonio Feragalli*, Secretary for decising, that at *Milan* and in *Piedmont* he might endeavour a prolongation, at least, of the Truce.

The *Spaniards* and the Princes complained, that, under the shadow of the said Truce, the Dutchess had delivered Towns to the *French*; and they quarrelled, that the entry of some Souldiers into *Casal*, which afterwards were brought in by force, had been hindered by *Leganes*. Some expedients therefore being discoursed of, but to no purpose, to prolong it; the suspension of Arms expires, and the Cannon from the Town and Citadel of *Turin* declared it, that began again to play with great fury. *Harcourt* kept the Field with an indifferent strength of four thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, and it hapned, that almost at the same time, that he by several ways came to *Chieri*, *Leganes* arrives unexpectedly there with eleven thousand fighting men, invironing him at large with many quarters. *Harcourt* thereupon within a while wants Victuals, though the Marquess *Villa*, making his passage through the midst of the *Spanish* Posts, put in a Convoy; but that being not sufficient for the necessity, the *French* were forced to resolve upon a retreat. They then were no sooner gone out of *Chieri*, but they quickly felt the *Spaniards* at their heels, and being come to the Bridge called *Lakotta* found Prince *Thomas* in their front. *Harcourt* then, with excess of courage, giving no time to *Leganes* to come up with the Body, attacks the *Savoyards* with so great fury, that he forces them to yield him the Pass. Whereupon, night coming on, he thought best not to continue his march, but employed it to fortifie the Bridge behind him, to give a stop to the *Spaniards*, as it happily succeeded; so that the day following proceeding on his way, though the *Spaniards* attempted it with several skirmishes, they could not hinder it or break him. This encounter cost indeed the life of some of his Souldiers, and he was forced to leave some Carts of baggage behind him; nevertheless it was reckoned amongst the most signal actions which rendred his name famous in *Italy*, having reaped great glory from that which uses to be reckoned amongst the most hazardous employments in the War.

A N N O MDC XL.

From the discords of *Piedmont* were added new difficulties to the general Peace, the *French* requiring Pass-ports for the Ministers of the Duke of *Savoy*; pretending that the Dutchess Mother should therein be mentioned in the quality of Tutress and Regent, which being contrary to the late Decree of the Emperour, was absolutely denied by the *Austrians*. There appearing therefore no hopes of Peace, discourse was had of a general suspension of Arms; but, the inclinations of the Crowns being discovered anew to be contrary

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to it, and the Emperour opposing it, not to have the *Swedes* remain in the bowels of the Empire, and of his own Countries, the project vanished. Nor did the Mediators much trouble themselves to prolong that of *Italy*, they being not pleased that *Piedmont* should be left in the power of the Crowns. Nevertheless the greatest difficulty seemed to be on the *Spaniards* side, as well by reason of the pretension to comprehend the County of *Burgundy* in the Truce, as for the hope which *Leganes* gave to take *Casal*, by which they reckoned to remain so predominant in *Italy*, as with their Conquest there to balance their losses in other places. This was added besides, that they knew not well where to employ their Army, the Passes being either stopped, or requiring long marches to send them elsewhere. On the other side, the *French* by the advantage of situation in the center of the *Austrian* Provinces might send their Militia, whither occasion most called for them.

Amidst these Negotiations, the *French* insinuate more secret practices with the Princes of *Savoy*, endeavouring above all to separate them from the *Spaniards*, and divide them amongst themselves; in order whereunto, they offered Prince *Thomas* to dismember, under the title of Government, one part of *Piedmont*, that so he might enjoy it as in absolute Sovereignty. He not trusting to such flatteries, yet lent his ear to them, to keep the Governour of *Milan* in jealousy, and draw more easily from him satisfaction and money. The Cardinal *Mauritio*, more considered by reason of the Towns of *Nizza* and *Villa Franca*, which he had in his power, was also less difficult to be treated with; and the Dutchess knowing that he inclined to marry, caused to be proposed to him *Maria Lodovica* her eldest Daughter, as the only means to adjust the pretensions and differences about the succession, if the Duke should come to fail. Though for the present nothing was concluded, yet the Cardinal inclined somewhat to it, to the great jealousy of the *Spaniards*, and of the Prince his Brother, who for his own ends, and the interests of his Posterity, made use of the name of *Mauritio*. It now clearly appeared, that the designs and preparations of the *Spaniards* tended against *Casal*, nay, *Leganes* proudly boasted of the enterprise, and having Treaties with the Princes of *Mantua*, and intelligence within the place, he thought to go to a most certain Victory. The Princes of *Italy* grew sensible of it; for, if with that of *Casal* so many other Conquests made in *Piedmont* should be confirmed, there was formed even to the *Alps* a Wall so strong, that there could remain no hopes to force it. Jealousies also were suggested from discourses cast abroad by the *Spanish* Ministers, and by the Count *della Rocca* Ambassador at *Venice*, in particular, that reckoning hence forward *Casal* as a most secure Conquest, it was not concealed, that their Arms should be carried on further, glancing at *Mantua*, and every other place, where there appeared any shadow of the name or affection of *France*. *France* holding *Casal* under the custody of their Garrisons, nay valuing it as the depository of their honour for having heretofore preserved it with the terror only of

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its name, and succoured it with so many difficulties, the King could not at present suffer it to be taken. But finding himself engaged with his Forces in other designs, and the season yet frozen rendering the passage of the *Alps* difficult; it seemed as if he neglected the danger, making also as if he abandoned it, to induce the Princes of *Italy* to take upon them the defence of it. The *Venetians* in truth took great thought for it, and finding themselves in a condition, after the adjustment with the *Turks*, to back their offices as was fit, exhorted *Urban* to arm himself, and to employ all his endeavours for Peace.

The Pope, though he apprehended the dangers no less than the Republick, stood upon great reserves. He alledged the doubt of giving Jealousie to the *Spaniards*, and bringing upon himself invasions and troubles; nor prevailed it any thing, that the Republick assured, they would second him in his resolutions and uphold him in dangers; for he stuck not to publish, that he would not condescend to arm or use effectual offices, till the Republick should have first entred into a League with him. It was sufficiently understood, that the Pope, seeing his house suspected by the *Austrians*, and little trusted by other Princes, aimed by this Union to conciliate reputation and respect to himself, and give support to his Kindred. But for the proximate dangers of *Casal*, this seemed to the *Venetians* a remedy too slow, and they rather thought it more capable to raise Jealousies in the *Spaniards*, upon which they might afterwards and more readily pass to a Rupture, which only with a fair appearance of resolution and constancy might be diverted. These Negotiations being not unknown to the *Spaniards*, served to provoke them to hasten the undertaking, in hopes that being in a short time master of their design, and overcoming in the *Italian* Princes one fear by another, they would no more dare apply themselves to prejudicial attempts or confederacies giving Jealousie to their Crown.

Leganes therefore sending two thousand men to attack the Castle of *Rossignano*, that it might not disturb the conveyance of Victuals to the Camp, caused *Wednesday*, the Week before *Easter*, which happened to be the first day of *April*, *Casal* to be invested by the Cavalry, and the *Friday* following, arrived there with the whole Army. There were not within it above one thousand two hundred Foot and three hundred Horse, all *French*, under the Command of *Monsieur de la Tour*, and although some of the *Monferrins* joyned themselves to the Inhabitants, they served rather for jealousy than defence; because, according to agreement of the *Spaniards* with the Princess, they were rather to receive from them motives to render, than encouragements to hold out. *La Tour* then being hardly able with so scanty a Garrison to keep the Citadel and the inclosure of the City, abstains from Sallies, giving leave to *Leganes* to form his Lines without opposition, and dispose of his Camp without other disturbance than that of the season, which with unusual rains, hindered for certain days the Works. Three attacks were designed with three batteries. The greatest force of the Siege was used

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used betwixt the Citadel and the Castle, or rather the greatest appearance; for, besides the hope, that the people over-mastering the Garrison would quickly surrender, *Leganes* held correspondences to be brought into the Castle, and so the City being possessed, he designed to block the Citadel by laying Forts about it, and then marching with the whole Army into *Piedmont* oppose the *French*, if they should present themselves for its succours. Upon this confidence he neglected the outward Line of Circumvallation, being not able to persuade himself, that the *French*, either during a time so short, or with a number proportionable, could be ready to march. He notified by Letter to the Republick the motion of his Army, publishing the aims and intentions of his King to tend only to Peace, which if it could not be obtained so long as it was in the power of the *French* with *Pignarol* and *Casal* to disturb it, the driving them away seemed to be a motive of expediency and zeal, not a pretension to domination, or a desire to usurp that which is anothers.

At the same time he sends to *Mantua* the Count *Mandelli*, to assure the Princess, that amidst these warlike proceedings he would as much as was possible have respect to the Dukes interest; and she, to correspond, sends the Count *Gabioneda* to reside in the Camp, in design, as was published, to preserve *Monferrat* from the ruine and oppressions of the Souldiery, but with more secret intentions, to authorize with the presence of her Minister the undertaking, divert the Peasants from taking Arms, and exhort those of *Casal* to render, rather than suffer extremities. Nevertheless, to cover such intentions, she sought for counsel of the *Venetians*, intreating them to send a Minister of theirs to reside with her, and insinuating, that, whilst the loss of *Casal*, through the weakness of the *French*, seemed imminent, a proposition might be made to have it deposited in the Popes hands, to the end, that, at a charge common with the Republick, it might be preserved for the legitimate Prince. But neither could the *French* in honour publish the want of power to defend it; nor did the speed, with which *Leganes* prosecuted the enterprize, give time to negotiate it. The Senate caused *Andrea Rosso*, who as Secretary was with *Lutgi Giorgio*, General in *Terra firma*, to pass to *Mantua*. But judging afterwards more effectual remedies necessary, it consents to the Treaty of the League with *Urban*, deeming it honourable for *Italy*, a strengthening to the common Liberty, a safety to the Contractors, and at least also of good example to the Princes of *Italy*; and sends Ambassadour Extraordinary to *Rome* (for *Nani* had obtained his discharge) *Angelo Contarini* Cavalier Procurator with powers to treat and conclude it. But at the first entrance weighty difficulties and many delays were met with; so that *Casal* could hardly have been preserved, if from the Bravery and Generosity of the Count of *Harcourt* more speedy remedies had not been applied. The Siege drew out into a greater length than had been imagined by the Governour of *Milan*, the Intelligences in the Castle vanishing, and among the Inhabitants the natural aversion to the name *Spaniard* prevailing more than their inclination to the Princess.

Rossignano

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Rossignano withal defended it self bravely. Nevertheless *Leganes*, *Ferragalli* proposing to him a suspension of Arms for a month, rejects it, not without upbraiding the Pope, that he aimed to give the *French* time to come to its succours. *Harcourt* in the mean time hastily assembling the most of the *Savoyards* and *French* Troops that he could, advances towards *Casal* with seven thousand Foot, three thousand five hundred Horse, and ten pieces of Cannon, in hopes that the Quarters of the *Spaniards* being unfortified, and at a great distance from one another, either they would be obliged to abandon some of their Posts, or keeping them all, would leave them weak. *Leganes* understanding the *French* were marching, intermitting the approaches, applies himself to finish the Circumvallation; but at their arrival all being imperfect, he was beyond measure in disorder. *Harcourt* shewing his Army the place, as a fatal and three-fold Trophy of the *French* Arms, makes choice to assault that part, where the *Gattola* hath its course. There were certain commanding Hillocks, which *Leganes* would not comprehend within his Line, by reason of the largeness of the compass, and that he believed them for the dirt and mire not climable by an Enemy, much less for Cannon. He had only raised there certain Redoubts, which *Harcourt* caused to be invested by some Troops, that they might be no hindrance of his advancing with the body; and then surmounting all difficulty of the way or situation, plants a Battery on the highest part, with which playing upon the *Spanish* Souldiers that were in the Trenches, he forced them to retire. Putting then himself at the head of certain select Troops, he in a trice forced his passage into the Camp on that side which is called *Saint George*, while at the same time the *Marquesses*, *Villa* and *Pianezza*, with the *Savoyards*, and *Messieurs de Plessis Praslin* and *La Motte Houdancourt* with the *French* made their attacks in several other places.

The *Spaniards*, making a loose fight and divided, made but a short resistance. Their Horse first taking the flight, attempted afterwards in vain to make a stand. The *Germans* laboured to stop the Enemy a while, and *Leganes* ran from place to place to give courage to the Fugitives, and redress the confusion. But the *French* in a well closed order gave them neither time nor breath to recover themselves. So that only *Gatta*, *Sotello*, *Batteville*, and *Leganes* himself, joyning themselves together with some Troops that remained, night coming upon them, and not being pursued, concluded it best to retire towards *Brem*.

Casal being in this manner not only succoured, but set at liberty, and the Enemies Army scattered, there remained to *Harcourt* to clear a Victory, that, (which seldom happens) both the Conquerours and conquered agree in the celebrating of it. The slain on the *Spaniards* side were not above three thousand; but the flight being greater than the slaughter, the disbanding of the Army was most considerable. Besides many Prisoners, the Cannon, the Money, the Spoils, and the very Writings remained to the *French*, who amongst them found the Original of the Treaty, formerly concluded by *Saiavedra* with

with the Dutchess of *Mantua*. This success freed *Italy* a while from present apprehensions. Nevertheless the Treaty of the League betwixt the Pope and the *Venetians* continued for some time, nay some Articles were agreed on; That for common defence an Army should be raised to take the field when there should be occasion, of twelve thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, with a proportionable number of Cannon. Of the Foot seven thousand should be allotted to the Republick with two thirds of the Cavalry and Cannon. The obligation of reciprocal assistance should then have place, when to one of the Confederates War should be either denounced, or his Country invaded. In which case seasonable diversions should also be made by Sea.

Concerning the Charge of General of the Army, with design to advantage the Family, and to let it fall upon the Prefect, the *Barberins* pressed much, and the Republick at last consented, that the Army coming to joyn, the Pope with their good liking should name him. These things being agreed, the Senate desired that the Treaty should be published, leaving some other points of lesser importance to be afterwards discussed; for, as the *Venetians* understood; that in case of defence all the temporal Dominion which the Church possessed was to be comprehended, so the Popes Ministers pretended to comprise the Fiefs which held of the same. This seemed to the Senate a point of a deeper root, because it might happen, that the *Barberins* would involve the Republick in their designs upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, where it was suspected that the *French* were participant of the Intelligences they held there; but time a while after manifested, that they rather aimed to ingage the Republick to joyn in, or at least not disturb, the resentments, which from this present they designed against the Duke of *Parma*. Whereupon the Senate, having endeavoured with many reasons to dissuade the Pope from it, but in vain, recalled their powers, not to leave any longer depending a business of that import, which was very irksome to the *Spaniards*; and the motive of the extraordinary Ambassage coming withal to cease, *Contarini* was recalled to *Venice*. And now the jealousies, conceived from the designs of the *Spanish* Army, were converted into amazement at the courage of the *French*; for that *Harcourt*, with ten thousand men only, had undertaken the Siege of *Turin* with a vast Circumvallation, after he had possessed the Bridge upon the *Po*, the Convent of the Capucins, and the Post of *Valentino*. The City was guarded by above three thousand Souldiers with Prince *Thomas*, besides a good number of Inhabitants well trained to Arms. The Undertaking therefore was held impossible to be effected, and so it would have been, if the constancy and valour of *Harcourt* had not with equal glory undertook and finished; it notwithstanding that he was several times rather in the condition of one besieged than of a besieger, and that he was believed overcome at the same time that he appeared triumphant.

The Siege lasting several months, in that while was quieted in France a dangerous Insurrection in *Normandy*, which, though composed of the common sort of people, yet received encouragement both

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both from the cause, which was the impositions, and from the Parliament, which gave a reputation no less than authority to it. The people exclaimed, that *Richelieu*, making advantage of the publick evils, was Author of the War and Inventor of the Imposts, with the wonted destiny of Favourites, who being considered burdensome in War and offensive in Peace, are in either fortune either of prosperity or adversity with detestation abhorred: But he sending Monsieur de *Gassion* with Souldiers, and the Chancellor with authority, dissipated the revolt, many being punished, all defeated, and the Parliament interdicted for a time. The intestine Peace of the Kingdom facilitated the progress of Arms elsewhere; for *Arras* was besieged by the Marshalls *Channe*, *Chastillon*, and *la Mailleray*, with a very puissant Army. The Town was found in a manner unprovided, the *French* by feigned marches having not only missed the Enemy to other places, but induced the Governour, who was the Count of *Isenberg*, to go out of it to provide for places elsewhere.

Arras is the Metropolis of *Artois*, a populous and great City, well fortified, and so situate, that two Cities seem invironed by one inclosure. The *French* plant their Camp there, and intrench themselves with a strong circumvallation, foreseeing that the weaker the defence within was, the greater effort would be made by the *Spaniards* for its relief. Accordingly *Philippe di Silva* with part of the Army draws near to it, and a while after the Cardinal *Infante* joins with him, notwithstanding that *Orange*, threatening many places, kept a body of the *Spanish* Army in a perpetual distraction. The *Infante* succeeded in hindring Victuals from the *French* Camp, so that King *Lewis*, who with the Cardinal was at *Amiens*, was forced to break through with great store of Provisions, under a Convoy of ten or twelve thousand men hastily assembled, part the Militia of the Country, and of the Kings Guards, part of the Nobles, who from the Neighbouring Provinces, to please the King and the Minister, flocked thither in great numbers. It was concerted by the *French*, that at the same time that the Convoy approached *Channe* and *la Mailleray* should be out of the Camp to secure its passage.

On the other side, among the *Spanish* Commanders there was difference in opinion, some judging to go and meet the Convoy to be the best way to hinder it; others, that they should assault the Trenches, when they were weakned; and this counsel, as most specious, prevailed. Whereupon, when the two Marshalls were gone at a good distance, the Camp was assaulted, the *Spaniards* entring into it in several parts, and possessing some Posts. But *la Mailleray*, having with great expedition brought the Convoy into safety, returns so seasonably, that, the Fight yet lasting, he constrained the *Spaniards* to retire, and abandon all they had gotten. The Surrender of the place followed a while after, the *French* Colours entring into it the tenth of *August*, to the exceeding glory of their Arms, and as much conternation to the Country round about. King *Lewis* thinking to have reaped an abundant Harvest from this Compagnia, returns to *Paris*, where, with increase of felicity, he was enriched

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in the Month of *December* with another Son, who was named *Philip*, An. Dom. with title of Duke of *Anjou*.

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Good fortune carrying always its sting with it, so many prosperities to *France* began in some envy, in others jealousy, in the *English* particularly through neighbourhood and emulation. About this time the King of *Denmark* looked with no less suspicions upon the progress of the *Swedes*; whereupon the *Austrians* believing the occasion proper to strengthen their party, the Emperour sent the Count *Curtius* into *Denmark* to propound Leagues and Concerts; and the *Spaniards* dispatched the Marquesses of *Vellada* and *Malvezzi* to *London*, to insinuate marriages of King *Charles* his eldest Daughter with the Prince of *Spain*, and reciprocally of the *Infanta* with the Prince of *Wales*. But the Senate of that Kingdom opposed the King of *Denmark*'s inclination, and that of the *English* was diverted by a general revolt of the *Scotch*, to whom the King had attempted to propose a certain form of Ceremonies and Prayers, which were rejected by all sorts of persons in an open tumult. It was believed that *Richelieu* secretly fomented those stirs, either because he truly intended it, to break those so jealous Negotiations with *Spain*, or because it was thought, that he, being in this Age (so to call it) the Intelligence of the world, had an influence in all great businesses, either by assistance or counsel.

Sure it is, that it seemed as if Fortune applied her self to nothing else but to promote his advantages, and very often anticipate his very designs, and on the other side to confound and disturb those of the *Conde Duke*; as if from the antipathy of these two great Ministers proceeded the discord of *Europe*, and the disparity of accidents was also occasioned. Not long after the rendring of *Arras* happens that of *Turin*, where the Siege remained a long time by various accidents, and by the event was ennobled above any other whatsoever. *Harcourt* had no sooner intrenched himself in the view of *Turin*, but he was forced to repulse many sallies, and one in particular, which made a deep impression into his Quarters. After that *Leganes* shews himself behind him with twelve thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, threatening to assault his Posts and the Bridge; but having taken a view of the situation, and infested the Camp with some Cannon-shot, he turns to *Moncalieri*, to pass the Po upon a Wooden Bridge which was there. But the *French* having broken it, he commands *Carlo della Gatta* to repair it, though he might with much ease have attempted a little higher to wade it. The *French* disputed it, till at last Monsieur de *Turain*, that commanded, being hurt, and the skirmish slackning, certain little Islands a little lower were fortified by *Gatta*, under the covert whereof he lays over the Bridge. The Governour now passes over to the *Purpurata*, and sends *Gatta* to *Colegno*, to cut off the ways, and hinder the *French* Army of succours and victuals from the Mountains. *Harcourt* also to incommode *Turin*, took away the use of the Mills, by diverting the *Dora*; but the besieged restored it to its old course, and he at last beats them to pieces with his Cannon. But in the

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Town they nevertheless supplied themselves with instruments manual; on the other side in the Camp, the Souldiery was almost reduced to the extremity of hunger, there being a want, besides that of Forrage for the Horse, of bread and all sort of other nourishment, except some little Pulse, which was scantily given out to the Souldiers; and yet the Nation, though most impatient of suffering, suffered every thing, the General keeping it by his dexterity in Discipline, and encouraging it with good words and liberal promises. Nor could *Harcourt* be possibly put to a harder pinch; for the dishonour of a retreat between the Jaws of the Enemy was considered as the least loss; and to persist amidst so many sufferings, could not merit other commendation than that of an absolute resolution to perish. But having to feed the Army, the Citadel of *Turin* and the Town of *Chivas* being dis furnished of Victuals, nothing remained for him but to abandon by a secret flight every thing in prey to the *Spaniards*, or by a forced accord to deliver them the Keys of *Piedmont*.

But safety came from the Enemy themselves; for the Prince and Governour disagreeing not only in Opinions, but also in Maxims and Interests, the one would overcome with longer, but more cautious, counsels, and the other pressed, that all things should be hastened, and to his instances joyning threatenings and protests, that if in four days the place were not relieved, and the Enemy driven away, he would capitulate the Surrender, and withal make his own accord. *Leganes* believing too much, because he feared too much, resolves upon a general assault, in concert with the Prince, in so many places, that the *French*, now but few, and they tired out, should not be able to resist in all, and the design without doubt would have succeeded, if the execution had been as well performed, as the counsel was most excellently ordered. But of the *Spanish* Chiefs that were to command the attacks, some arrived at the Posts assigned to them too late, others made their assault faintly, and some not at all.

Leganes, coming to *Harcourt's* Quarter at the time that the Prince having made his attempt was retired, thought fit to forbear, only *Carlo della Gatta*, at the side of the *Purpurata*, broke into a *French* Quarter; but his Foot stopping there to pillage the Huts, fell into such a confusion, that from plunder they easily betook themselves to flight; for the *French* gotten again into order, recovered an Intrenchment and a Fort, pressing upon *Gatta*, who with two thousand Horse, interrupted on his way by many Trees cut down, advanced slowly. Prince *Thomas* making a Sally, disengaged him, and brought him into *Turin*, where he served but for a burden and ruine, consuming for man and horse all that which preserved the place. On the other side, the *Spanish* Camp weakened in Horse, and *Gatta* having abandoned *Cologno*, from which side Convoys to the Camp were more easily hindered than from any other, *Turenne* brought in one so plentiful, that it notably refreshed the Army. The state of things then changing, disagreement also increased betwixt the Prince and the Governour, they reproaching one another either with slackness or over-much rashness.

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Leganes repassing the *Po*, returns to his first Posts of the Hills, leaving the passage of the Mountains open to the *French*, and he would have gone much further off, if the Prince had not threatened him to surrender, if he did not provide him with powder and meal. *Leganes* made several attempts to put some in, but always in vain, because *Harcourt*, having straightened the first circumference of his Lines, kept them with great care. Worthy of notice was the Invention of *Francesco Zignoni*, of *Bergamo*, who, having added force to the Mortar-pieces that are used in the casting of Bombes, flung some Bullets not only with Letters, but with Powder and Meal, flying through the Air, into the Town, or near to the Wall, the *French* wondering at it, and confessing, by not being able to hinder it, that the Element of the Air is most free from the command and violence of man. Nevertheless the artifice was rather esteemed than the success proportionable; for besides the great charge the quantity did not supply the need. They resolved therefore in *Turin*, that *Gatta* should again force a passage to return to *Leganes*. The Prince for a diversion made a real attack upon one side. *Carlo* forces the Lines on the other; but encountering much water, being that of the *Dora*, which, deturbed by the *French*, flowed into the Meadows, while he was in trouble to find a Ford, being charged by the Enemy, was forced to return to *Turin*. It was then perceived, that Force elsewhere was necessary, and the Prince invited and persuaded the Governour to a new attempt, offering himself to assault and possess certain Forts betwixt the *Capucins* and *Valentino*, and the Governour then to make an assault on his side also. *Thomas* failed not either in courage or success, for he attacked and took those Posts; but he either dead or run away, who with certain Fireworks was to have given the sign of it to the *Spaniards*, the Governour ignorant of the success stands still, and the Prince after having stayed a good while, leaving his Conquests, retired. In the mean while *Harcourt* increased daily in Forces; for on the Fame of so noble a Siege many Volunteers flocked from the neighbouring Provinces, and six thousand Souldiers at twice with much provision were brought by the Marquess of *Villeroy*, Governour of *Lions*, and by *Monsieur Castellan*. Incessant then were the Skirmishes, Sallies, and Attacks; but at last Victuals, Forrage, and Money wanting, the conditions being agreed, *Turin* on the 24. of September was delivered to the *French*, and the Duke and Regent re-established there.

The Prince going forth, concluded for himself a Truce for certain days, within which his adjustment was to be treated, and he retired to *Inurea*, refusing (to advantage himself by playing a middle Game betwixt the Flatteries and Jealousies of both the Crowns,) whatsoever advantages was offered him by the Governour of *Milan*; and hearkening to the propositions of accord, which by *Julio Mazarine*, sent expressly for that affair by *Richelieu* into *Italy*, was delivered to him in the Name of King *Lodowick*. The *Spaniards* then opposing other offers to the progress of *Mazarine*, he ratifies a cer-

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The King on the other side promised, To take the Garrisons out of those places, which he held in deposito, when Spain should also render the places it had gained. Concerning the succession, if it should happen the Duke should dye, he promised to protect the Right of the Princes, understanding those, who should be adhering to his Party. As for the rest, to Thomaso was left in Government that which he had in his present power for so long, till an agreement were made with his Nephew and Sister-in-law, assigning great Pensions to himself, his Wife, and his Sons, for one of which, hopes were given him of a Marriage with the Daughter of the Duke of Longueville, endowed with great Riches.

Under the faith of this Treaty, which for the present required secrecy, the Truce was prolonged for all February of the next year. But amidst the Negotiations of Italy, the hopes of the general Peace went in such sort backwards, that the Pope, weary of the Charge and the dishonour of keeping a Legate idle in Colen, recalls him, leaving for Nuntio Extraordinary Signor Macchiavelli, Patriarch of Constantinople, to whom Rossetti a while after was substituted. These discomposures of the Treaty rose chiefly from the revolts of Catalonia and of Portugal, which filling one side with great hopes and designs, and the other with perturbation of mind and perplexity, admitted not the appearance of any expedients to reconcile their minds and interests. It hath formerly been hinted, how Olivares with an absolute power governed in Spain the King no less than his Dominions, with a Spirit highly elated, Maxims severe, and Counsels violent. He had proposed to himself to exalt the Power and Glory of the King equal to the Title, which he had caused him to assume of Great; but Fortune with unhappy events seconded so ill his purpose, that the Splendour of the Crown seemed in a great measure darkened. Whereupon among Strangers there was a relaxation of that awe, which rising from power was wont to keep them in respect; and in the mind of the Subjects, accustomed under the vail of reputation and prosperity to venerate as infallible the Arcana of the Government, entred contempt and hatred towards the King and his Favourite.

The design of Olivares was manifest, not only to enlarge the Monarchy beyond its first Confines, but in the Kingdoms themselves to establish the absolute Authority of a Monarch, who in some of the Provinces, circumscribed by Laws, Concessions and Covenants, seemed precarious, and that he enjoyed rather the name than the force of Dominion. That which urged him to this, was chiefly the want

of money and men, to supply so many foreign Wars; for being to depend upon the consent of the people, provisions came not to be furnished equal to the necessity, nor ready for the urgency. Wherefore he thought to abolish or at least to restrain so great a liberty, which some attributed to themselves, and principally the Catalans, who provided with no small privileges, and free from many burdens, kept their Liberty with no less zeal, than their Religion. The King being some years since with the Court at Barcelona, they several times opposed Olivares his demands; whereat he being irritated, nourished ever after in his mind thoughts to chastise and humble them. The Kings, to say truth, were wont to bear respect to that Nation, arrogant by Nature, and for the situation important; because the Province, if from the Sea-Coast, by reason it hath no Harbours, it be impenetrable, on the Land side it seems inaccessible by reason of the Mountains; and they piercing deeply inwards, and being divided into many branches, form themselves into as many Fortifications, within which are comprehended strong places, populous Cities, Towns, and a great number of Villages; so that the whole Province may be resembled to one mighty Bastion defended with several cuttings of retreats. The Neighbourhood then to France, the Passes of the Pyrenean, the largeness of the Circuit, the population and martial inclination of the Inhabitants, made it considered, and little less than feared.

Nevertheless the Condé Duke busied his thoughts for an opportunity to bridle it; but when he thought that Fortune had opened the way to it, he was not aware, that it carried along with it a downfall to the greatness and safety of all Spain. We have formerly observed, how Richelieu, tempting the Confines on that side, hoped to promote accidents, and particularly to irritate the mind of the people amidst the inconveniences of War, and the mischiefs of Arms; and so it punctually fell out. For salser being lost, the Spaniards, to recover it, were forced to plant their place of Arms in Catalonia, and when they had taken it, left the Army to quarter there; so that, if during the Siege the Province was grievously afflicted by the passages of the Souldiery, that people felt afterwards their license so much more intolerable, as they had not been accustomed to it. Nothing was heard of but extortions and oppressions, Churches profaned, Women ravished, goods taken by violence; to which excesses the Chiefs making no reparation, an opinion was raised, that Olivares, to impose under the title of necessary defence the yoke upon that Province, willingly suffered it. Sure it is, that the Count of Saint Coloma, the Vice-Roy, instigated by frequent Letters from him, to draw men and money from that Province, under the countenance of the Army, without sticking at their privileges and expecting the consent of the States, seized in Barcelona upon certain money, which belonged to the disposal of the City, and because one of the Jurates (the most considerable Magistrate) opposed to great a License, and insisted, that the extravagances also of the Souldiery might be punished, he imprisoned him.

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This was enough to put a people into commotion, which suffered obedience, but was not yet acquainted with slavery. Arms were taken, the Prisons opened, a torrent of people in the Streets, with so great and universal a tumult, that the Vice-Roy, frightened, thought his safety only placed in running away. He therefore gets into the *Arsenal*, where being as little secure; (for the people putting fire to the Pallace sought him over all,) he caused a Galley to come near the shoar; but while he was going to the Sea side to imbarque, being overtaken by the Mutineers, was killed. The people now, partly terrified by their own excess, partly inveigled and confounded amidst the apprehensions of slavery and the appearances of liberty, judged, that there was no place left for repentance, nor for the Kings clemency. Shaking off the yoke then, they ran out into extremities, and the confusion being not able to subsist of it self, an independent Government was formed, with a Council of an hundred, joined to the other ancient Magistrates of the City. Upon such an example almost all the Country fell into a commotion, and the Towns and Villages universally taking Arms, killed and forced to fly all those that were native *spaniards*.

The mind of the *Condé* Duke at so unexpected an accident being greatly disordered, he neither durst make it known to the King, nor could it be concealed. He endeavours to make him believe, that it was nothing but a popular tumult, which would vanish of it self, or being quickly appeased by force, would contribute to render the authority of the Government more respected; for by Arms the Rebellion would not only be quieted, but the pride of the *Catalans* brought down, and those privileges abolished, which rendered them contumacious. But reflecting in his mind with more secret cares upon the importance of the Province, the quality of the situation, and those greater mischiefs, whilst the *French* would be brought in there, he weighed within himself, which, either artifice or force, might more profitably be employed. Nor was he free from doubt, lest other Kingdoms, especially *Aragon*, might follow the example. He first tries, by the persuasions of the old *Duchess of Cardona*, who with the people of *Barcelona* had much veneration and authority, and by the means of the Minister of the Pope who resided there, to pacify their minds and quiet the tumult; and that not succeeding to advantage, he resolves to use force with such power and expedition, that the people should neither be able to resist, nor the *French* arrive time enough for their relief. He then goes about to assemble the Army; commanding the Fee-Farmers, and inviting the Nobility, and among them, many of the most suspected, particularly the *Portuguese*, that they might serve for Hostages, as well as Souldiers. But the Provisions could not be so soon ready, but that the *Catalans* had time to provide themselves with much resolution, and to send Deputies into *France* to demand assistance. It is not to be said, with what satisfaction *Richelieu*, who had formerly with his wonted arts nourished their first dispositions, entertained them. He heaps honours upon them, and loads them with promises; but at the

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the same time willing to make use of the occasion, which chance offered him, he not only contrived to nourish War in the bowels of *Spain*, but to reduce *Catalogna* to a necessity of rendring themselves to the subjection of the *French*. He sends Monsieur de *St. Paul* with some few Officers, and by Sea some Souldiers and Cannon, to the end that that people might take heart to blood themselves with the *Castilians*; and dispatches Monsieur de *Plessis Besançon*, an eloquent Minister and a witty man, to discover the disposition of affairs and minds.

But *Olivares* having gotten the Army together, which amounted to thirty thousand Combatants, the command thereof was committed to the Marquis de *los Velez*, by birth a *Catalan*, and destined to be Vice-Roy of the Province, towards which it was so far from his having any disposition of affection, that he rather had causes of hatred and detestation, the people in *Barcelona* having razed his house and confiscated his goods. In the month of *December* he begins his march from *Tortosa*, a City participant in the Rebellion; but which, either by the inclination of the Inhabitants, or for fear of the Army, was the first that restored it self to obedience. He advances to *Balaguer*; many Towns, not able for defence, rendring themselves every where. And there though the straits of the *Pas*ses might have been defended by a few, yet the Guards of the *Catalans* durst not expect him; whereupon the Marquis, breathing terror and severity, proceeds as far as *Combril*, the Mutineers place of Arms. The place, though weak, despising the conditions, which to disband the people in it the Marquis offered, had the boldness to hold out five days, after which, being willing to render it self, it was not received but at discretion, the Town being laid waste, the Magistrates hanged, and the Souldiers cut to pieces.

From this blood was hatched despair over all: In *Barcellona* particularly the Citizens animated one another, to undergo all extremity, rather than fall into the hand or under the Government of so arrogant a Conquerour, or a Vice-Roy, become so cruel. Entering into consideration of their liberty and safety, order was taken for the defence, fortifying *Mongiovino*, and, uniting their minds for the common danger, they went on in the Government and in their resolutions with vigour and concord. They nevertheless feared they should not be able to withstand so powerful a shock, without a strong support. That apprehension was fomented by the *French* Ministers, who represented to them imminent ruine on one side, and succours at hand on the other. But demonstrating that it was not reasonable, that the Crown, to procure anothers advantage, should abandon its own, they insinuated amidst fears and discourses, how much it belonged to them to oblige so great a King to support, both for honour and interest, that Principality. The design took; for the fear of the danger and the hopes of succours induced the *Catalans* to deliver themselves up to the protection and dominion of *France*, with many conditions, which preserved their privileges, those especially

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especially of the consent of the people in the laying on of Imposts, the Collation of Church-benefices, and temporal Charges on those of the Nation, except the Supreme Viceroy, who might be a Stranger. To this all gave their assent. The major part out of a desire of novelty; the simple out of a conceit to change their condition for the better; the more wise for being aware, that after the first steps of Rebellion, whatsoever liberty or servitude was to be, it could not be enjoyed but with the same ruine and calamity.

This happened about the last days of the year, very near the time that Portugal also, casting off the yoke, revived with a new King the ancient name of a Kingdom. The emulation, which is betwixt the Castigians and the Portuguese, is natural, being imprinted by birth, nourished by the milk, and transmitted as an Inheritance from their Ancestors, but was now rather become an abhorrency and impatience, after these were forced to bend their necks under the Dominion of the Castigians. The Portuguese had several times applied their attentions and hope to various accidents, which might give a change to their present Fortune; but the potency and felicity of the Castigians had till now either kept off foreign designs, or prevented those at home.

The desire nevertheless greatly increased, and the consideration of the Dukes of Braganza served to provoke it, who descending from Edward, Brother to King Henry, were by many as much preferred in their Right, as they had been forced to submit to the Force of King Philip. The present Duke John, observing that the Castigians had a waking eye upon him, shewed himself so much the more averse from all application and business; and a Tumult in a certain City having happened some years past, upon the hearing of his name called upon, he had contained himself within such a modesty, that he was believed equally averse from ambition and deceit. Olivares considering the Rights of the House and the Favour of the People, besides his Riches and Lordships, which exceeded the condition of a Vassal, to secure himself of him, invites him to the Court with rewards and employments, and with a dissembled confidence conferred upon him Charges and Titles, which, it was believed, tended not to adorn him with Dignity, but to expose him to dangers, to the end, that exercising particularly his employment of Conestable, he should be obliged to go upon the Fleet, or enter into some of the Fortresses, where they should by secret orders to arrest him Prisoner. Giovanni with several excuses avoiding his going to Madrid, governed himself with such reserves in general, that, though he could not avoid the suspicions of others, he at least diverted his own hazards. Olivares makes use of the Revolt of Catalogna and of the report that the King would go forth in person to quell it, to invite the Portuguese Nobility, and amongst them with greater earnest Braganza, to assist with his person, and with Forces in so signal an occasion. But the same conjuncture served the Portuguese to awaken in them their thoughts of old; so that many in their private conversations, accustomed frequently to lament, that a famous

Kingdom

Kingdom extended to the four Quarters of the World, should be reduced into a Province, and become an Appendix to the Dominion of their natural Enemies, considered sometimes the Nobility oppressed, and the people trampled on, and through the jealousies of the Conde Duke the Country weakened, the Great Men persecuted, the Privileges infringed, and that Image which remained in Portugal of Liberty and seemly Honour defaced. Then passing from the complaints of the times to the reproach of themselves, as if in the Portuguese were wanting that Courage and Spirit, which so highly ennobled the people of Catalogna. They discoursed of the easiness to accomplish any great attempt, being governed by a Woman and by a hated Minister, with few Garrisons and less Provisions, at a time, that all Spain was in disorder, the Forces distracted, the King not able to resist in so many places, and France ready to assist.

Margaret, Infanta of Savoy, bore the Title of Vice-Queen: The Government therefore resided in certain Castigians, and in particular the Secretary Vasconcellos, who assisted her, and who, being a Confident of Olivares, and raised by his favour, drew all to his Maxims to bring down the Great Ones, and exercise an absolute Command. By the Conjunctures it truly appeared, that as to an Insurrection the danger was greater in discovering their thoughts, than in putting them in execution; whereupon certain of the Nobles meeting in the Garden d'Autan d'Almeda in Lisbon, there was one who considerably shewed; *That the weariness and weight of the present yoke was now more grievous than the fear of future dangers. That the Government of the Castigians, distrustful and severe, did not think it self otherwise secure, but in the hardest servitude of its Vassals; that at last that time appeared, implored by their Fathers with sighs, and wished for by themselves with so much longing. Why should any more time be lost? Are then the Portuguese less vigilant to undertake for liberty, than the Castigians were solicitous to introduce Tyranny? Do we possibly stay, till the Catalans being subdued, the sword and the Hang-man should be the punishment and revenger of present thoughts and suspicions? Unless every one in himself be afraid of proscription and punishment, let us altogether have the courage to attempt something of consequence. Of whom are we afraid? The Garrisons are empty; the Castles unprovided; the Government weakened and feminine; and the Castigians but few? They should in this day be sensible of (that which Nature denies not to the fiercest of Beasts) their own strength, and the Nobility generously united be confident, to have all the people their followers. It should be calculated, how many Portuguese one Castigian commands, and by consequence coming to Arms, how few there will remain to fight with. They should but take the resolution; for to be free, resolution was only wanting.*

All being inflamed with this discourse, gave mutually the hand and promise of secrecy, and never to abandon one another. They were in some perplexity about resolving, what form they were to make choice of for the new Government. Some, by the example of the Catalans, were pleased with the Orders of the Republicks;

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An. Dom. 1640. for that the supreme Jurisdiction of the Laws, established by common consent, was rendered more legitimate, more lasting, and also more gentle than an arbitrary Command; and they denied not, but where servitude was to take place, it was more tolerable under a powerful King than under an equal and a new Prince. But by the major part the confusion was considered, which the innovation of Government carried with it, upon a Country accustomed to the Arbitrement of one alone. They therefore inclined to *Braganza*, in whom, to justify the cause and attract the people, concurred the most principal requisites, both for right to the Kingdom, and for distinction of Fortune. They then sent separately to him *Pietro Mendoza* and *Giovanni Pinto Ribero*, to represent to him the unanimous Suffrage, and offer him the Scepter, and because these perceived, that amidst the Dukes various thoughts, the appearances of many dangers would represent themselves to him, they endeavoured to clear all doubts, and *il Pinto* particularly, mingling threatnings and protests with reasons and persuasions, declares to him, that whether he would or no, he should be proclaimed King, without that from his reluctancy, himself or others should reap ought but greater hazards of more certain ruine. The Duke at an object so great and sudden as was the Crown stumbled in his thoughts; but his Wife, Sister of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, being of a high Spirit, made him take heart, reproaching him with meanness to prefer the momentariness of Life before the Dignity of an Empire. Nor did the *French*, necessary to what was working, fail by secret Messengers to strengthen and animate him, with large promises of assistance and favour, making him believe, that the Crown was to stand so much the more firm upon his head, as they let him see the others tottering upon that of King *Philip*. He then was persuaded to give his consent, and the time and manner was concerted for the declaring of it.

Although in this business secrecy was the pledge of the success, nevertheless notice of it being spread amongst many, something of it breathed out to the Vice-Queen, who failed not to advertise the *Conde Duke* several times of the discourses and designs of the Conspirators. But he, accustomed to give credit to himself rather than to others, believed it too late. Upon the first then of *December*, many of the Nobles being gone to the Palace, at the striking nine a clock in the morning, which was the sign agreed upon, at the discharge of a Pistol discovered their Arms, and charged the Guards of the Vice-Queen, who unarmed and scattered, expecting nothing less, easily gave way. The Palace being possessed, the Nobles cried, Liberty; crying up withal the name of *John* the Fourth for King; and others in the Market-places, some in the streets, some from the Windows, among which was *Michael Almeida*, venerable for his white hairs, animating the people, and stirring them up to Arms, the concourse was so great in a few minutes, that, as if the same Spirit moved the people, there was none that dissented, or were wavering. One Company of *Castilians*, that entred upon the

Guard

An. Dom. 1641. Guard in the Palace, was by the fury of the common people forced to fly. *Antonio Tello*, with others that followed him, forcing the Lodgings of *Vasconcellos*, who, hearing the noise, had shut himself into a certain Cupboard, finds him, and having killed him flung him out of the Window, that he might be a spectacle in the Court-yard, to the hatred of the Commonalty, and a testimony withal, how little blood the change of a Kingdom had cost. The *Infanta*, kept in the power of the Conspirators, was used with much respect, and therefore obliged to command the Governour of the Castle to forbear to shoot with the Cannon, otherwise all the *Castilians* in the City should be cut in pieces. He not only obeys the order to abstain from doing harm, but immediately for fear or necessity makes haste to render it, alledging to be so unprovided, that he could not have been able to resist an assault of the people. It was a wonder to see a City, as *Lisbone*, great, populous, and in commotion, to settle in so short a space in its own power, but with so much order and silence, that no man commanding; all sorts of persons readily payed obedience to the name of the new King.

Giovanni, understanding what had hapned at *Lisbon*, causing himself to be proclaimed King in his own Dominions, enters into that City the sixth day of the same Month with unspeakable pomp, and having received the Oath of the people, he reciprocally took that of the observance of priviledges. The same hereof being dispersed through the Kingdom, every place halted to follow the example, with so much unity of minds, that there appeared not to be a mutation of Government, but only that the King had changed his name to the extraordinary joy of the people. The *Castilians* scattered in some Garrisons, and those of *St. Gian*, a Fortrels of an invincible situation, surpris'd with a fatal stupidity, quit it without dispute. The *Infanta* was accompanied to the Borders, and some of the *Castilian* Ministers were kept Prisoners, for the security of those *Portugais* which were stay'd at *Madrid*. In eight days the whole Kingdom was reduced to a quiet obedience: Whilst in the *East-Indies*, in *Brazil*, on the Coast of *Africk*, and in the Islands which are reckoned amongst the Conquests of the *Portugais*, when by Curriers dispatched in diligence the advice was brought, it was no sooner heard, but abjuring with an universal consent the obedience to *Castile*, the name of *John* the Fourth was acknowledged and proclaimed.

A N N O M D C X L I.

If upon the first invasions on the Borders of the *Pirenei* it had appeared, that *Spain*, empty of Victuals, money, and people, had scarce been able to make resistance at home, greater evils were now presented, when so many Enemies discovered themselves in its very bowels. *Oliouares*, perceiving that instead of promoting the Monarchy and the pre-eminence of power, it self was forced to contend for its own safety, not being able to resist in two places, stood in doubt, which

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way he should turn his chief cares and Forces. At last he judged it best to apply himself against *Catalogna*, hoping that the enterprise would not last long, and withal fearing, lest with giving time the strength of the Country, the fierceness of the people, and the succours of the *French*, should make it much more difficult. On the other side the Borders being open, assistances remote, the people less inured to War, and the whole Kingdom being to be conquered in *Lisbon* alone, he fancied to himself, that leaving the *Portuguais* in security and unmolested, they would have no care to strengthen themselves; and that the Nobles, proud by Nature, would not long suffer the command of one, envied by many, and equal to all. Nor would that thought perhaps have fallen out otherwise, if his counsels had not always been fatally opposed by a certain disaster, which in some crossed the opportunity, in others took away the force, and equally condemned all to most unhappy events. Then pursuing in *Catalogna* the War again in the Spring, *Los Velez* comes to the Siege of *Tarragona*, which, after the Metropolis of the Country, is accounted for largeness and nobleness the chief place; but being environed but with an old Wall, though Monsieur d' *Espezan* with some *French* got into it, was quickly rendered, the relief availing nought but to capitulate under the name of the *French* safety also to the Inhabitants of life and goods. By this loss the affairs and minds of the *Catalans* seemed much dejected, and, as it happens in prosperous events, betwixt them and the *French* passed words of reproach, they finding fault with the slenderness of the succours, and these proverbially the baseness of the resistance. But *Los Velez* coming in sight of *Barcelona*, against all his belief found the defence so resolute and well ordered, and the *Mongiiovino*, so well fortified, that not being able to take any one Fort, he retired, either for the rigour of the season, or, for the want of Victuals and Provisions. It is not credible, how much the *Catalans* from this were animated, despising the Kings displeasure and arms, and seeing themselves supported with a more forcible pulse of *French* arrived in great numbers under the command of Monsieur de la *Mothe Houdancourt*. He presently besieges *Tarragona*; but the *Spaniards* were resolved to succour it at any rate, and the Duke de *Ferandina* with forty Gallies executes it, not without dispute with the Naval Army of *France*, who having none but great Ships, and so not able to do much more than fulminate with the Cannon at random, effected nothing but that many of the Gallies taking fright did not adventure; so that eleven only made their passage through the Ships and Guns into the Port. The Town for all this could not hold out long, whereupon the *Spanish* Fleet, augmented to seventy sail, renews again the attempt with success, and because that of the *French*, through great negligence, suffered it self to be surpris'd at Anchor, a great number of Barques and lesser Vessels entered into *Terragona*.

The *French* for this cause were obliged to remove, raising the Siege, and to raise the courage of the *Catalans* with something of prosperous, advanced into *Aragon*, and took *Tamarit*, and succouring

Almenas

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Almenas constrained the *Castiglians*, who had posted their Camp there, to raise it. To open the Passes of the *Pirenej* for succours, the Prince of *Condé* entering into *Rossillion* took there, *Canet*, *Argeliers*, and *Elma*. From these uncertainties in *Catalogna* the *Portuguais* made their advantage quietly, bringing their new Government into train, and strengthening themselves with foreign friendships. With *France* they renewed the former Treaties, with a liberty to the *Portuguais* to supply themselves in that Kingdom, with Ammunition, Arms, and Men, and to ratifie them the Marshal de *Brezé* goes to *Lisbon* in great pomp, and with a numerous Squadron of Ships, where he was received with a suitable welcome and applause. The chief point agreed upon consisted, In arming forty Ships, to ply too and again in the Ocean, to interrupt the Navigation of the *Indies*, and lying in wait at Sea, to make prey of the *Spanish* Fleets and Treasures. The *Hollanders* were to join twenty others: With whom a Truce also was stipulated by *Portugal* for ten years, with many Articles, which concerned Navigation and Trade, especially in *Brazil* and the *Indies*, it being agreed, That each should remain possessed of what he held in those parts, and endeavours be used to drive out the *Spaniards* every where: But that the Treaty, beyond the Equator, by reason of the distance, should not take place till after a year.

The United Provinces making use of this time with great artifice and much advantage, dispatched with diligence orders to Count *Maurice of Nassau*, who commanded in *Brazil*, that he should with all expedition make profit of the opportunity, as he did, by possessing on the Coast of *Africa*, *San Paolo Loanda*, with certain Islands, and places of great importance, to the great damage and bitter resentment of the *Portuguais*, who nevertheless were forced to dissemble it. But they now wanted not an intestine and perillous storm. The Archbishop of *Braga* had in appearance adhered to the revolt; but conserved in his heart a most partial affection for *Castile*, retaining a confidence with *Olivares*, from whom he secretly received incitations and encouragements. He communicates his thoughts to *Lewis*, Marquess de *Villareal*, and found him no less inclined; whereupon animating one another, the Marquess draws into them by force as it were of persuasions and by authority, the Duke de *Camina*, and the Marquess d' *Armamar*, the first his Son, and the other his Nephew. They agreed to kill upon the third of *July*, the King, the Queen, and their Sons; to set the City on fire in several places, and, if it could be compassed, the Ships also in the Port, to the end that the people being in confusion, and distracted in several parts, and amazed, should not mind succouring the Kings Palace, nor to suppress the Conspirators. Hereupon the Archbishop, a man of a majestic authority, with a Crucifix in his hand, was to cry up and persuade obedience to *Castile*. Nor were Troops to be wanting, in a readiness on the Confines, to be brought into those places, where confusion opened the Gates, or the conjuncture required. Treachery and Secrecy being for the most part incompatible, every thing was revealed to King *John*, and he, seemingly hiding it, calls a Council,

An.Dom. 1641. Council, whereat the Conspirators were present, and being come into the innermost Rooms of the Palace, causes them to be arrested. The Archbishop was detained in Prison, the others with publick punishment expiated the offence.

The King with equal Art endeavoured to revenge himself of the *Castiglians*, tempting his Brother-in-law, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, to revolt with *Andaluzia*, where he had good Credit and a great Estate. Nor should his endeavours have wanted success; for great Esteem of the *Portugais* and the insinuations of *Richelieu*, the Duke had lent his ear, and promised safe shelter to the Fleet of the Marshal de *Brezé*, under the countenance whereof he was to declare himself; but that the news coming of the relief of *Terragona* and of the Siege raised, apprehending his own danger, he refused to receive the *French Fleet* into his Ports, and knowing, that *Olivares* had got knowledge of the Intelligence, to clear himself of it, he challenges the King of *Portugal* to fight with him, reproaching him with the title of Traitor and Infamous. He then not having appeared, as was well to be supposed, in the field, he sets upon his head a great sum of money. But King *Philip* being therewith not contented, the Duke was summoned to Court, and he, not finding in *Andaluzia* an alienation to the *Castiglians*, nor for himself the favour he had hoped, obeys with so much readiness, that he caused the first suspicions to vanish, or at least to be dissembled.

Whilst *Portugal* established it self, and the Armies were contending in *Catalogna*, *Richelieu* easily made himself believe, that the Affairs of *Italy* and *Flanders* would remain in prey to him; and in this push of Fortune every thing might have succeeded for him, if the course of his felicity had not been hindered in *France* it self by very considerable accidents, though quickly and happily suppressed. It hath been said elsewhere, that hatred against the Cardinal was with his prosperity increased, corrupt and discontented humours being now amassed to such a degree, that the vigour of the Government, Reputation and Force it self were found not sufficient to digest and purge them. It was doubted, that the Duke of *Vendosme* employed some to kill him. Whether it were true or false, the Cardinal being in reputation to know every thing, and pardon nothing, the Duke passes into *England*, where the Queen-Mother as yet resided, and thither repaired other dissatisfied and suspected persons. The Parliaments of the Kingdom were also exasperated, and particularly that of *Paris*; for that having shewed a will to oppose certain Edicts, it had been severely reproved by the King, with a command, that for the future it should not meddle in any thing that belonged to the Government.

The people then in general, as they are wont to be the first to cry up Favourites, so being also the readiest to execrate them, it cannot be said, how much they abhorred the Name and Authority of this Minister. The Wars obliged to vast expences, and the Kings Revenues being ill managed, it was found, that the grievance arose from the publick want; for money being wanting in the Treas-

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ury, there was a necessity to take it by force from the rich, and extort it with vexations from the poor. All seemed full of lamentations; but each one passed frequently under the accusation of a Spy, tears going not unpunished, and the very sighs admitting of reproach. Grief becoming at last too fierce could not be suppressed any longer with fear, and if talking and discourses were forbidden and punished; Writings and Pamphlets abounded, that filled all places with detractions and invectives. There was raised at last a great storm, and the body of it appeared assembled at *sedan*, declared by the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was Sovereign of it, the publick refuge of the Malecontents. He was not satisfied with the Court, and to his disgusts were quickly added those also of others. The chief were the Count of *Soissons* and the Duke of *Guise*, who framing to themselves a general Commotion of the Kingdom, oppressed by the Cardinal with all sorts of calamities, represented, His Ministry as the sad Center of the common miseries. He, Author of the War betwixt the Crowns, under a feigned lustre of prosperity, kept the mind of the King bewitched; in the mean while extorted Treasures, consumed the spirits and the blood of the Kingdom, and to preserve himself in this ambitious station, kept himself environed with Armies. They described in him Cruelty and Avarice with equal horror to have joyned hands to defend him from the threatenings which he incessantly feared. That nothing remained in *France* unviolated. That he had revenged himself of some of his Enemies with punishment; others, of the clearest innocence, were more secretly made away. That many had been forced to seek their safety by retiring into other Countries, and that the Cardinal had either usurped to himself, or distributed amongst his Kindred all their Charges, Goods, and spoils.

For these publick causes then, and to purge the Kingdom of a Monster so hateful, who had either offended every body, or did threaten all with ruine, they gave it to be believed they had taken Arms, protesting perfect obedience to the King. But other private motives, and perhaps more powerful, were not wanting. *Soissons* by reason of his generous and active Spirit was feared by the Cardinal, and therefore, to bind him in the strict bonds of confidence, he had tempted him to take one of his Nieces to Wife. But the Count publicly scorning the match, by reason of the inequality of birth, the Cardinal from his ambition falls into a hatred, and from hatred to meditate upon revenge, crossing all his pretensions with the King.

Guise gave the Court that suspicion which was inseparable from the House of *Lorain*, from whom he had taken away, with their Estates and Governments, all authority in *France*. He enjoyed the Archbishoprick of *Reims*, with other benefices of the Church; and the Cardinal, desirous to have the spoil of them, to impoverish him, assigns him a short day, to enter into holy Orders, knowing, that being in love with *Anna de Nevers*, Daughter of *Carlo* the deceased Duke of *Mantua*, he aspired rather to Marriage than the Priesthood: So that, not yielding obedience, he was deprived of the benefices

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benefices, and reduced to a very narrow condition, without permitting him to resign any one of them to his Brothers. To strengthen themselves with foreign Forces, the said Princes concluded a Treaty with *Micael de Salamanca*, who, in the name of the *Spaniards*, promised them a very great assistance of money and men, and that *Lamboy* with a good body of an Army should come immediately to join with them.

Carlo Duke of *Lorain* concurred in the same sense, though in the beginning of the year being gone to *Paris*, he had agreed to renounce the *Austrian* party, and adhere sincerely to *France*, by which a part of his Country was restored; *Clermont*, with *Stenay*, *Dun*, and *Jamets* remaining in propriety to the Crown, and *Nancy*, till a general Peace, in deposit. He, that had aimed at nothing but to recover some places out of the hands of the *French*, having obtained his purpose, retires from the Court, and presently begins to make *Leves*; yet making it believed, that he would join with the *Mareschal de Chastillon* for the service of King *Lewis*.

Thus the revolt of the malecontents was rendred considerable by stranger Forces, and perhaps by an internal disposition; it seeming to be without doubt, that, if the United Princes should have hapned in the first heat of some advantage to enter into the Kingdom, and should have advanced into the Provinces, there would have followed a general commotion of the Gentry, Parliaments, and People. Neither was it without some appearance, but that to the King himself the excess of pride and predominancy of the Favourite growing troublesome, some opportunity would have been acceptable to be rid of him and disgrace him. The Cardinal, sometimes opposing Counsel and sometimes Force, took care for provisions and for defence. He closes with the Prince of *Condé*, giving to his Son the Duke of *Anguien* one of his Nieces to Wife; for it highly concerned that Family to keep *Soissons* under, who had assumed the title of first Prince of the blood Royal; and sends *La Meilleray* with an Army to divert the *Spaniards* from lending succours to the *Mutineers*, and the *Mareschal de Chastillon* with another against the Princes united. The first, passing the new ditch, the known and ancient border betwixt *France* and *Artois*, mastering certain Forts which defended it, layed Siege to *Aire*, a place most important, secured not only by Nature with much moorish grounds round about it, but strengthened by Art with all sorts of Fortifications within and without. *Chastillon*, being come near to *Sedan*, met, on the sixth of *July*, *Lamboy* together with the Princes malecontents. The Kings Army was ranged in excellent order upon a certain rising ground, with great advantage, having the flanks covered with two little Woods. On the other side, that of the Princes, pressed for want of room by reason of the situation, was rather confused than well and orderly placed; but, not being able to avoid the shock, certain of *Chastillon's* Troops charged with so much resolution, that some of the divisions opening, and others retiring behind the Artillery, Fortune shewed the Royalists the way to a signal Victory. *Soissons* halting

halting to remedy this disorder of his, armed at all pieces, with the visier open, and with few that accompanied him, while he was mingled in the Fight being shot by a Souldier of the Company of *Orleans* with a Pistol in the Eye, fell backwards from his Horse on the ground, losing at the instant his speech and his life.

Whilst this ought to have confirmed to the Kings Army the advantage, it happens by a contrary accident, that the Cavalry took safely the flight, without being pursued by any, either because many abhorred the spilling of so much of their fellow-subjects blood, or that some were glad to celebrate the Funerals of those beginnings, under which they hoped to make War for private revenge upon the Cardinal. The issue was, that the Conquerours, stopped by themselves in the course of their prosperity, nay rather turning their backs to fortune, became conquered; for the Imperial Troops and those of the Princes over-running the Infantry, part were cut to pieces, and the rest with all the Cannon and Baggage brought Prisoners into *Sedan*. Almost all the Officers ran the same fate, either of death or being taken, *Chastillon*, with a few others, saving himself with difficulty.

Nevertheless, with a notable example of the indulgence of Fortune towards the Cardinal *Richelieu*, *Soissons* being dead, who was the soul or rather the fury of the male-contents, the fruits of the Battel redounded not to the benefit of the victorious, but to those that were defeated; for although *Lamboy* took in *Doncheri*, a little and a weak place, yet such and so long was the resistance, that it gave time to *Chastillon* to re-assemble in *Rhetel* the reliëts of his men together, with new recruits, and for the King to arrive with an Army so vigorous, that he not only recovered *Doncheri* at the first appearance of it, but threatening *Sedan* with a Siege, perswaded *Bouillon* to submit and make his Peace. The place is, for its situation, for works, and defences, truly numbred amongst the strongest; nevertheless the Duke, considering the head of that undertaking to be dead, the others weak and in a fright, *Spain* turmoiled in so many parts, and *Lamboy* constrained to repair to the relief of *Flanders*, endeavoured to find his safety in the Kings favour, whereupon he stipulates an accord, obtaining neutrality for the Town, pardon for himself and all the party, except the Duke of *Guise*, and the Baron *de Bech*. Some of the male-contents returned to their Houses, others would not at all trust themselves there, but dispersed into several Provinces, or went into those of *Flanders*, leaving to the Cardinal the merit or the fortune to have, though thus a loser, subdued the Rebellion, without intermitting in so many other parts the assisting his Friends and offending his Enemies.

The Siege of *Air* was in this interim carried on with great earnest, in such sort, that, besides infinite other factions, one and the same Half-moon was gained and lost several times. But remaining at last in the power of the *French* gave them means to press the Town more powerfully, gain the Ditch, and after mines and assaults, to fix a lodgment upon a Bastion. And now the place cap-

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An.Dom. 1641. tulated, the afflicting the County of *Boulloin*, and the Country thereabouts with great incursions, having not at all availed the *Spaniards* for the removing *Meilleray* from the Siege.

Ghenep was also rendred to *Orange* upon the same day that *Aire* was taken; but the *French* retained that Conquest but a very short space: For the Cardinal *Infante* joined with *Lamboy* straitned it so closely, that *Meilleray*, wanting victuals, was hardly able to withdraw himself, leaving the place unrepared and provided. Whereupon the *Spaniards* entering into the Trenches and Posts abandoned by the *French*; at the instance of the neighbouring Provinces, who, fearing the oppressions of the Enemy offered men and money, *Aire* was again besieged. *La Meilleray* having not been able to thrust in succours from *Terronane*, attaqued *la Bassen*, and the gaining of it proved an easie Conquest. *Lens* was likewise rendred to the *Mareschal de Brezé*, and *Baupaume* defended it self but nine days. *Flan-ders* besides was harried, and *Armentiers* threatned, *Fontenay*, who had the body of an Army, being not able to hinder it; because *Orange* on the other side gave jealousy to the *Sas of Ghent*, and made shew as if he would pass the Water-courses thereabout. But the *Spaniards* esteemed the recovery of *Aire* to be preferred before all they had lost, and at last took it about the end of the year.

But yet those Provinces enjoyed not an entire contentment, for the Cardinal *Infante* dies to the extream grief of the Souldiery and of the People. He at his entry into those Countries had gained a great applause; because, laying aside that loftiness and gravity which seems contracted by the Princes in the Court of *Spain*, he had to the excellent prerogatives of piety and virtue added courtesie and affability, to the *Flemmings* most especially acceptable. Nor failed they at *Madrid* to conceive jealousy at it, the Governments far distant being always suspected, especially when administred by Princes of the blood Royal, and supported by Arms; knowing withall, that the *French* had oftentimes, by offering him to Wife the Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans*, tempted him to make himself Master of those Countries, assuring him of all their own Forces, and those of *Holland*. The *French* in this conjuncture conceived certain hopes of a revolt in the Provinces, and the King comes with the Cardinal to the Frontiers; but they remained quiet, and suffering rather than contented with their new Governour, that was *Francisco de Melo*.

In *Germany* a Diet was this year held at *Ratisbone*, called by the Emperour, to the end to break another more jealous assembly, which the Princes of the Empire had a mind to have at *Frankesfort*; but the Emperour found himself there in great danger: For *Banier* with a speedy march being come from *Erfsordt* near to *Ratisbone*, the *Danube* being frozen, began to cause his men to pass over it, environing that City, with great hopes to take the Emperour Prisoner, or at least besiege him, and dissipate the Diet. The defence being disposed in much haste and disorder, the River by special favour from

Heaven

An.Dom. 1641. Heaven was in a short space so thawed, that *Banier* being obliged to halt on the other side, those which had passed were beaten and made Prisoners. *Banier* moves thence, and going to *Cham* had the good luck to take it. *Piccolomini* having belet *Schlang*, *Felt Marshal*, and given time to the Arch-Duke to come up with the Body, to receive the honour of the action, obliges him to render himself, together with four thousand Horse, all Prisoners. The *Swedes*, in this manner weakened, were forced to retreat, pressed by the Arch-Duke; and, to say truth, *Banier* made his most excellent conduct appear, in that being inferiour in Forces, and retreating with the Enemy always in sight, and in passing the River *Egra*, he received not the least disadvantage; but being come to *Halversstadt*, surpris'd with a great sickness he there dies. The *Swedes* were every where pressed and pursued by the Imperialists, when the Count of *Guebrian*, who had succeeded *Longueville* in the command of the *Weimarians*, moving that Army, brought them a seasonable relief. The strong place of *Wolfenbutel* in the Dukedom of *Luneburg* was now straitly besieged by the Protestants, and *Piccolomini*, being come near to attempt the relief of it, was repulsed with a very considerable blow. Nevertheless strong resistance being still made, the aggressors were forced to retire. On the other side, *Dorsten* in *Westphalia* fell into the hands of *Hatzfeldt*.

All these successes served rather to protract the War, than to end it; though it appeared, that the Negotiations for the Peace were something more than formerly facilitated; for that the Emperour at last consented, to the satisfaction of the confederate Crowns, the safe conducts for the Princes of the Empire, and, at the interposition of the King of *Denmark*, was in *Hamburg*, by *Lutzau d' Ava*, and *Salvins*, Ministers of the Emperour, *France*, and the *Swedes*, a Treaty concluded, which was called, of the *Preliminaries*, by which the Assembly, which formerly was to have been held in *Colon*, being transported to *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, Cities which were left Neutral and without Garrison, it was agreed that in the former should be transacted all that which belonged to the *Austrians*, *France*, and *Holland*, and in the latter the interest of *Sweden* and its Confederates with the Emperour and his Adherents. But when things were thought in a readiness to give a beginning to the managements of the Peace, other difficulties arose; and the Emperour thought to clear them by publishing in *Ratisbone* an Amnesty, or general Oblivion, or Pardon of things past, but he rather increased them; for by excluding the cause of the *Palatine*, by remitting it to a particular Treaty, many declared themselves not satisfied.

Amidst these universal agitations, the Republick of *Venice* restored to quiet, felt only some little disturbance for private contests betwixt Borderers in *Dalmatia*, occasioned by the exceeding ill will of *Ali Bei* and *Durat* his Son, who bore the sway in the *Orana*. Although the beginning brought some trouble, the *Turk* entering with armed men into the Territory of *Zara* to the ruine of the Campaigna, yet it was quickly quieted, the Port sending upon the com-

plaints

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plaints of *Girolamo Trivisano*, Bailo, a *Chiaux* into those parts to re-establish the Peace. It happened, that he coming near the Frontiers, those of *Verpoglie*, Subjects to the *Venetians*, to repair some damages they had suffered, committed in the *Turkish* Country far greater mischief. The Ministers thereupon offended, would have revenged it upon the Territory of *Sebenico* with Arms; but *Giovanni Baptista Grimani*, General of the Province, with his dexterity, whilst *Luigi Malipiero*, that commanded the Cavalry, was ready to succour the places most threatened, perswaded them to a composition, confirming the friendship by the restoring of Commerce, and the *Turks* demolishing a certain new Fortification raised at *Verveco*. The Port heard willingly the news of quiet; for having settled a Peace with the *Persian* upon the former conditions, the *Turkish* Arms were employed in the gaining of *Asack*, a most strong place, upon the *Palus Maotis*, kept by those *Cossacks*, who under the protection of *Moscow* committed in the Black Sea most cruel mischiefs, even within the sight of the *Seraglio*.

The *Venetians* therefore freed also from that care, stood immovable betwixt the instances, which, with offers of great advantages, both the Crowns pressed them with, each to draw them to their own party. The *French* represented that plant fading, which not long since overshadowed *Italy* and *Europe*, and invited them to reap together with the other *Italian* Princes the rich spoils; the King willingly yielding to them the hopes and the fruits of so noble Conquests. On the other side was shewed by the *Spanish* Ministers the dangers of the *Milanese*, and offered to consideration, whether, that serving as a Barricado and Intrenchment to hinder the Inundations of the *French* into the bowels of *Italy*, it ought not to be supported and defended by united Forces. The Republick, on whom the desire of quiet was more incumbent than that which might spur on the opportunity of Conquests, answered to the one and to the other with equal expressions of respect and confidence. To say truth, affairs in the *Milanese* passed with great confusion; for that in the beginning of the year, Prince *Thomaso* having recanted his Treaty with *France*, the King of *Spain* at his instance had removed *Leganes*, and substituted in the Government the Count de *Sirvela*, the Government and the Power becoming thereby much weakened, both because of his weaker capacity, and that the Power of the Monarchy, distracted into so many parts, was not able to assist *Italy* with a vigour equal to the necessity.

On this account *Turenne*, though with but indifferent Forces, easily regains *Moncalvo*, and out of complacency to *Mazarine*, who counted himself greatly injured by Prince *Thomaso* for the delusion of the Treaties, *Inurca* was besieged at the time that the Prince himself was at *Milan* to make some agreements with the Governour, and to demand assistance. The defence nevertheless was bravely maintained by *Silvio di Savooy*, natural Brother to the Prince, and by *Vercellino Maria Visconti*, *Maestro di Campo*, of *Milan*, who in the night by stealth got themselves into it. *Harcourt* howsoever he approved not the

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the undertaking, seeing *Turenne* engaged, came to the Camp, and endeavoured by a general assault to have put an end to it; but that being withstood and repulsed with loss to the Aggressors, he saw a while after, through the negligence of his Sentinels, the Baron di *Prel* with four hundred Souldiers to enter into it. For all this he retires not; but Prince *Thomaso*, who losing the place, remained without a place of retreat at the discretion of the *Spaniards*, solicited the Governour of *Milan*, that he would attacke the *French* Trenches. *Sirvela* on the other side refusing to hazard all at one sole blow, assented rather for a diversion to attacke *Chivas*, where a surprise by *Scalade* not succeeding, the Siege was laid. To relieve it the *French* retired from *Inurca*, and the *Spaniards* having gained their design stayed no longer before *Chivas*. *Harcourt* proposing to himself more important designs, to force the Prince Cardinal, to open to himself the communication with the Sea, and to enlarge his Quarters, possessed without much ado *Ceva*, *Mondovi*, and other places thereabout; laying Siege at last to *Cuneo*, a place, which for the fortifications and the situation upon the folds of a Mountain, carried the boast never to have been taken by force. But after many Factions and hard Encounters the Lieutenant Colonel *Cataneo*, that commanded in it, upon the 12. of September renders it, successles having proved the utmost endeavours of Prince *Thomaso* and of *Servela* to send in succours or attempt diversions. The loss of *Cuneo* troubled the Princes of *Savooy*, and no less the *Spaniards*; but these were touched at the success of *Monaco* more than with ought else.

That Town stands upon an eminence, which thrusts forth a promontory into the Sea, and covers a Shore rather than a Port, where the River of *Genova* terminates upon the Confines of the County of *Nizza*. It gives name to a little Principality, formerly for a long time possessed by the Family of *Grimaldi*. Till one thousand six hundred and five the *Spaniards*, allured by the convenience of the situation, brought into it a strong Garrison, by the consent, for his private advantages, of the Prince di *Val di Taro*, Uncle and Tutor of *Honorato*, Prince of *Monaco*, then a Minor. There resided a Governour for the Crown, who exercised very often, besides his Command, over-much licence; besides that, the pay for the Garrison being delayed to be sent from *Milan* by reason of the present occupations, the Prince was forced, to exempt himself from the insolence of the Souldiers, to disburse it out of his own money. His house also was the common Inn for all those that passed out of *Italy* into *Spain*, so that he found himself exhausted and oppressed on all sides, drawing very little from certain Lands in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and nothing at all from the Pensions assigned him in recompence of the Garrison received. Willing therefore to shake off the yoke, he sets on foot in great secrecy practices with the *French*, without having been able for several years to compass his intention, the *French* sometimes being not in readiness, and at others the Garrison strong, and the Governour vigilant. At last *Monsignor Grimaldi* passing that way, sent by the Pope to the Nuntiature of *France*, it was taken for granted,

granted, that the Prince, as to a Kinsman, opened his thoughts to him, and that he managed the business with *Richelieu*.

The Cardinal of *Savoy* having conceived no slight jealousy of it, gives notice of it to *Sirvels*; but he not making any matter of it, only warns the Governour to be upon his Guard, and he answers with great boasting, offering, when he should be commanded, to bring the Prince Prisoner to *Milan*. A while after, to supply the necessity of the Cardinal of *Savoy*, part of the Garrison of *Monaco* was sent to his relief; and more to weaken the rest, the Prince took occasion of the refusal of *Roccabruna*, a place of his, to disburse certain money, which was just to serve for the payment of the Souldiers, and persuaded the Governour to send sixty more to quarter there for a chastisement. Invited by this occasion, he causes to be brought to him by night certain of his Subjects, who for several offences he kept imprisoned; and while the Governour and other Officers slept more soundly from the Jolity and the Wine of a Supper, in which the Prince had nobly entertained them, communicates to them the desire and intention to rid himself of the *Spaniards*, now but few in number, and at present sleeping in great security, provided they would be assisting to deliver him from that oppression under which for so many years he had innocently groaned. All, for the liberty which he promised them, consenting to the common safety, shaking off their Fetters, armed themselves, and the Prince with those of the Court, putting himself at the head of one Troop, and his Son at that of the other, they set forward to assault in several parts the Garrison, who expecting nothing else, were disarmed without defence, and after the death of some, the rest made Prisoners. The Prince advertises presently to the Count *d'Ales*, Governour of *Provenza*, who having in a readiness a relief of Provisions and Souldiers, sent it without delay by Sea. The Prince then sends back to *Sirvels* the Souldiers that were Prisoners and the Order of the Fleece, because he had secretly consented to receive from King *Lodowick* that of the Holy Ghost, to keep in *Monaco* a Garrison of *French*, and in recompence of that which he should lose in *Naples* and elsewhere, to enjoy in Fief the Dutchy of *Valence* in *Dauphiné* with advantages and pensions for himself and his Son.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICK OF VENICE.

THE TWELFTH BOOK.

AS an Appendix to so many others which tore Christendom in pieces, served the War newly started up in *Italy*, if not great for the occasions, for the effects and for the exploits, famous at least for the contention of minds, curious for the variety of interests, and important for the quality of the managements. The original was ascribed to certain disgusts of the *Barbarins*, Nephews of *Urban*, against *Edward* Prince of *Parma*; and they came to be fomented from grudgings already conceived by several Potentates against the Pope and his House; for the Pontificate being governed in these last times by his Nephews with an absolute command (*Urban* being under the burden of his years weakened in his vigour and authority,) it seemed, that with various injuries to the Princes, they abused their power and fortune with an excess of license. He that had most of the Popes affection and favour, was the Cardinal *Francisco*, deep in his designs, often irresolute, always a friend to his own Counsels, easie to suspect, and tenacious in what he affected. On the other side, the Duke *Edward* was of high and active spirits, sensible of every displeasure, prone to resentments, otherwise dignified with the Arts Military and Civil Sciences to such a degree, that nothing wanted to rank him amongst the most commendable and greatest Princes, but that fortune had either given him an Empire and power equal to his mind, or Prudence equalled his mind to his fortune and power.

In

An. Dom. 1641. In the forementioned War, undertaken by the Duke against *Spain*, with boldness more than needed, some seeds of discontent had already been scattered betwixt him and the *Barbarins*; either because it seemed to the Duke, that the Pope had with coldness interposed to divert the dangers or rather imminent ruine of his Countries; or that he had discovered from the propositions, which the Nephews had caused to be brought to him in that conjuncture, to sell and alienate certain of his Lands for their advantage, that the aim of that Family tended more to their private conveniency than to the interest of State. *Edward* afterwards going to *Rome* in the year one thousand six hundred thirty nine, disgusto brake forth more openly; for not being treated with those Ceremonies, which he affirmed were first promised him, nor the Prince *Francisco Maria* his Brother promoted to the Cardinalat, in the pursuit whereof, with great hopes to effect it, the Duke notwithstanding affirmed to have been engaged by the *Barbarins*, he only obtained of *Urban* power to lessen the Revenue of the *Monti*, with a half *per Cent*; upon the advance whereof, grounding a new increase of the Capital, all he got was to go thence with a not contemptible sum of money. That is called at *Rome* *mony de Monti*, which in *Venice* is called *di Zecca*, deposited by private persons, on the condition of an annual Rent, which by the *Farnese* had been assigned upon the Revenues of *Castro*, a Dukedom they held in Fief of the Church, and which, by the vicinity to *Rome*, serving them for convenience and honours, gave notwithstanding no jealousy to the Popes, it having no places of strength in it. The *Barbarins* secretly tempted, as in recompense of the favour obtained, the mind of *Edward*, to cede to them certain places of that State, contiguous to their Lands; but the motion being rejected, favours were changed into unkindness: Whereupon, though the Pope did not recall the grant, it was yet crossed by the Nephews, and with sundry delays and difficulties prolonged and diminished.

The Duke, hereat irritated, hastens his departure from *Rome*, and vented his discontents, publishing them to the Courts by not visiting the *Barbarins* nor the Pope, by inveighing against the Cardinal *Francisco* and his Government so highly, that *Urban* was moved at it even to fears; but they were quickly converted into wrath, and sharp resentments. For the Duke, enjoying by concession of the Popes, the draught of Corn out of his Country, *Urban* on a sudden forbids it, and in that consisting the best Revenues of *Castro*, the exportation failing, the *Siri*, Merchants, to whom the Duke had farmed it for ninety 7000 Crowns *per an.* renounce the agreement; whereupon, that sum being not able to be raised, which sufficed to pay the *Montists*, they had recourse to the Courts of Justice, and obtained, that the Duke should be juridically cited. He imputes all to the *Barbarins*, as if they designed to despoil him of that Country, and seeing the person of the Judge not separate from that of his Enemies; he believed he should be overborn; and therefore not regarding the way of Judicature, he resolves to fortifie himself

himself against force not only with right but Arms also, sending *An. Dom.* *Delfino Angelieri*, a Gentleman of *Monferrat*, Governour, with a 1641. Garrison to *Castro*, and causing half-moons and Redouts to be cast up about the place. This being judged by the *Barberins* a crime, as if he would resist his Sovereign, a Monitory was published by the Auditor of the Chamber, in which limiting to the Duke thirty days, to demolish the Fortifications of *Castro* and disband the Garrison; it otherwise declared him to have incurred Rebellion and Excommunication: The Thunder whereof was now foreseen to be near at hand; for the *Barberins* raising Souldiers in all haste, six thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, with some Cannon joined at *Viterbo*, under the Prefect, as Generalissimo, and the Marquess *Luigi Mathei* Master de Camp General, with other Chiefs, and great provisions. This sudden arming awakened attention in the Princes, and various discourses amongst the people; for in the Pope, who, while he was yet not so old, had with so much care cultivated Peace, they were obliged to believe great thoughts and strange designs, if in the extremity of his years he should resolve to disturb it, and so much the more in a Conjuncture, that Christendom mangled and languishing required from his fatherly care quiet and restoration, and *Italy*, exposed as a prey to Strangers, gasped after remedy and safety from the concord of its Princes. All was imputed to the Nephews, and their intentions were accused, as either bent to secure themselves of the Duke, by depriving him of his Estate near them; or extended, as was rather believed, to more vast objects.

The Viceroy of *Naples* shewed himself above all jealous at it, because he knew, that to the contrivances of the *French* upon that Kingdom the *Barberins* had lent their ear, and perhaps their help in concert with some of the Barons. *Ferdinand* also, the Grand Duke, was no less displeased to see the Pope armed upon his Confines, and in design of making new Conquests, having, besides his own and common considerations not to suffer him to increase in power, found the will of the *Barberins*, originary of his Country, so averse from giving him satisfaction, as, in whatsoever business he had with them, to obtain nothing but prejudices or disgusto. Nor did differing thoughts reside in the minds of others; every one shewing himself at a stand at this novelty, and some covering with the appearing jealousy of War the hope of advantages, if any disturbance should be promoted. The Viceroy, above all afflicting himself, because this new suspicion on the Confines kept him from sending into *Spain* and *Milan* the succours demanded and necessary, became more earnest in his Mediation, requiring from the Pope, that the proceeding against *Edward* might be only in an equal and judicial way.

The Grand Duke also interposes his offices to the same effect; and believing, that *Parma* also stood in need to have the heat of his Spirits moderated, dispatches the Marquess *Guicciardini* to persuade the Duke to mitigate his passion, and give way to a Treaty; and to induce him to it, in a manner by force had denied the passage of Souldiers, which *Edward* was sending to *Castro*, and prohibited some

Provisions, which for the better providing of the place, were to be drawn out of *Tuscany*. The Pope, with opposite and concise replies, without other expressions, but a resolution to maintain inviolated the Decorum of humbling his Vassal, and make himself be obeyed, gave no place for a Treaty.

At this time the Republick had no other Minister at *Rome* but *Girolamo Bon*, a Secretary; the Ambassador Extraordinary, the causes ceasing which induced to send him, having been recalled, and for an ordinary no care was taken to send one, until the *Elegium* should come to be restored. The Nuntio was seldom admitted into the Colledge to Audience, and he comprehending of what importance the Declaration of the Senate in the present affairs would be, not being able to suppose it favourable to the *Barberins*, endeavoured to keep their minds either diverted or in a slumber; sometimes with artifice, considering the evils imminent upon *Italy* from foreign Armies; and at others scoffing with derision at the affair of *Castro*, as a thing of a slight importance. At last when provisions increased, and Forces assembled, and that towards the *Tolagnese*, he assured that all was in order to Peace, and to suppress a certain capricious attempt of the Duke of *Parma*, though the Pope should possibly be obliged to send some few Souldiers to *Melara* on this side the *Po*, and on the Borders of the Republick. But the Count *Ferdinando Scotti*, who, though under pay of the Republick, served in this occasion the Duke of *Parma*, whose Vassal by birth he was, with opposite offices represented in the present affairs the causes of the hatreds and the intentions of the *Barberins* much differing. He alledged the Right of the Duke, aggravated the violence which was done him, and together with the ill example, the prejudices which would redound from it to all the Princes. He demanded of the Senate counsel, the better to govern himself in the business, and assistance to resist the force. He communicates the intention of the Duke, if *Castro* were assaulted, to go himself to its relief, whilst that place being maintained, the *Barberins* being humbled would without doubt incline to Peace; but if he should yield, they by the felicity of it being rendered more lofty, the heat of the War might be transported into *Lombardy*, and draw, to take part, the Arms of the Crowns, greedy above measure to interest the *Italians* in their differences. He expressed the intentions of the Duke as much inclined to a just accord, as resolved, notwithstanding any hazard or engagement, to maintain his affairs and his right.

The Senate, in so weighty an emergency, could not but stand perplexed concerning the manner how to govern it self, being equally displeased at the causes of new stirrs in *Italy*, and the effects of the attempts of the *Barberins*. Whereupon opinions differing, the Senate being assembled, *Giovanni Pisari*, Cavalier and Procurator, endeavors to persuade, that the Duke might be received into the protection of the Republick; haranguing to this purpose: From the prudent and generous Customs of our Ancestors, to succour the weak, and assist the oppressed, practised so many times by our selves with glory and advantage,

the

the Duke of *Parma* hath taken a rational confidence to have recourse to the Patronage of our Republick. The cause may seem remote to some, and perhaps the interest not great; but the *Barbarins* passing from private Contests to a War, from *Alti* judiciary to Arms, the example is certainly of consequence to all, and the danger of it near at hand. This Senate hath voluntarily espoused the glory of being the Guardian of the Liberty of *Italy*, and the Protector of Princes oppressed. But in what cause can it employ it self more justly than in that, in which if on the one side passion contends with interest, on the other right appears destitute of power? That a Pope almost fourscore years of age, arms, is a great consideration. But that his Nephews manage the Treasuries, and the Armies resolve upon Invasions, and trample upon Princes, is very much done. Certainly the blow tends not only where it aims; but if all be threatened, 'tis reason that all should interest themselves in resisting. Ambition hath its Center, but limits not the Circumference. It covets and swallows all, and dilates it self there where it seems to seek a boundary. *Castro* is concerned at present. But why so great preparations for a weak place, ill provided, without other reputation, but that which the fame of the present affairs gives it? That place taken, they will go forward; *Parma* and *Piacenza* shall not go free, and Duke *Edward* vanquished, what seems not easy to the fast and avarice of the *Barberins*? Who then will be so bold to call a great Undertaking a small Business? A flame which will be increased by it self with the fuel of so many designs and interests? The Spaniards, always cautious, fear for the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Grand Duke, a most prudent Prince, apprehends for *Tuscany*. Others observe with terror the example; for if he that offends will also revenge himself, who is not offended by the *Barberins*? The Princes have several times born without resentment their contempts; if they permit at present also a profitable violence, to what height will their attempts grow? Who knows but that the Nephews of *Urban*, knowing they have offended many, design not to fortify themselves before-hand against all; or that in the decaying age of the Uncle, perceiving their Dominion to be staggering, design not to maintain with Arms, if not in their own persons, an hereditary Command, at least a continual Pontificat in those depending on them in their Maxims and in their Interests. I invite not the Senate to resentments, nor call to remembrance the injuries, the disgusts, and the spitefulness, I would say, past, if the memory of their attempts against our Dignity and the Piety of our worthy Ancestors were not yet, even by the defacing of the Marble, conspicuous at present. I rather exhort with a generous setting at naught of our own concerns to contribute, to the good of *Christendom*, that much which may be pretended. But that we should permit the oppression of the Duke of *Parma*, and suffer a fire, which will not only burn *Italy*, but transport its flames into all the Catholic Provinces, will stir up the Protestants, and inflame the *Barbarians*, is not my advice; and if the *Barberins*, in a short and casual command, neglect the consequences of so great evils, they ought not to be omitted by the Princes, to whom with the perpetuity of Dominion it is recommended by God the safety of the people, and the care of the world. This cannot be better effected, than by opposing the beginnings, main-

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taining Castro, and assisting the Duke of Parma, that he may be able to succour and defend it; if otherwise it be lost, and that with this blow of sword and Fire there be added a new plague to the so many Linguishings of Italy, and Arms come to be employed, the War will be so long, and accidents will happen so unforeseen, that the most averse will be constrained to take part in it. If by shewing a force only we may gain Peace, why shall we let Hostility run on with so much slaughter and such spreading calamities, that our Posterity perhaps will have cause for many Ages to deplore the memory and Authors of them. I firmly believe, that it is sufficient to declare our selves, and give them to understand that these Novelties, Violences, and Invasions are not to be endured. The Barberins will hearken to Conditions, when they see their Arms not likely to have success; and with the Equilibrium of the Princes, and to the honour of whom shall have been the Author of it, a Peace will be concluded, confirming thereby the greatest benefit, which our Republick can possibly do to Italy, to Christendom, and to the Church it self.

Although some inclined to this course, nevertheless it seemed to the major part not yet seasonable to resolve. Whereupon Vincenzo Giussoni, Cavalier, spake; War being the ultimate Decree of the power and of the right and reason of Princes, it is fit to enter into it with a slow pace, and if the Barberins do therein precipitate themselves, it belongs to us to oppose discretion to impatience, and with prudence to bribe passions. I confess, that to the Popes Nephews moderation would be due commendation and duty; but withal the Duke of Parma hath no need of spurs; a fiery Prince, who provoked by himself runs to resentments. The wisdom therefore of the Senate, for the asswaging of Spirits and humours, ought to the one, to use effectual remonstrances, and to the other, moderation of counsels. It is no time at present to add an increase of evils to this afflicted Country. It languishes but too much by the War, which, though it rage in the extreme parts, yet attracts the blood, the money, the minds, and apprehensions of all. But if in that part which remains untouched by the fire, we shall cut the veins and the sinews, what will follow of it else but an extreme languishment, and in conclusion an unhappy falling under the designs of Strangers and the desires of the Barbarians? Italy cannot make War with the alone Forces of the Italians. Both the Crowns will greedily come in, and confounding ours with their own interests, we shall relegate the hopes of Peace to those Assemblies, where not to end them, the Treaties cannot yet find a beginning. The invitations, the promises of two most powerful Kings, the Conjunction of the Times, the hopes of great advantages, have not hitherto been able to remove us out of our Neutrality; therefore moderating counsels with justice and prudence, we have let the World know, that there is no cause here, that without cause can persuade us to a War. And shall we now by another way, and that by compulsion, enter into the Labyrinth of the common discords, and shall we therein be guided by casualties, accidents, and the will of others? Who knows not, but when the Barberins shall believe themselves not able to compass their designs, they will shelter themselves under the countenance of a greater Power, and

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being to strive invited by both the Crowns; it will be at their choice to declare for that which shall prove most advantageous, or appear most successful? So the weaker joining it self to the one, the other in opposition will necessarily intrude it self, or be called in. Shall we then see the Mediators of the common Peace, of Christendom full' soul among themselves, with need of Interposers, or rather of assistance? Shall the Pope appear environed with armed men? And will the Senate of Venice be willing to contradict themselves in that boast, to have always employed their sword against the Enemies of the Church? My opinion is, that following the most peaceable Counsels, such emergencies cannot spring up, as may dispute peace with violence; but I rather foresee the case very easy: For if the Nephews of the Pope shall be willing to alter and disturb the affairs of Italy, and with the Arms of the Princes vent their private revenges, I know well, that it will be of necessity to oppose them; and not to suffer the injustice and the example. But if the end, which is tranquillity, may be obtained by peaceable means; if the Spaniards; if the Grand Duke, if all else, according to their interest or vicinity, use only the way of mediation, why shall the Senate be the first to carry a brand to the fire, and not rather with reasons, intreaties, and offices, do their endeavour to settle a Peace, or at least in all events to justify a War.

It was resolved with full Votes for this Opinion, and by the Nuncio's, being called into the Colledge, and in Room by the mouth of the Secretary, the Pope was effectually intreated to yield to the instances and common satisfaction of the Princes, who with unanimous desires interposed themselves for the Peace, by giving time and expedients for a Treaty. To the Duke's, forbearing in their answers any mention of assistance, they gave counsel of moderation, insinuating the respect with some sort of humiliation, which might be of avail to pacifie the Pope, and bring him honourably off the engagement. But whilst Courriers flew to and fro with offices of Peace, the Barberins, (not to let themselves be overcome by the common consent of the Princes) halted their march all they could; with a firm opinion, that having possessed, as it was not difficult, Castro, either the fervour of the Mediators minds would be slackned; or the Treaty be protracted with such intricacies, that the Duke's heat being abated, and the endeavours of the Mediators, by many accidents that might happen, growing faint, the Glory of the Counsels, and the Merit of the Enterprise would fall out to their advantage.

A great part of this resolution and of others which were taken upon it, was imputed to the Nuncio's, who, persuaded by false suppositions, and the discourses of the vulgar, that the Venetians, besides the making of a shew, and doing good offices, were inclined to interell themselves in the Affairs of Italy, possessed the Councils of Rome with a conceit, that they might safely make use of, and carry yet further. Another Bull then was issued, in which the time subscribed to Edward was prolonged for fifteen days. And at the same time the Marquis Mathias, on the 27. day of September, drew

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1641. drew the Army out of its Quarters, and entering into the Territory of *Castro*, presents himself before the *Rocca Montalto*, which is towards the Sea, and found it abandoned by fifty Souldiers, who had the Guard of it. Forty others at the Bridge of the Abby courageously stood the fight of them, about a Cannon shot off, but they also at last retired into *Castro*.

There is a rocky Mountain, which for several miles environs the Ecclesiastical State on that side, interrupted by certain ways, cut out by hand with great labour. Where it descends towards the Sea, it terminates in a Plain, and forms as it were a Cliff of a soft moulding Stone, upon which *Castro* stands. There is but one way which serves to ascend to it, which the Duke had caused to be fortified with some little Forts. The Ecclesiastical Army appearing, they quickly yielded; whereupon *Matthei* planting Cannon against the Town, and flinging certain Bomboes into it, persuades the Inhabitants through fear to solicit the Governour to deliver it, without expecting the succours, which by permission of the Grand Duke, the Count *Palmia* was bringing through *Tuscany*. Upon conditions of Life, Liberty, and enjoyment of Goods to the Souldiers and Inhabitants, the Garrison, two hundred and fifty in number, marched out the seventh day of the Siege. *Angelieri*, though he endeavoured to clear himself, accusing the baseness of the people and the Peasants, who being retired into the Town, preferring safety before fidelity and honour, had persuaded him by force to render, the Duke caused him to be arrested, grievously vexed at the news of the Surrender, which came to him, at the instant, that he in person was intended to go towards those parts.

The *Barberins* triumphed as much at so speedy a Conquest, and that sort of people abounding in *Rome*, which have no other revenue but flattery, exalted with many discourses and applauses the order, the conduct, the whole enterprise, and calling to remembrance, that by that way the Duke of *Bourbon* had formerly led his Army to the Siege and Sack of *Rome*, the Pontificate of *Urban* and the direction of his Nephews was celebrated with great Encomiums; for that, by the re-union of *Urbino*, that Flank being secured, the taking of *Castro* did invincibly cover the other side of the Ecclesiastical State. The *Barberins* also enjoyed equally publick glory and private advantages, having secured their Estate and Towns from the fury and invasions of the Duke, and foreseeing, that if ever he should recover that State, his neighbourhood would be so much the more troublesome to them, as the injuries were more provoking, they resolved never to render that they had taken, but to resist with Art and with Arms, who should interpose offices, or employ force, taking it for granted, that neither the Duke would have the vigour to act of himself, nor would others in the present Conjunctions, by giving him assistance, make themselves Enemies to the Pope. *Edward*, to keep himself from those prejudices, which in the way of Judicature, the Acts that had past might bring upon him, had caused to be presented to the Auditor della Camera, a protest, in which

he declared the *Barberins* for his Enemies, but gave them to understand, that he had no other Judge left him but force, nor did hope for favour but from his friends. He renews therefore considerations and instances with the *Venetians*, and to set a gloss upon them, offers all just humiliation to the Pope, that so he might know how to encounter his good Graces. Shewing also his doubt of being attacked in his Dominions of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, he besought of the Senate a thousand Foot and a hundred thousand Crowns to garrison and provide the Towns: The Republick persisting as yet in the way of Treaty, had a mind to renew their offices at *Rome*, to the end that those judiciary Acts, being intermitted and suspended, which put one side into engagements, and the other into dissatisfactions, the Dukes humiliations might be admitted, and a way made for Treaty, for which they were not averse to dispatch an Extraordinary Ambassadour to the Pope.

Hereupon was variety of opinions amongst the *Barberins*; for some approved to engage the Republick in the mediation, so to keep it off from declaring and giving assistance to the Duke; others aiming to keep off a Treaty with delusions, considered, that the Republick was that Prince that was least capable to be deceived, most prone to resentments, and the most powerful amongst those of *Italy*; so that it would be better to exclude them out of the Mediations because overlooking the occasion of engaging and interesting themselves in the offices of assistance to the Duke, they believed it would rather continue watching upon the general occurrences of *Europe*, and on the successes of *Piedmont* and *Monferrat*, than apply it self to a particular interest of small importance to *Italy*, and of no import to it self. The Pope therefore seemed to hear with trouble the offices brought to him by order of the Senate; and rather making light of them, not without scorn, refuses to stop the course of Law, and admit Mediators betwixt Sovereign and Vassal, of whom he intended to requite humiliations, persisting to have him come in person to render him the respect was due to him. Nor had the *Barberins* greater apprehensions of the other Princes, observing, that the Ministers of *Spain*, though fluctuant amidst most weighty jealousies, proceeded nevertheless with great moderation, and the Ambassador of *France*, notwithstanding the protection, which his King shewed to have Prince *Edward* in, proceeded with coolness and reserve, both the Crowns agreeing in the maxims and the interests, rather to gain than make themselves Enemies with the Pope, and his House.

Moreover the Grand Duke and the other *Italian* Princes, the Pope being armed, seemed rather in suspicion to receive disturbance, than capable to give it, and so much the more, by how much the *Barberins* amused them in Treaty with greater gentleness, discoursing in particular of several expedients with the Marquess *Montecucoli*, sent to *Rome* by the Duke of *Modena*; and those consisted in depositing *Castro* in hand of the Cardinal *d'Este*, Brother of the Duke of the same name, for so long till that the purchase of *Fontre-*

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Ar. Dom. *7641.* *moti* being concluded by the *Barberins*, which, for want of money, the *Spaniards* were treating to sell, this might be assigned to *Edward*, and that remain to the Church; or that the *Camera*, undertaking the obligation to pay the *Montisti*, should recompense the *Farnes* with other Piefs in lieu of *Castro*. It was also proposed, that, to secure present suspicions, an Ecclesiastical Garrison should remain in that place for some years, and then, jealousies being removed, every thing to return freely to their first owners. Yet the Cardinal *Barbarin* not long after declares himself, that any expedient would hardly be admitted, which required the restitution of *Castro* and *Montalla*; but as to the more open Country, seems to think, that to render that, the Pope would not be found much against it. There was great difficulty in all, the parties agreeing in one point only, to make use of equal art to gain the advantage of time, and protract with delusions the Treaty; the *Barberins* on the one side proposing conditions to consume the Duke, and weary the Mediators, and the Duke on the other giving them the hearing, though resolved to grant nothing, the better to arm himself, make himself Friends, and well impress his rights and interests in all the Courts.

But the Duke of *Modena* quickly comprehending to what end the Treaty tended, recalls his Minister from *Rome*, and the great Duke shewed himself weary, having not been able to obtain of *Urban* any limitation of time, and retardment of the sentence, nor of the Duke, that, in token of obedience, he would send his eldest Son to *Rome*, he resolutely refusing to put the Successor of his Country into the hands of his Enemies. The *Venetians* kept themselves silent; but the *Barberins* interpreting it, as in effect it was, rather an argument of discontent than a token of satisfaction in the answers received, repenting the harshness of them, commanded the Nuntio, that he should piece up the Treaty again. He with the wonted forms shewed, *By the gaining of Castro, the War ended, the Popes honour satisfied, the Law of Justice fulfilled, provided the Duke would remain quiet. The Army afterwards by the assistance of the Prefect, being remarkably increased at Ferrara and Bologna, and Forts on this side the Po raised at Figarolo, and Melara with strong Guards, the Nuntio represented it, as a necessary caution and bridle to the Dukes transports, who turbulent and fierce armed as if he would headily contend with the Pope about power, and dispute right with his sovereign.*

This served not at all to mitigate jealousies and disgusts; for the fortifying on the Banks of the *Po* was not only against ancient Covenantants with those of *Ferrara*, but might prove of extream prejudice to the *Polesine*, a Country betwixt the *Adica* and the *Po*, subject to the overflowings of many waters, and indowed with as much population and wealth, as it was destitute of Towns, and exposed without other defence, but that which the nature of the situation with the Dikes of the Water-courses and Rivers gives it. With all this, the Senate, not at all amused with the Nuntios expressions, strengthened

strengthened the neighbouring Garrisons, and sent to that border four thousand Foot, with some Companies of Horse. At *Rome* in this interim Monitories and Bulls thundred one after the other, citing the Duke to the Court with a safe conduct, in which was prescribed him a train of fifty persons only. But the Duke published a long Manifest in print, which, though a while after answered by the Ecclesiastick party, was nevertheless relished by the world with great applause, because with much moderation and modesty it deduced the Treaties, Priviledges, and Rights, which supported his cause. He declares, withal his intention to send an Ambassador to *Urban*, to carry him his obedience, and those motives which he had not been able to alledge in the Process; but the Pope excluded his admission. The publication nevertheless of the sentence was deferred for some days; not so much for certain terms, which they call contumacious, as, because *Raggi* the Auditor della *Camera*, to whom the publication of Bulls belonged, being of the number of those promoted to the Cardinalat, that charge was for some days vacant. In the foresaid promotion, *Urban* at last was willing, knowing that it was not his interest to continue for this cause in greater disgusts; to flatter the Princes with exalting to the Cardinal dignity, the Prince of *Esté*, *Mazarine*, and *Peretti*, named by the Emperour and both the Crowns. For the Republick was promoted *Mark Antonio Bragadino*, Bishop of *Vicenza*, whose Grandfather, barbarously starved in *Cyprus* by *Mustafa* after his valorous defence of *Famagosta*, rendered the Nephew so much the more worthy of that Purple, which is so fitly dyed in the Blood of the Martyrs for the Christi-an Faith.

A N N O MDCXLII.

The jealousies and thoughts what would become of the affair of *Castro*, were extended also to Strangers, who, seeing the Princes of *Italy* arm so eagerly, either not thinking the cause deserved it, or believing, that it being easily composed they would turn themselves to greater designs, endeavoured to strifes to assure themselves of their intentions, and draw them to their party. The *Spaniards* in particular propounded, that, laying aside for the present the dispute of *Castro*, or agreeing it with some easie expedient, the Princes of *Italy* should unite in a League with their Crown, and concert the defence and common quiet, by upholding the present state of things. To say truth, in *Italy* mens minds stood in suspense, concerning the motion of the *French* Armies; for that in the beginning of the year, in the cold season, the King, with the Cardinal, being come from *Paris* to *Lions*, and the Marshal della *Meilleray* being advanced before them with a very flourishing Army, left it doubtful, whether so great a preparation tended towards *Catalogna* or *Italy*. And though within a while after the Forces were seen engaged before the Fortrefs of *Perpignan*, nevertheless the Cardinals mind was discovered to be inclined, the place quickly taken, as he hoped, to send

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An. Dom. 1642. send the Army into *Italy*, before the *Campania* should bear an end. And this he thought to do upon so much the better grounds; by how much that in *Piedmont* the Princes of *Savoy* were agreed with their Sister-in-Law, and by consequence declared of the *French* party by a Treaty; in which to *Mauritio*, besides the promising him to Wife the Princess *Lodovica Maria* his Niece, was left in Government *Nizza* with its appurtenances, as also to Prince *Thomaso Inurea* and the *Biellese*, with title of the Dukes Lieutenant, for so long as the Duke remained in his minority. To the Dutchess remained the quality and authority of Regent, without other obligation, but to admit her Brothers-in-Law into the Council, when they should be at Court, and to communicate to them the most weighty matters concerning the State. With this agreement the Princes being composed, but the Country dismembered, little else was left: the Duke but the name, and that great gate of *Italy* was thought to be set wide open to the *French*, which was wont to be kept shut by the *Savoyards* with force, or to be opened with great caution. The *French* besides had promised the Princes great advantages, and in particular kept *Thomaso* in secret hopes and agreements, to assign him an ample part of the *Milanese* in Sovereignty, when it should be conquered with united Forces.

To say truth, the Governour of *Milan* failed not to employ all his endeavours, to keep those Princes adhering to *Spain*, but found, that it was in their name demanded, that, there appearing in the King of *France* a disposition to withdraw the Garrisons from those places, which in the past revolutions the Dutchess had trusted to him, the *Spaniards* would also restore those others, except *Verelli* and *Trino*, which they might keep in their possession till a general Peace, and so long as the *French* should enjoy *Pignerol* and *Casal*. The answer was such as before the instance made had been supposed; for the Governour alledging that he kept those places, the better to facilitate a Peace, in the Treaty whereof it would be fit to speak of them, refused to withdraw the Garrisons. Yet, though vexed at *Thomaso* that he would not accept of his propositions, and comply with his will, he recalls some hundred of Souldiers out of *Inurea* by a precipitate Council; but to the great joy of the Prince, who shaking off the yolk, caused the Gates to be shut before their face, when *Siroela* repenting his oversight countermanded them, with earnest instances that they might be readmitted.

On the other side, the Garrison, which with the Camp Master *Tuttavilla* was in *Nizza*, not willing to leave it by safe means, was constrained by the threatenings of *Mauritio*, who, having assembled three thousand men of the Country, put himself in a posture to force them. Thus the Scene being changed in *Piedmont*, Fortune smiling on the *French*, solicited them to undertake most assured Conquests in *Italy*, and for that cause the *Spaniards* proposition to close in a union came to be hearkened to by the Princes of it, and more than formerly considered; but in the turbulent conjuncture of the present contests, all being not able to unite themselves in one party, that

An. Dom. 1642. that might be of force to withstand Strangers, thought it a less evil not to adhere to any of the Crowns. Therefore were also rejected the Propositions of the *French*, who instigated particularly the Pope, by remonstrating to him the glory, and the opportunity to make advantage of so many Troops, raised for a more noble design than the gaining of *Castro*, tempting him together with the puissant Forces of their Crown to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, which in the present state, that that power could no longer be said distracted but lacerated into so many pieces, and in a manner ruined, they represented easie to be done. To flatter him the more, they left to his arbitrement the disposal of the Conquests, and offered the Crown of *Naples* to his Nephews, promising to be assisting with six thousand Foot and a Naval Army by Sea to assist the enterprise, esteemed so much the easier, as that, besides the ancient intelligences with many of the Barons, the people weary of the intolerable impositions, desired a change of Government.

Urban, knowing the propositions more specious than easie, refused them. In this uncertain state of things Monsieur de *Lionne* was sent by *France* into *Italy*, to add warmth to the offices in the cause of *Parma*, but much more to observe and lay hold of the conjunctures seasonable, to persuade the Princes of *Italy* into the party of that Crown, till Cardinal *Mazarine*, designed for that service, should arrive. As for *Parma*, the Affairs were quickly brought to a desperate issue; for, there being not obtained, from the pressing endeavours of many Princes, and those which the *Venetians*, rebuted a new with severe answers, were willing to reiterate, any delay of the sentence, after these accidents, which for a few days, as hath been said, the order of the cause carried with it, *Edward* was declared to have incurred the greatest Excommunication, deprived of his Dominions and Fiefs, of the dignity he held of the holy See, and condemned in all charges done and to be done. In execution whereof his Palaces and the Goods in *Rome* were exposed to sale, and the *Camera* took possession of *Castro*, *Urban* as yet deferring the Declaration to comprehend it in the rigorous Bulls of *Pius Quintus*, which forbid any alienation of that which was reunited to the holy Chair. The Princes were greatly moved, as if all their instances had been despised by the *Barberins*. *Edward* stirs himself up so much the more against them; shewing therefore not the least fear, calling together the Nobility and the Chief of the people, with power and eloquence deduces the causes of the War, the hatred of the *Barberins*, and his own right, exhorting them to fidelity and constancy. Being heard with applause, there were not any that promised not obedience. He thereupon causes the Religious persons, that were Strangers, and the Bishop of *Piacenza* to depart his Dominion, that by observance of the censures or other means they might not stir up the people. *Lionne* passes to *Parma* and to *Rome*, with several propositions; but in the *Barberins* was clearly discovered an aversion to render, and a repugnancy in the Duke to hearken to any expedient whatsoever; because to the

An.Dom. 1642. exchange, in which those that interposed, insisted more than in ought else, and especially the Duke of *Modena*, who had again dispatched *Montecucculi* to *Rome*, the obstacle was, the impossibility to find another Sovereignty, which for the quality, the extent, and situation could be equalled to *Castro*.

A Marriage betwixt the *Barberins* and the *Farnesi*, which might pacifie the present disgusts, and secure from future revenges, was projected, but in vain; so that the Treaty being suspended anew, the *Barberins* only gave out, that they would assent to a Truce, provided both parties disarmed: For as much as they despised the Dukes Forces, they nevertheless apprehended his activity and daring; but he considering, that the expence taken away, and the jealousy extinguished, the Negotiation would be greatly cooled at *Rome*, refuses to consent to it. A breach therefore was speedily drawing on, accidents frequently happening, and every day bringing forth disgusts and suspicions.

And now mens minds were perplexed, by reason of a certain report, which afterwards was judged invented by the Duke of *Modena*, or at least countenanced and increased by him, that in order to a supposed Marriage of a Daughter of the Prefect with the Duke of *Mirandola*, an Ecclesiastical Garrison was to be brought into that place. The report for some days was so currently believed, that from *Milan* the Governour sent the Count *della Riviera*; from *Mantua* the Princess dispatched her Physician; and the Republick caused to go thither *Giovanni Baptista Battarino*, Secretary of *Luigi Giorgio*, General *di Terra firma*. But it was found, that the minds of the Princesses, Mother and Aunt, who governed the Duke yet under age, were wholly averse from such thoughts: so that these Ministers had nothing to do but to return, after having reconciled a certain domestick disagreement of the same Princesses, which breaking forth again a while after, was again quieted by *Antonio Antelmi*, Resident for the *Venetians* at *Mantua*, whom they sent thither express. But the Princesses from others jealousies suspecting, that, as the Duke of *Modena* had given being to that rumour, so he might aim to intrude himself into that place by an Imperial Decree, which he gave out to have with power, to put a Garrison into it, brought into it, if need required, to the satisfaction of the Borderers, some of the Militia of their Territory.

This stir was scarce at an end, but greater emergencies were heard of; for that *Montecucculi*, in the despair of concluding any thing, being once more retired from *Rome*, a certain Religious person arrives at *Modena* to amuse the Duke with various projects of Peace, not unlike those formerly discoursed of in *Rome*; but whilst he hearkned to them, they were disapproved by *Barberino*, and on a sudden there appears at *Modena*, in the name of the Prefect, the Auditor of the Camp, to demand passage for the Army against *Parma* and *Piacenza*. The Prince was much disturbed at it, and the other Princes his Neighbours no less, to whom he gave notice of it, in regard it seemed, that the *Barberins* scorning the interpositions

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of so many, aimed at greater things, it being certain, that the tentative drew along with it the oppression of the Duke of *Modena* with quarters and passage, dangers to him of *Parma*, and by consequence the overwhelming and confusion of *Italy*. The *Barberins* nevertheless had other designs; for believing it apparent, by this rumour to surprise the Princes not yet fitted for War, they hoped in consequence, that none daring to oppose them, the Duke would remain so frightened, that, to the end to preserve the rest, he would acquiesce in what he had lost; and consent to the Truce and disarming. He had endeavoured to raise some Souldiers; but all he could make was much less than what he had need of. The *Modenesi* was also totally unprovided, the Duke having not above a thousand Foot in pay.

The *Venetians* and the Grand Duke abhorred to come to Arms but as the last remedy; nevertheless upon this advice troubled beyond all belief, communicating counsels with all expedition, they resolved to pass joyned offices with the Pope, and of the same tenour, to suspend the March. In the same instances concurred also the Ministers of *France* and *Spain*. *Urban* taking this common apprehension to be but the fruit promised him by his Nephews of the generosity and expedition of Counsels, persisted so much the more in denying any delay, not to give time to the Duke, and to others, to take courage and to arm. The Duke of *Modena* then grew more and more bound up not to grant the pass, and defending himself with general answers from the demands of the Auditor, comes the Count *Ambrogio Carpegna* to bring him threatnings, giving him to know, that in the Quarters of *Castel Franco*, upon his Confines, the Army of between eighteen and twenty thousand men was in a readiness to take it by force, the Cannon mounted on the Carriages, Train in order, and all that which was needful for the March. The Duke moved at such a declaration, consents to it for a month, on the condition, That there should be six days before the Army should move, that so having considered with himself, he might appoint his Quarters; that in other four, it should be out of his Confines, and should march at a distance from his Towns and the chief City.

In the participation hereof to the Princes, he concealed not, that though his consent had been extorted from necessity, he was as ready, if he might have assistance, to shew his resentment of such a violence, either by contesting the pass, or receiving an Army in their Reer, when they should be entered into the Territories of *Parma*. He in great haste arms three or four thousand of his Subjects to keep the Towns, and that whilst *Edward* puts himself into the field with a thousand Dragoons, a thousand two hundred Horse, and five thousand Foot. Having provided *Puiglio*, he was purposed to incamp upon the River *Lenza* to dispute the entrance with the Pontificians; but his strength being disproportionable, he presently found them also diminished by Run-aways for want of pay. The Governour of *Milan* having failed him of succours, which, either to draw from him advantages, or to cover his weakness, offered

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him some men, but upon condition, that he would declare himself of the *spanish* party and admit a Minister of that Crown to reside in his Court; he presses the *Venetians* and the Grand Duke for a speedy supply of money and men. They doubted, lest in the Dukes Country the *Barberins* might have some secret intelligence, and some Mine might spring in their consciences; so that the people, though they shewed themselves well inclined and obedient, yet at the appearing of the Pontifical Colours, Arms, and Censures, would remain affrighted, or at least, that *Edward* being forced, through inequality of Forces, to shut himself up in his strong places, the Country would remain in prey. Wherefore not desiring that the Duke should perish, nor that the *Barberins* should be accustomed to the happy issue of their Counsels, they immediately sent to *Parma* seventy thousand Crowns; that is, the Republick forty, and the Grand Duke the rest, and it was a seasonable assistance that served to encourage the Militia, and give credit to the cause among the Subjects, who thence conceived hopes of greater succours.

Offices at *Rome* for a suspension being at this very time not intermitted, there were read to the Ministers of *Venice* and *Florence* by Monsignor *Bichi*, Auditor *di Rota*, in the name of *Barberin*, certain ambiguous answers, in which it seemed to be expressed, that the Pope would suspend offences, when he should be assured to receive none; but withal added, that if he possessed the Dukes Countries, he would restore them, when and to whom it should be thought befitting the honour of the holy See. To the Ambassador of *France* it was plainly said, that, to take away Jealousies, a suspension of Arms should be embraced, when by the Dukes friends promise should be given, that he should bear respect to the Ecclesiastical State, yet the Sentence for that Cause not to be intermitted, nor more words made of the restoring *Castro*, which, by reason of the debt to the Montists, and the charge of the War, the *Camera* reputed their own. Such answers satisfied not the Princes, and they were much more displeased with the instances, which the Prefect to the Duke of *Modena* by *Carpegna* reiterated, that six days after, which happened to be the 10. of *August*, in conformity to the promise, the pass should be open for the Army. Believing then more resolute courses necessary, and that above all the march was to be hindered, for the diverting those accidents, which were apprehended from the successes of the War, the Republick resolved to send three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, under the Command of *Alphonso Anthonini*, Commissary of the Cavalry; that joining with two thousand, which, under the Conduct of the Marquess *Guicciardini*, were sent by the Grand Duke, they might defend the *Modenesé*, that Duke being perswaded to promise opposition, and dispute the pass with such assistance, and the assurance, which *Giovanni Baptista Ballarino*, Secretary of the Republick, brought him, of greater supplies, if need should require. All this had been reciprocally concerted, under promise and faith given, there having not been time for more express Treaties; but it being judged necessary to conclude one, by reason of future casual-

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alties, there arrived at *Venice* the Prince *Luigi* and the Secretary *An. Dom.*
Giovanni Dominico Pandolfini, the one for the Grand Duke, and the other for the Duke of *Modena*, and the Senate deputed to treat with them *Baptista Nani*, and *Vincenzo Cussoni*, Cavalier, to the end they should discuss the means of common defence; and the ways to preserve Peace. But as on the Princes side, and that also of the *Barberins*, it was believed, that with shewing resolution, and by advancing some steps, it would be obtained; so each one going on in the way of engaging, stumbled at last into a War. The *Barberins* were now greatly perplexed at the rumours of the Marches, and Treaties, and their Army, which, composed of new men, thought to go into the Country of *Parma*, to an easie and secure Triumph, was intimidated in such sort, that the Souldiers in great Troops running away, was in a short time greatly diminished.

The Prefect published, that he would delay his March, and sends *Carpegna* to *Modena* to demand, that in case of *Edwards* opposition he might have leave to halt in the *Modenesé*. He foresaw beforehand the answer, which was just what he looked for, that the Duke of *Modena* could no longer dispose of his Country and of himself without participation and the consent of the Republick and the Grand Duke; nor did he desire it other, to the end that he might have occasion to defer his March, and giving in that interim informations to *Rome* of the state of Affairs, receive Orders and also Supplies. *Urban*, contrary to his belief, seeing by the stirring of the neighbour Princes the opposition great, calling to him the Ambassador of *France*; of his own accord (for he had not yet been desired) consents to a suspension of Arms for fifteen days. Just at this time happens a hurly-burly in *Rome*, which, though it was foreign to the present interests, served greatly to increase the confusion in the *Barberins* minds. And it was, that the Bishop of *Lamego*, sent Ambassador from *Portugal* to render obedience to the Pope, although not admitted in that Quality, remaining nevertheless (as a Prelate) in *Rome*, met with the Marquess *de los Velez*, Ambassador of *Spain*; in a certain Street, and their Retinues quarrelling, there arose a Skirmish that made such a noise, that the *French* coming in to the aid of the Bishop, in so great numbers, the *spaniards* were obliged to retire, some of them being killed, the Marquess hardly saving himself by flight.

The *spaniards* imputing this disorder, though accidental, to the *Barberins*, because they had admitted the Bishop, and neglecting those cautions which might hinder such rash confusions, shewed themselves so highly offended, that the Ambassador went his way to *Naples*, and the Cardinals of the Nation, except *la Queva* that was sick, retired to *Frascati*. The Emperours Ambassador also, to shew an equal sense in the common interests of the Family, goes to *Albano*. In *Rome*, a City naturally talkative, many discourses were made of more dangerous consequences, minds being inflamed betwixt the Factions of *France* and *Spain*; so that the *Barberins* being in trouble, were forced to strengthen the Militia, and place Guards with

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with such orders, as might keep the Peace. Upon this occasion distracted in mind betwixt apprehension and negotiation, they so much the more willingly promoted the suspension of Arms; upon notice whereof the Troops of the Republick, already on their way, made; a halt in the *Mantuanæ*, and the *Florentines* in the *Lunigiana*.

The Duke of *Parma* thereupon bewailed himself that he was sinking under the burden of the Souldiery and of jealousies, and the other Princes also perceived the dangers rather suspended than ceased; judging they would rather in future be so much the greater, by how much the *Barberins* discovered themselves not only incensed against the Duke of *Parma*, but irritated against all those that had declared themselves contrary to their designs.

The Deputies therefore of the Republick, and those of the Grand Duke, and of *Modena*, had secret and frequent meetings, to communicate Councils, and concert resolutions, in case that, after the fifteen days of suspension, the *Barberins* should continue their march. Some were of opinion, and particularly the *Modonesi*, making use of the present confusion, to prevent and move the Army into the Ecclesiastical State, to disburden themselves of their own Souldiery, and by bringing the *Barberins* to a Peace by force, secure themselves of the doubt; that, having recovered courage and strength, they should not attempt greater and more notable revenge. They had in their aim also to get for their Duke out of the present troubles some considerable profit; so that under the countenance of the League, getting into possession of something, he might happen to do himself right in part of that which he pretended was detained from him by the Pontificians. But the *Venetians* with more disinterested Councils, content to have saved the Duke of *Parma* from invasion, and diverted damage from the *Modonesi*, aspired not by the League to ought else, but to advertise the *Barberins* of the difficulty they would have to meet with in their designs, and by consequence incline them more easily to a Peace.

To this opinion the Grand Duke at last adhered, though *Pandolfini* at first was bent upon attempts more resolute. A League was then concluded betwixt the Republick, the Grand Duke, and the Duke of *Modena*, drawing the motive from the present making War upon the Duke of *Parma*, which being capable to bring greater disturbances into *Italy*, the Princes desirous to keep them off by procuring their own preservation and the common Peace, united for their own defence, for mutual succours, in case any of them were attacked; and for that over and above, which for the defence of other *Italian* Princes should happen to be needful, it was agreed, To make up an Army of twelve thousand Foot and eighteen hundred Horse, whereof the half should belong to the *Venetians*; of the rest two thirds to the Grand Duke, and to *Modena* the remainder; the same proportion to be held in provisions, in money, and, when there should be occasion, in the increasing of Forces. The command of the Army was committed to him of the Princes Confederates,

rates, in whose Country it ought to be made use of, and remain; but in neutral places the nomination of a General was referred to the Republick, with the consent of the others. The invaded remained free from common Contributions to the Army, while he was to be vigilant with his Forces upon his own defence, to which the others were to resort, either with succours or diversion, as should be concerted at the time of need. The Contractors could not treat or conclude Peace or Truce but by common consent, nor oblige themselves to other Treaty, that should derogate from the present.

These were the Articles that were published; but there was added and kept secret, to assist the Duke of *Parma*, as there should be need, and to admit him into the League, when he should seek it, upon those terms and conditions which should then be concluded. The expedition of the transaction having prevented the fame of it, the conclusion of such a League was no sooner divulged; but it was variously understood by the Princes. The *Barberins* shewed themselves very suspicious and touched with it, and the Pope himself secretly complained, that his own Ministers had deluded him with false suppositions, and engaged his Nephews too far. On the other side, *Edward* conceived so much the more stoutness; for, by the protection of the League, his Countries of *Parma* and *Piacenza* being covered, he hoped, in the astonishment of the Enemy, to open himself a way, either for the recovery of *Casbro*, or the seizing upon some other place that would serve to exchange for it. Having then obtained of the Duke of *Modena* the Pass, he sets forward against the State Ecclesiastick with about three thousand men on Horseback, men chosen for their courage; but without Foot, or Cannon, and without any provision whatsoever, that might be useful in a Siege of importance. But he had good Commanders, over whom, by reason of his dignity, the Marshal d' *Etré* commanded, who, to satisfy the *Barberins*, being by the King of *France* removed from his Ambassage of *Rome*, remained with the Duke, giving credit to his Arms, and to the march, as if *France* by such an appearing had concurred in it. But in truth, besides the disbursement of a small sum of money in discount of his Pensions, *France* contributed nothing in favour of the Duke but offices: *Lionne* only offered him two thousand Foot, on condition they should serve in Garrisons; but the Duke refused it, being jealous lest the *French* should seek anew a way to get into his places. This march greatly displeased the *Venetians*, and the Grand Duke; because *Edward* provoked the War, which they with offices and appearances hoped to avoid, their fear was, lest he, entering deep into the Ecclesiastick State, over-powered by the Enemy Forces should perish there, or that retiring with disreputation in disorder and beaten, should draw after him the Popes Army into the heart of his Country.

Therefore by the Senate was dispatched to meet him *Giovanni Battista Ballarini*, who a little before had been to communicate to him the conclusion of the League, to represent the opinion of the

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Confederates, and those considerations, which by safe Councils, instead of vain hopes, might in a short time bring quiet to all, and to himself most assured fruits of glory. The Duke, who in communicating to the Princes his march, had alledged in excuse his inability to keep his Troops any longer in his Country, finding himself now upon his way, with great fast and confidence intermingles in his answer, with lively expressions, reasons with his excuses, and continues his march. The *Venetians*, and the Grand Duke were obliged to cause to enter into the *Modenese* the Troops hitherto remaining on the borders, to cover that State from the dangers, which the loss, certainly believed of the Duke of *Parma* might bring upon it. But *Edward* entering into the *Bolognese* brought so great terror to the people and to the Popes Army, that they in the unlooked for accident not considering the strength, and these fearing more than was their duty the danger, all was in a moment seen in confusion and disorder. The Prefect retires flying into *Ferrara*. The Souldiers quit their quarters, *Matthei* prevailing nothing with entreaties, authority, or command, to stop them, no not so much as a small body, that might oppose it self to the Duke, or at least follow him. Thus without Blood and without a Battel the Army being dissipated, *Edward* had an open way to a Voyage, which was one of the most worthy to be remembered; because in an Enemies Country more could not have been done by an Army never so powerful.

There is no doubt, but he might have been able by possessing some places to have settled Contributions and Quarters in the Enemies Country, and then have negotiated the restitution of *Castro* by exchange. But through his generous mind, aspiring to recover it with the fame of his Arms, and carry the terror of his name with a loud report within the very walls of *Rome*, he entertained his Souldiers with such vast hopes of prey and plunder, that besides a certain becoming familiarity, for which the Souldiers loved him without fear, and obeyed him without dispute, every one followed him with a secure belief of extraordinary advantage. From *Saint Cesareo* he comes in one night with his Quarters near to the City of *Bologna*, writing Letters to the Cardinal *Durazzo* Legate, and to the Inhabitants, exhorting them to persist in a constant obedience to the holy See, himself also professing an immutable duty to the same, and that he had not put on Arms, but in his own defence, against the oppressions of the *Barberians*. Notwithstanding that populous City had no cause to fear an Army never so powerful, fear nevertheless was so great in the minds of the Citizens, that not only none went forth to disturb the Dukes sleep, but not to irritate him, though they omitted the offer of their service, they yet answered with Letters of much respect. The day following proceeding in his way, and putting to flight with the view only some Companies of Souldiers, which were carelessly marching towards *Bologna*, the Governour of *smola* sent the Keys to meet him, the Cardinal *Franciotti*, Legate of *Romagna*, having not been able to hinder it, the

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City being unfurnished of a Garrison, and of all sorts of provisions. The Duke refusing them, contented himself to guard the Gates, whilst his Troops passed through the Town, which was performed with such order and so much quiet, that it seemed a passage of people that were friends. *Faenza* made a shew to shut the Gates, but being threatened by the Duke, the Governour descended from the Wall to meet and pacifie him, and hardly obtained that he would content himself with passing. At *Favali*, which, as of a greater circuit and better inhabited, endeavoured to resist, he made as though he would fasten a Petard and burn the Country round about; whereupon the Bishop and the Guardian of the *Capuchins*, coming forth with tears, endeavoured to pacifie him; and he received them at discretion, saving out of grace their lives, women their honour, and the Churches. Nevertheless no greater hurt was done, but to lodge there one whole day to refresh his Souldiers, from the weariness and rains, whence alone arose some difficulty in his march. Victuals, for fear of pillaging and insolences, every where abound, nor was there any place, which did not voluntarily offer to open their Gates. The Duke to shorten way, and to avoid the Ecclesiastick State, where by Nature and Art it is strongest, bending to *Meldola*, enters towards the Territory *del Sole in Tuscanj*, to get by a shorter cut into the *Perugino*, and from thence to advance to *Castro*. At the same time that he arrived on the borders, he sends to demand the Pass of the Grand Duke, who grants it, seeing him engaged so far; but withall sends the Marquis *Lorenzo Guicciardini*, to counsel him to stop there, or by the way of *Pontremoli* return to *Piacenza*; it seeming, that, without exposing his own affairs and those of his friends to greater hazards, that he had sufficiently by his courage satisfied the world and his own glory, by mortifying the Enemy with making him appear so contemptible. The Duke not yet arrived half way to his designs, intended to enter into the Territory of *Perugio*, where, at *Castiglione del Lago*, the Governour making no resistance, taking out four Cannons, he comes to the Town of *Pieve*, and condemns to contributions and to the fire a certain place, which shot upon some of his Foragers.

Upon such successles fear, not to be expressed, increased in *Rome*; a City, which being composed of the basest sort of Inhabitants, unaccustomed to dangers, or of Strangers, who are pleased with Reports, Novelties, and Accidents, seemed distracted by various affections, some fearing plunder, others desiring disorder, and all reproaching the Government. In this hurly-burly Guards were distributed, the command of them repartited amongst the Prelates, hand was put to Fortifications, and other Preparations made. In *Orvieto* and *Viterbo* the Guards were strengthened, and Souldiers levied every where, taking in *Rome* the Coach-Horses to mount Souldiers. The Prefect was recalled to Court, great murmurings rising up against him for having shewed as much baseness in danger, as he exercised avarice in the Government. The Cardinal *Antonio* supplying the necessity with a greater vivacity goes out of *Rome* with *Bali Valenzé*,

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a French man, but a valiant and expert Souldier, and in several places gave orders for defence. The Cardinal *Francesco* having recourse to the Arts of Negotiation, thought with hopes of Peace to delude the Duke, and amuse the League. He causes the Abbot of *Bagni* to move the Grand Dukes Ambassadors at *Rome*, and the Cardinal *Bragadino* to insinuate to the *Venetians*, that they would interpose with the Duke of *Parma*; and at the same time proposes to the Marquis *de Fontenay* the depositing the State of *Castro* till the business might be composed. But all to gain time, with equivocal and dark discourses amuses the Confederates, the Grand Duke troubling himself at *Florence*, into whose hand the deposition ought to be trusted.

At *Rome*, *Bichi Auditor di Rota*, pressed the Resident of *Modena*, that the deposition accomplished, the League would then declare for *Urban*. *Vitelli at Venice* in a discourse more prolix and ambiguous, to discredit the Mediation of the *French* shewed their intention to be suspicious, as if, aspiring to have *Castro* in deposito, they were not afterwards, by reason of the conveniency of the situation, so easily to let it go, and insinuated, that the Pope would much rather trust it to the Republick. But he had no sooner named that offer, but turning his discourse another way, assured, that the expedients for a Composure were easie and many, if there were any at *Rome* that would manage them with sincerity, or had powers necessary to conclude them. All this tended to induce the Senate to send an Ambassadors to *Rome*; for the *Barberins*, repenting more and more to have rejected the insinuations, had now commanded him to sollicite it. The Senate comprehending, their will, at present forced by fear, would not last longer than the fear it self, shewed to desire, before they resolved, more precise and less obscure propositions.

On the other side the Grand Duke judging, that in this wambling of their minds fear had prevailed over animosity, closes with the business, declaring, that it might be deposited in the League, or at least in one of the Confederates, or in the *Genouse*, neutral and disinterested persons. At the same time his Army of eight thousand Foot and a thousand Horse with twenty two pieces of Cannon, came near to the Borders, putting the *Barberins* into great doubt, lest he would make use of the time, either to do himself right in certain pretensions he had, or shew his resentment of former distastes. But he had no aim but to procure Peace; and by the means of the Prince *Matthias* his Brother, rather to perswade the Duke of *Parma* to retire out of *Tuscany*, by offering him Quarters, to the end, that remaining engaged in the Ecclesiastick State he might not receive some blow, which putting courage again into the *Barberins*, might render the Treaty more difficult. *Edward* would not take this counsel; but quartering betwixt *Monte Pulciano* and *Chiusi*, kept the Country in fear and contribution, publishing, that the Prince *Francesco Maria*, his Brother, was coming through *Tuscany* to strengthen him with four thousand Foot and five hundred Horse.

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The Duke of *Modena* solicited the *Venetians* to give him leave, with their Troops, which he had in his Country, to enter into the *Ferranese*, which being all in confusion, and without a Garrison, an opportunity was offered for considerable progress, in recompence of that much, he pretended to be due to him from the Pope. But the Senate denied their assent to his request, and rather earnestly dissuaded him from adding imbroilments to the business, and fire to the flame, which it was so studiously endeavoured to adjust and extinguish.

The Cardinal *Barberin* was not wanting to himself in any cunning, and aiming not only to negotiate with the Princes of the League, but withal to give them jealousy, proposed to the Vice-King of *Naples* to unite the Pope with the Crown of *Spain*. The *Spanish* Ministers, taking it for a dissembled proposition, believed, that he was rather resolved to close with *France*, and endeavourd also to imprint the suspicion in the Princes Confederates, that the *French*, having together with Prince *Thomaso* easily possessed *Crescentino* and *Nizza de la Paglia*, would at present besiege *Tortona*, in design to come nearer to *Piacenza*, and what with jealousy and force oblige the Duke to yield *Castro*. These Treaties having cast in some delays in the proceedings of Duke *Edward*, who no less than the Grand Duke was in great hopes to end them with advantage and honour, Cardinal *Antonio* had diligently got together twelve thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, people raised in haste, and little inured to War; but commanded by good Officers, who were of opinion, it was best not to hazard them so soon to a Battel, much less not to think so meanly of them, as to retire with them under the Walls of *Rome*, but advancing slowly with them, under the countenance of Towns of *Orieto* and *Viterbo* to straighten *Edward* in his Victuals and Quarters. *Barberino* seconded the counsel; whereupon the Cardinal *Spada*, dispatched to the Confines with Title of Plenipotentiary, shewed all possible readiness for an agreement. Concerning the Deposition, there seemed not any further controversy; but the thing treated of was concerning the manner: For the Duke of *Parma* had plainly told *Lionne*, that he would not consent to the depositing but with security, that it should be restored to him within a prefixed time; and Cardinal *Spada* affirmed, that for a certain appearance of honour he could not condition that; but that, either with a tacite consent, or declaring it in the ear of the Depositary, he would let pass the effect. *Lionne* about this was obliged to many Voyages to one and the other, and in this while *Barbarino* continues to amuse the Grand Duke with several questions; whether with the deposition the League would be content; whether that done, it would declare it self in favour of the Pope; whether the deposition was to be in the *French*, or in the League, and in that case, where were the Ministers to agree the conditions of it?

The Grand Duke perceived, all tended to delays; nevertheless answered, that the end of the Princes united being to restore *Edward* to his States and to the Popes favour, they with the effect thereof would

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Before he came, the Duke of *Parma*, the Prince *Matthias*, and *Tessi*, with *Monsieur de Lionne*, had expressed themselves in writing, that their ultimate intention was, That all that which within and without *Rome* belonged to the House of *Farnese*, should be delivered in deposit to the Duke of *Modena*, to render it some time in *December* next to whom it of right belonged; that the League, over and above the Affairs of *Castro*, and the dependencies on it, should declare to pretend nothing else; that with the answer the assent was expell'd within the term of two days only; that all delay or alteration was to be interpreted a refusal.

But the Pope shewing his dislike of such a form, and the Grand Duke himself not approving it, as too severe, the Treaty was continued for some days. The Cardinal *spada* cooperating with the intentions of the *Barberins*, to keep the Negotiation on foot as long as might be, sends by the Father *Virgilio*, of the Congregation of the Oratory, his Brother, to offer the Duke of *Parma*, that the Pope, out of his own Clemency, the intercession of so many Princes, and for the sparing of the people, should absolve him from the Excommunication, and *Castro* being delivered in deposit to the Duke of *Modena* for six months, should within that time by common consent be restored to the first Owner, and the Revenue be deposited to pay the *Montijis*, the new Fortifications be demolished, and the Arms and Ammunition brought in-

to the place be withdrawn, on condition that the Duke should retire into *Lombardy*, without touching upon the State Ecclesiastick, and should disarm; the Confederates were only to declare themselves herewith content, and remove their Troops from the Ecclesiastick Confines. **An. Dom.** 1642.

The Duke, as to the abolition, refers himself to that which *France* should demand, and to the Judgment of the same left the decision, whether all the Fortifications or only the Out-works of *Castro* should be demolished. He only insisted on the security, that *Castro* should be restored by the Depositary. And that seemed to be out of doubt; because the Cardinal *spada* had several times repeated to *Lionne*, that he would tacitely give his consent to it. Betwixt the Dukes therefore of *Parma* and *Modena* passed an agreement and writing to perform it before the present year should be at an end. The accord then being held for secure, *Lionne* publishes it for concluded, and *Edward* gives notice of it to the Confederates. But while he looked that *Lionne* should bring it to him signed, he gave him to understand, that the Cardinal *spada* avoided subscribing it, alledging for a pretext, that it was not fit for him to do it, as under a force and with Arms in hand: That he proposed therefore a suspension of Arms for five days, and because the Duke was reduced to such a want of Victuals and Forrage, that he could subsist no longer, offers him Quarters betwixt the Rivers *Paglia* and *Chianti*. But recalling soon after the offer, two miles of desolate Country were offered him, from whence every thing necessary for the food of man, the Hay being first burnt, had been carried away. It is not easie to imagine, how *Edward* stormed, and how highly, being fiery by nature, he was moved with such proceedings; but of his Troops some had perished for want, others after great Booties had disbanded. And for the rest, there was not wherewithal to feed them, nor did the season permit to advance further, or to keep the field. He resolves then to retire into his own Country, and demanded passage of the Grand Duke, who blaming this hasty departure out of the Ecclesiastical State, as a fault equal to the unseasonable haste of his entering into it, offers him in his own for some days Victuals and Quarters, as being doubtful, lest the *Barberins*, delivered from their apprehensions, should turn the Treaty topsie-turvy. *Edward* vexed, that the Grand Duke, with superfluous hopes of Peace, had first withheld him from advancing in the sudden fear to the Gates of *Rome*, and afterwards had denied to second him with his Arms to advance to *Castro*, despising the offers, and leaving the Marshal *d'Esfré*, who at leisure brought back the remainder of his men, pass'd Post into *Lombardy*.

For all this, the Cardinal *spada*, though he had gained his intent; did not presently break the Treaty; but making his Brother the instrument, proposes to the Grand Duke the same conditions formerly sent to the Duke of *Parma*, with very little alteration, save that he desired, for observance of what was agreed, the League should oblige it self. His aim was to beget some disgusts betwixt the Mediators; for *Lionne* had already declared, that it was dishonourable

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At this time that the Nuntio in Naples laboured with the Vice-Roy that he would interest himself in the Treaty, and that to the Grand Duke were insinuated in the name of *Barberino* propositions of a League of the Italian Princes, in it comprehending the *Spaniards*; the Cardinal *spada* entertained *Lionne* in a discourse of the opportunity to employ so many Armies ready and at hand in conquering the Kingdom of Naples, of which so considerable a part might be given to Edward, that *Castro* would be no great matter to leave if he would to the Prefect. Betwixt the Grand Duke and Parma jealousies were also sown with great art; endeavouring to make the former believe, that Edward, for the obtaining of his own, offered to invade together with the Pope Tuscany; and to the latter, that the other offered to abandon him, so *Castro* it self might be given up to him. Artifice always halting in some part, such projects were at the same time published and laught at; and the Confederates would not so much as propose to Edward the suspension of Arms, judging it better to insist upon the accord, so far advanced, that neither party could go back without a publick blemish.

But because the Cardinal *spada* was more and more wavering in his proposals, the Ambassadors of France and Tuscany thought fit clearly to inform themselves of the Popes true intentions, by speaking to him expressly about it. He at the mentioning of the deposition, shewing it to be near to him, at first troubled and afterwards perplexed, at last not averse from consigning it to the League, confessed, that the Cardinal *spada* had powers to treat, but not to conclude. In conclusion, *spada*, having put to paper the Articles of a Treaty, together with the Marquess *Riccardi* the Grand Dukes Minister, and *Tessi*, and sent them to Rome; *Barbarino* in addition proposes three points, not only contrary to the things hitherto negotiated, but also not possibly to be admitted by the Confederates. It had always been taken for granted, that France should demand of the Pope absolution and pardon for the Duke of Parma, to the end to avoid many intricacies, and those prejudices, which Edward feared for his interests in future. But the Cardinal now proposes, that he himself should demand it, that the Montists besides should be paid; which the Duke refused not, when their right should be restored

restored to its first state. Lastly, that the Princes of the League should declare themselves satisfied, not only for the Affairs of *Castro*, but renounce all other pretensions and interests which they had with the Church. This condition seemed to the Confederates unsufferable, businesses and rights of great concernment being there under comprehended, which being already of very ancient standing; if hitherto they had not been promoted by Arms, ought less in future to disturb the Peace, and so much the rather, that being not mentioned or comprehended in the League, they had no reference to the present subject, in which, *Castro* being restored, they declared themselves intirely satisfied.

By this it clearly appeared, that danger ceasing, put an end to the fraud; whereupon the Princes themselves, incensed at this proceeding, and vexed at the delusion, the Assembly was dissolved, after which the Confederates concealed not their sharp reproaches against *Lionne*, who had not sufficiently made fure of the Powers, and he the same against *spada*, who by shewing him a false Copy of them, had deceived him. Many doubted, whether the said Cardinal was in truth the deceiver or the deceived, and upon it several Manifests and Writings ran to and fro. But the Confederates looking at the issue of the business more than at the formality, and ascribing every thing to the *Barberins*, considered how to resent it. The Grand Duke therefore and the Duke of Modena looked with some reflection in this Conjunction upon the proceedings of the French, since that, by the gaining of Tortona, though under the name of Prince Thomaso, to whom it was said it was to be granted in Sovereignty, it was visible, that their Arms were silently entred into Italy; and were Neighbours to the Confines of many Princes; so that those of the Austrian party justly apprehended, and that not without some resentment, to be over-powred by that Crown. Nevertheless, the provocations of the Duke of Parma, and the recent scorps of the *Barberins* prevailing, (besides that with the death of the Cardinal *Riche-lieu*, happened about the end of the year, many of his designs were thought extinguished) they shewed themselves as resolute not to suffer their injuries, as the *Barberins* were constant in provoking them to it. The Dukes then of Modena and Parma having spoken together, communicated to the Venetians their thought to take up some Quarters in the Ecclesiastick State, to ease their own Country during Winter, desiring, that at least by connivence they would give way to them to make use of the Souldiers of the Republick which were in the *Modonese*. The Senate and the Grand Duke not approving, that the one should be exposed to greater dangers, and the other be separated from common counsels, exhorted them to suspend moving in so cold a Winter-season, in which delay took not away any vigour from their power, but rather added strength to their counsels. The Dukes were satisfied with it, chiefly because at the instant of their setting forward Modena had discovered, that by the imprisonment and death of some, an intelligence was vanished, which he had in Ferrara; whither having sent certain of his Subjects, under

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other names to inrool themselves in a Company, they, having the Guard at a Port, were to deliver it to the Duke. Besides, he of *Parma*, whose aim was to possess *Cento*, a place, which from the Territories of *Ferrara* and *Bologna* might draw important Contributions, was diverted by Cardinal *Antonio*, come into those parts with supreme Authority of Legate, and by his providing and fortifying that place.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the *Venetians* had sent into the *Sacca di Goro*, to maintain the Jurisdiction of the Sea, certain armed Parks, which finding there some Vessels laden with Corn and Oyl, had, as is usual, sent them to *Venice*, from which *Ferrara* and the Army finding some inconvenience of Victuals, certain Redoubts were raised by the Pontificians betwixt *Magnavacca* and *Vollane*, with eight pieces of Cannon on them to protect Ships under their countenance; but being found of no advantage, they within a while demolished them. And now through the dispositions of minds and preparation of Forces, all really tended to War; whereupon the Prince *Luigi*, and *Pandolfini*, being returned to *Venice*, Meetings were again renewed with the Deputies *Nani* and *Gussoni*. The *Barberins* endeavoured to render them suspect to *France* and *Spain*, suggesting, that the Princes of *Italy* were not so much united for the affairs of *Castro* as to form a third Party, that might ballance their Arms, and engage it self as occasion should be offered, as if their intention were to give Law to both the Crowns, and continually insinuated to the *Spaniards* projects of a League, upon which, and to have a pretext to introduce a Minister, the Regent *Casinate* was sent by the Viceroy of *Naples* to *Rome*. But he no sooner arrives there, but the Cardinal *Barberino* being now out of fear, he found him far from his own propositions, and rather involved in a like Treaty with *France*, though his more veritable intentions were to amuse both the Crowns without concluding with either. The *Spaniards*, to flatter him, gave him hopes, that by *Urbans* closing in a League with them, the Authority of the Catholick King would induce *Modena* and the Grand Duke to facilitate the adjustment of *Castro*; and the Count *della Rocca*, gone already from *Venice*, was going to *Florence*, to *Modena*, and to *Parma*, to exhort those Princes to Peace, with offer of his Mediation, and with propositions to *Edward*, that if he would adhere to the *Spanish* party, he would procure him the restitution of *Castro*, by recompensing the Prefect with other Lordships in the Kingdom of *Naples*. All this fell quickly to nothing; for the projects of the *Barberins* to the *Spaniards* varied from the first intention, and those of the *Spaniards* to the Princes had no foundation.

In the mean time foreign affairs were carried on with important accidents, things in *Germany* being reduced to great extremity, by several blows of consequence given to the Imperial Armies; one near the *Rhine*, where by Count *Guebrian*, General of the *Weimarians*, *Lamboy* was totally defeated; another in *Silesia*, *Franc Albert*, a Duke of *Saxe Lawemburg*, being beaten and taken Prisoner,

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ner, to whom, though a *Lutheran*, the Emperour had given the body of an Army, in hopes that many Souldiers of that belief would willingly serve under his Command, and those would flock to him of the contrary party, in which he had been a Commander for many years. In consequence of which disaster, *Olmitz*, the Metropolis of *Moravia*, and other places were given up to the *Swedes*. Yet it would not have been difficult to have repaired all, if the Archduke, who with the greatest body of the Army besieged *Leipzig*, a City fatal to great Battels, had not by *Torstenfon*, who came to attempt its relief, been utterly defeated; whereupon, the Patrimonial Provinces remaining without defence, and the way free for the Enemy even to *Vienna*, so great was the consternation of mens minds in that City, that nothing else preserved it, but the spreading of the *Swedes* in prosecution of their advantage.

The Emperour therefore commanding his Ambassadour to return to *Rome*, desired succours of the Pope; and *Rabbata* at *Venice* demanded of the Senate with unwonted and great earnest three thousand Foot to defend the Passes of the *Danube* and the City of *Vienna*; that the Army of the *Swedes* being by that means stopped, it might not come nearer with the wonted insolency of Conquerors, to *Italy*, and the Confines of the Republick. *Urban* denies assistance, under the pretext of the jealousies wherein he was, and the *Venetians* answered in a sense little differing, shewing how *Italy* was disturbed and overturned by the *Barberins*. *Monsieur de Lionne* being also come to *Venice*, declared the Fortune and the Power of the *Austrians* every where laid low; exalted the intention of King *Lewis*, who, not ambitious but of glory to himself and liberty to others, had conquered *Tertona* by Arms, and in Generosity given it up to Prince *Thomaso*. He invited to an Union with *France* and to the Conquest of the *Milanese*, of which he offered to the Republick such a portion as it self would chuse. But the Senate persisted fixed, not to interest it self betwixt the Crowns otherwise than in what concerned the Mediation of Peace.

Besides the proceedings in *Italy*, which are before mentioned, the accidents are worthy relating concerning the Crown of *France*, whose Arms being every where victorious without the Kingdom, it was nevertheless inteslinely disturbed with furious commotions. *Richelieu*, heaping up for himself and those that depended on him vast riches, readred the universal poverty of the Kingdom so much the more intolerable to the people; and by vainly boasting his Authority, and preferring his own Glory before that of the King, made himself burdensom and maligned. *Lewis* was naturally suspicious, but timid; whence Princes having no Guards that can preserve them from disquiet, he was perpetually tortured in his mind, sometimes with jealousy at the excessive power of the Minister, and at others, with the grief at the necessity to suffer him. The Cardinal, to spy out his intentions, kept him environed with his Confidants, which reported to him his words and the tendencies of them. The King inclined to amuse himself very often privately at home, as if

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The enterprise on *Perpignan* being resolved, the Cardinal persuades the King to go thither, carrying along with him the Queen and his Brother, and leaving the little Children kept in the *Bois de Vincennes*, the Governour whereof was *Monsieur de Chavigni*. Together with the people all the Court murmured, that the Cardinal, arguing from the Kings weak health his death to be near, by carrying him together with the Queen and Orleans to the Army that depended upon him, and was commanded by *la Meilleray* his Nephew, and by leaving the Sons deposited in the power of his Confident, aimed in all events to dispose of the Regency, nay of the Royal Family and the Kingdom. But the Queen, opposing her tears to the Cardinals counsels, obtained to remain at *St. Germans* with her little Sons. The King recommending the Government of *Paris* to the Prince of *Conde*, and the defence of the Frontiers of *Flanders* with an indifferant Army to the Counts of *Harcourt* and *de Guishe*, departs; the Marshal *la Meilleray*, always chosen by the Cardinal for the employments of greatest moment, being advanced before *Perpignan*, but a little distant from the Sea and from the *Pirennes*, is the chief City of *Rossignon*, considerable for the exact Fortifications both of Town and Citadel, and at present provided with a numerous Garrison. To take it therefore by force, being thought no easie matter, it was resolved to block it, and by hindring it of Victuals, to overcome it with Famine. The *Spaniards* with four thousand Musquetiers conducted from *Colliure* a great Convoy into it; whereupon it was found necessary to shut that door of the Sea, by possessing that place, defended by the Marquess *di Mortara* with three thousand men. The preparations and the motion of the King of *France* had given great apprehensions throughout all *Spain*.

But amidst so many disturbances, the *Conde* Duke publishes in the Court a certain *Henrico* for his natural Son, till now not only concealed, but in such sort cast off, that, taking a desperate Voyage into the *Indies*, he had passed several years there in sordid and base courses. But now *Olivares*, to vent a certain Genius of Ambition and Power, introduces him with great expence and equipage into the Kings Service; the Constable of *Castile* being persuaded to give him his Daughter to Wife, to the scandal of the other Grandees, who in *Spain* are not wont to prefer the Idol of Favour before the Nobleness of Blood. Afterwards desiring to cover his own extravagancy, by having the King emulate his example, seduces him to declare *Don John* of *Austria* for his Son, then but thirteen years of age, born of a mean Woman, and obscurely brought up, and confer

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Olivares doubtful, lest the King going forth should either get light how affairs stood, or that others should inform him of the infelicity of his governing, sometimes with artifice hiding the dangers, and then exaggerating the inconveniencies, and above all the expence, which the Kings moving necessarily required, endeavoured to stop him. The King nevertheless, his will at this time overmastering that of the Favourites, resolves to go to *Saragoza*, but with such a slow pace, that, going out of *Madrid* not with a military Equipage, but rather for divertisement with delightful Entertainments and Players, sometimes staying to delight himself with them, sometimes going out of the way, and always making very little Journeys, arrives late, and yet the motion of the Army was much later. *Coliure* not being able to expect so much delays, the *Conde* Duke orders, that at any rate it should be relieved, and the Fleet being not yet ready, that it should be attempted by a select body of Horse by Land. The execution proved more difficult than the command; for there was a necessity to cross over *Catalogna*, with the Rivers and Mountains between, without Victuals, with the Enemy, in the Flank and Reer of them. However the *Conde* Duke, far from the danger, and accustomed in things of difficulty to arrogate to himself whatever had a prosperous issue, and where it fell out otherwise to lay the blame of it on Fortune or the Instruments, pressed that it should be hazarded, though with never so great appearance of loss. So that making choice of three thousand men on Horseback, the most part reformed Officers, under the Marquess *de Po-uar*, the passage was attempted; but *Monsieur de la Mothe Odancourt* following them, and the Peasants withholding Victuals, and interrupting the ways, the *Spaniards* quickly found themselves without bread and without Forrage, in the Mountains so beset, that there being no means of coming to fight nor to escape, they in a body render themselves with Colours, Arms and Horses, Prisoners. Thus the best of the *spanish* Forces being blasted without blood, those of *Coliure* yet continued the defence, till *la Meilleray* piercing into the Wall with a Mine blew up the Aqueduct; whereupon for want of water they capitulated, together with the Castle of *St. Elmo*, lying close by and upon a height. And now the Siege was laid before *Perpignan*, honoured with the presence of King *Lewis*, whilst

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whilst the Cardinal at *Narbonne* was indisposed with pain in an arm, which almost withered by blood-letting and by scars, had for a long time tormented him. The *French* thought the enterprise would succeed well, and not last long, supposing that there would be found a want of Victuals in the place. But the Marquess *Flores d'Avila*, the Governour, gave them out with such exactness, and concealed them, expressly to strengthen that opinion, that for that cause the place would quickly be taken; that so the *French* being deceived in their hopes, might spare blood and force, and by prolonging the Siege, time might be given for its relief.

Holding out therefore some months, affairs in *Flanders* proceeded happily for the *Spaniards*; for that *Melo*, not able for the distance to send succours into *Spain*, endeavoured to give them aid by diversion, finding his Army twenty five thousand strong, and with all things else well provided. So that he easily recovered *Lens*, and *la Bassée* was rendred to him. Dividing his Army, he afterwards threatened to invade *France* in two several parts; and to oppose them, the *French* Army being separated into two bodies, he on a sudden rejoyns his own, and falls upon the Count *de Guisèbe* in his Quarters, which near *Chastelet* he negligently kept. The Count saved himself by flight, leaving the Camp with that which was in it in prey to the Enemy. From that side which is much exposed, *Melo* might have gone even to *Paris*; and some counselled him to it, to promote in the Kings far absence confusions and tumults in that vast City. Others were of opinion, that he should carry the Army to the *Rhine*, and repair those disadvantages, which after the defeat of *Lamboy* the Catholics sustained by the *Weimarians*. *Melo* having exprels commands from the *Conde* Duke not to ingage the Army in ought that might divert the Forces from those vast designs he framed to himself, destroys the benefit of the Victory.

Olivares built upon the intelligence held with *Monsieur le Grand*, who changing into hatred the benefit of his raising, studied revenge against the Cardinal, because he had hindred him of the honour of being admitted into the secret Council, of the Title of Duke and Peer, and of the Marriage with the Princess *Maria of Nevers*. He had observed in his confidences with the King, that *Richelieu* was become troublesome to him, and by consequence was rather tolerated than loved; nay he affirms, that *Lewis* had secretly given him leave to make use of the means that might ruine the Cardinal. But wanting experience, and transported with ambition, he fails in chusing of the way. Finding himself to want a party; (for the private favour of the King was not sufficient to defend him against the publick Authority which the Cardinal had the management of;) he seeks to make other friends, and before he went with the King from *Paris*, he contracts friendship, *Monsieur de Thou* being the instrument, with the Duke of *Bouillon*, and both strengthened themselves afterwards with *Orleans*, to have the applause and name of a Prince of the Blood.

Orleans, besides the impatience of a private life, was irritated against the Cardinal, both for old businesses and for a new suspicion, that

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that upon the Kings death he had thoughts to assume the Regency to himself. It was therefore resolved to be rid of him by all means, and *Bouillon* offering *Sedan* for a place of Retreat, it came to be considered, that men, money and credit, to support themselves and without to undertake, was wanting. To obtain the means for it, they send into *Spain* *Monsieur de Frontailles*, who in the greatest secrecy concluded a Treaty, in which under the pretext of promoting the general Peace and the Service of King *Lewis* himself, who was declared to be oppressed by the Cardinal, it was agreed; That when *Orleans* should be come to *Sedan*, the Catholick King should deliver to him twelve thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, with four hundred thousand Crowns to make new Levies and necessary provisions of Ammunition and Cannon. Over this Army was to command the Duke himself, assisted with two Marshalls of the Field, which should be *Bouillon* and *St. Mars*; that of *Flanders* was by a good concert to second their undertaking. To the Duke, with the assistance of a Spanilh Minister, should be permitted to grant Peace or Neutrality with those Provinces of the Kingdom that would demand it; excluding nevertheless the general Peace betwixt the Crowns, which was not to be made but by common consent, and with restitution to the *Spaniards* of all that was taken. Lastly, that *Orleans* should be obliged to declare against the Swedes, and against all those which were Enemies to the Austrians.

The Contractors by this Treaty aimed much further than at the ruine alone of the Cardinal; for the *Spaniards* aspired at the discord and division of the Kingdom, *Orleans* gaped after the Sovereignty, or at least to have a share in the Regency. And the others, either thought to revenge themselves of the Favourite, or to procure themselves advantages. But because the malecontents did believe, that the person alone of the Cardinal was to oppose their designs, they resolved to kill him, and that *St. Mars* should execute it, not only as having the greatest courage, but because he passed through the Guards with less observations and greater confidence. And he in the Journey might have performed it at *Briara* near *Lyon*, for that he found him there not well guarded; but obtained from it, either desiring, that in so great a change of things *Orleans* should be in Court, or at least judging with designs perhaps more vast, that the Cardinal being so soon taken away, further attempts would remain languishing and discredited, which had their principal support from the hatred conceived against him.

The Cardinal having gotten notice of their designs, the King being arrived at *Perpignan*, staid, as hath been said, at *Narbonne*, believing he might remain a far off with greater safety, and besides, the vivacity of mind and the artifice of wit in cases of the greatest extremity not abandoning him, he caused his deplorable condition of life to be published by his Attendants and the Chirurgions themselves; to the end, that from such hope the Conspirators might abstain from blemishing themselves with the blood of him, of whom nature was within a while to be the more just Murtherer. The King falls grievously sick in the Camp of a Dysentery, and in the

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contingency of his life arose in the Court and also in the Army great divisions; some adhering to *Meillerau*, who supported the party of the Cardinal, others to *Monsieur le Grand*, who declared himself for *Orleans*. *Lewis's* health in a short space recovered, quies that stir; yet giving means to *le Grand* to the end to entertain the King in his aversion against the Minister, to draw arguments from what had happened of *Richelieu's* excess of power and thoughts of the Regency. The Cardinal perceiving that he had no more support in the Kings favour, and seeing rather, under the shadow of his connivence, the party of the malecontents increasing, had thoughts of retiring from *Narbonne*, where he thought himself not safe; but before he would do it, supplicates the King, that he would come to see him, either to unloose him from the malecontents, or to awaken in him with Eloquence and Art his former thoughts of him. *Lewis* refusing to do it, he then knew he was totally lost, and therefore as fast as he could, though in a bad season, causes his Guards to carry him by hand in a certain Couch of Wood, where he reposed upon a Bed, towards the Baths of *Terrassona*, to go forwards afterwards into *Dauphiné* and *Provençe*, whither the Governours of those Provinces, which were depending upon him, invited him. In this Conjunction came the News, that *Guische* had been defeated on the Frontiers of *Flanders*, and that *Paris* was in great apprehension. Many judged, that the Count being in a strict intelligence with the Cardinal, had by an affected negligence been the cause of this sinister accident, to the end, that in the confusion of things the King might know, how necessary would be to him the Minister, in whom the intelligence of the Kingdom rested. In effect, no other Expedient offered it self to *Lewis*; but to send a Courier after the Cardinal, requiring him, that to so sudden an emergency he would apply seasonable remedies; for the better ordering whereof he desired in some place to speak with him. But as the same Fortune, in opposition to the Kingdom, contributed to the prosperity of the Cardinal, so did he heap much greater advantage from the accident; for continuing his Journey, very uncertain what measures to take, the Treaty of *Orleans*, made with the *Spaniards*, came to his hands. He presently sends it to the King, to the end that he might know that whatsoever wounded the authority and favour of the Minister, did withal strike through his own felicity and the Grandeur of the Kingdom.

Lewis was as much moved as the relapse of his Brother, the ingratitude of *le Grand*, and the perfidy of others deserved; wherefore changing his affections into anger, he goes to *Narbonne*, and there, to the end the Arrest might be done out of the Camp and with less noise, he caused *St. Mars* and *de Thou* to be put Prisoners, ordering secretly in *Italy*, whither *Bouillon* was gone to command the Army, that the same should be done with him. He then goes to *Terrassona*, where the Cardinal staid, and there speaking together, they vented even with tears their affections and past disquits. The King communicates all that to the Cardinal, which they had suggested against him, and this confirmed the King in the opinion, that in his

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fidelity and power consisted the greatest defence against foreign An.Dom.
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into the Air, *Orleans* asked the Kings pardon, who grants it him, on condition to see him no more, and that with an assignment of two hundred thousand Francs he would retire to *Nissè*, a Town upon the Confines of *Savoy*. *Melo*, the hope vanishing of raising so great a storm in *France*, draws near to *Sedan* to persuade at least the Mother and Wife of *Bouillon*, who was now a Prisoner in *Italy* at *Casal*, to admit into the place a Spanish Garrison. But he obtained it not, because those Princesses considered the preservation of it, the best caution they had of the Dukes life. Making then an Incurision into the Territory of *Bologne* with the taking of certain Forts, presently retaken by *Harcourt*, the *Spaniards* ended the Campagna on the side of *Flanders*.

The minds of the King and his Minister being reconciled, and by that concord the Forces also of the Army strengthened before *Perpignan*, by the concurrence of much Gentry from the neighbouring Provinces, the *French* prepared themselves to resist the more resolute attempts, which the *Spaniards* gave out they would hazard. The Naval Army of *Spain*, under the Command of the Prince *John Carlo di Medici*, General of the Sea, was to second by Water the Relief which the *Marques di Torrecuso* was to attempt by Land. But retarding his march too too long, *Perpignan*, the Victuals after several months siege being spent and the Garrison wasted, was at last rendred to the Marshals *Schomberg* and *la Meillerau*, whilst the King, weakly in his health, was at some distance from the Camp. The loss of this place was of importance to the *Spaniards*, and most afflicting to the *Conde Duke*, who, to hinder it, had without effect employed Treasures, Treaties, and Arts infinite. The doubt more particularly tormented him, lest while the happiness of success maintained *Richelieu* amidst so many contrarieties, his ill Fortune should at last weary the Kings affection towards him. And the report was, that he came into the Kings Cabinet lamenting and afflicted, and falling upon his knees, with tears demanded leave to expose himself to some certain danger, to kill himself, or at least to retire into the most obscure corner of the World, to deliver himself from that unhappy Destiny which pursued him, and that the King asking with apprehension the cause, and understanding it to be the loss of *Perpignan*, did embrace and comfort him, ascribing all to the disposition of the Divine Will. After *Perpignan*, *Salses* was also taken, and at last out of time the Army appears commanded by the *Marques of Leganes*, which consisted of twenty thousand Foot and six thousand Horse; but coming to a Battel with the *French*, that were inferiour in number, the *Spaniards* at first prevailed, but at last, superfluously busying themselves in drawing off three Cannon, gained in the first shock, *la Motte Handancourt* rallying his men, charges the Vanguard and disorders it. Night thereupon coming on, both Armies retired, each ascribing to it self the Victory. The *Spaniards* having possessed *Aitona*, a weak place, and more weakly defended,

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Richelieu triumphed over his intestine no less than foreign Enemies; for *Perpignan* rendered, *St. Mars* and *Thou* had their heads cut off at *Lyons*; and *Houillon*, threatened with the same punishment, ransoms himself with the delivery of *Sedan* to the King, to which Cardinal *Mazarine*, betwixt the terrors of death and the hopes of great recompence, perswaded him. In these distractions was highly advantageous to *Richelieu* the common desire of the Confederates of *France* to maintain him; for having some of them his Pensioners, and in a manner all depending on him, they employed their offices with the King; and *Orange* in particular, little less than with protests, gave him to understand, that in the belief of the Cardinals ruine, he, contrary to his former inclinations, had counselled the Provinces to hearken to a Truce with *Spain*, fearing, lest *Maxims* being changed with the change of Government, there might be a change also with new Favourites in the faith of the Crown towards its Confederates.

At this time the Queen *Mary*, Wife, Mother-in-law, and Mother of the greatest Kings of *Europe*, wandering without shelter or refuge, as a spectacle of humane misery, dyes at *Colten* in a poor and hired house, driven by the Parliament from *London*, rejected by the *Hollanders*, and forsaken by the *Spaniards*. This accident also was by the Cardinal, as a despoiler of Fame, numbred amongst his felicities, risen, to say truth, in the eye of the World to the highest point, but in himself contaminated by inquietness of mind and infirmities of body. He had discovered many of the Kings Guards participants in the contrivances of *St. Mars*, and in particular *Monsieur de Treville*, Captain of the Musquetiers. For the last proof of his Authority and of the Kings patience, he desires that he would discharge him, and moreover that he would come out of *St. Germans* to speak with him; and give way, that his Guards might mingle with the Kings for his greater security. The King was truly troubled at it, as loving *Treville*, and comprehending how insolent the demand was, yet after certain days reluctancy, the Cardinal otherwise protesting he would retire, he complies with him, out of a belief, that the War, promoted by his ambition, and the affairs imbroiled by his Arts, could not be supported and dis-intangled but by his abilities.

But when the Cardinal thought himself in a manner delivered from the changeableness of Fortune, Nature would exercise her rights; for waisted with many diseases, death took him away upon the 4. of *December* in the fifty eighth year of his age. *Armand*, Cardinal and Duke of *Richelieu*, of noble but ordinary Parents, and, as it happens, that the beginnings of our lives, buried in the deepest darkness, give no discerning, whether the Laws of Destiny will be extended, he applies himself in his Youth to Studies, and afterwards to the life of a Church-man. Aspiring always to the greatest things, he made it visible, that from every corner of Fortune the highest degrees are to be attained to, provided a man have the confidence

dence to promote and believe himself worthy of them. Insinuating himself into the Court; he intrudes himself into the Factions, and succeeds, either in sowing discords, or composing them so excellent; that Art never failed him, and was seldom abandoned by Fortune. If he introduced himself into favour, if he enjoyed it, it was always against the inclination of the Prince that raised him. He sets the King at enmity with his Mother, with his Brother, and, it may be said, with his own self, constraining him to give up his Authority to him, though he denied him his affection. He ballanced favour against envy, supported by the King, but always hated by the Princes, execrated by the people, and sought to be intrapped by Strangers. He never grew remiss in prosperity, nor despaired in the crofulness of affairs, in which either chance furnished him with accidents; or his wit suggested counsels. Having disarmed the *Huguenots* in *France*, laid low the Great Ones, weakened the people and the Parliaments, he established the vigour of the Kingly Government. On the other side, usurping all power to himself, fearing the security of Peace, and thinking himself more secure amidst the revolutions of Arms, he was the Author of Wars and of long and grievous calamities, with so much shedding of blood and tears within and without the Kingdom, that it is no wonder, that many have published him for a man fallacious in his word, cruel in his hatred, and inflexible in revenge. But certainly, leaving to God the more exact judgment of his intentions and deeds, those gifts cannot be denied him, which the World is accustomed to attribute to great Personages; his Enemies agreeing in a confession with his Friends, that he possessed such and so many, that whithersoever he had directed affairs, he had reaped success and power. This may be said; that having united *France*, succoured *Italy*, confounded the Empire, divided *England*, and weakened *Spain*, he was the Instrument, chosen by Divine Providence, for the ruine of *Europe*. The King, honouring his death with tears, and his memory with praises, fluctuated amidst many thoughts in the choice of another Minister, doubting, lest after one so great and so accredited every one else would be despised by his Subjects, and not esteemed by the Princes his Friends. Yet he now tasted the liberty of Government without the shadow of a troublesome Favourite. But being rather accustomed to leave execution to others, than to set forth his own counsels, he proved timid and irresolute. *Richelieu*, disposing also as he was dying of the Kings Will, had left *Mazarine* Heir to the Post he possessed, beseeching the King to establish him in it, and to maintain him for the important Service of the Crown; whilst instructed by him in the Affairs, Interests, and Designs, he had in all found him of so excellent an ingenuity, that he seemed born for that alone; in which he had, according to occurrences, been variously employed.

The King, perswaded by his Wife, inclined not to leave the direction of things to a Confident of the deceased, by reason of the hatred which he saw universally of his name. Many others therefore aspired to the favour, and thereto employed the Arts of Court;

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which is as much as to say, Frauds and Intrigues, which the King abhorring, or fearing, that with the change and novelty of Ministers the Train of Affairs and the felicity of his Arms would be interrupted, confirms those of the Council, and confers on *Mazarine* the primacy and the favour. His Ancestors being of *Sicily*, he was born at *Rome*, with noble but slender beginnings of Fortune: but scorning his first foundation, from the Militia, in which he commanded a Company of Foot in the *Valtelline*, passing to the Treaty of *Piedmont*, from that to Prelacy, and the Nuntiature of *France*, and from thence to the strict confidence of that Crown, by the nomination thereof to the Cardinalat he seemed arrived whither not so much as his own hopes had pointed him out the way. Seeing *Richelieu* falling at *Perpignan*, he thought of withdrawing from the thunder-stroke, and got himself to be sent into *Italy*, under pretext to adjust the differences of *Parma* with the Pope; but the Duke rejecting him, as distrusted by him, or for old distaste, by reason of the dependency which *Mazarine* had upon the Cardinal *Antonio*, this hinderance served as a rebound to his Fortune; for by *Richelieu*'s surmounting the snares laid for him, continuing at the Court, he was also in a capacity to succeed him in his station. He though a stranger, and without support, nay rather with the hatred, which from the very ashes of *Richelieu* rose up against those which had been his Confidants, knew how to exercise a precarious authority. Therefore governed himself in such sort, that leaving to *Lewis* the pleasure of the Government, and easing him of the burden, he seemed rather a Minister, than director of the Royal intentions. Then towards others he endeavoured, that that which is so envious, should in him be rendred acceptable from his modesty. So with obsequiousness to the Prince, with liberality to the Courtiers, to all pleasing and Courteous, he introduced himself with a general applause into the place, and withall exposes himself to the expectation of the world, where so great a force of Fortune was to end.

A N N O MDC XLIII.

His first care was to assure the Confederates of the Crown, that there should be no change of a constant continuance in their friendship; and with the Princes of *Italy* he affects to beget a greater confidence, as one that born under the same Climate, and versed in the Affairs of that Country, had a better inclination towards it; and therefore shews himself solicitous to procure a Peace betwixt the Pope and the Prince of *Parma*. But at the instant that he intended to set upon the Mediation with earnest, it hapned, that the Ambassador *Fontenay* with *Lionne* were retired from the Court of *Rome*. The cause seemed not great; for, *Urban* having deposed from the Generalat of the *Dominicans* the Father *Ridolfi*, upon a Schism raised in the Convocation of that Religion held in *Genoa*, the *Spantards* thereupon, saving *Ridolfi* his rights, had chosen *Rocca Mora*, and the *French*, with the *Italians*, *Mazarini*, Brother to the Cardinal,

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nal, the Pope having made void that Convocation that they might proceed to a new Election, the Ambassador of *France* pretended, that that was against the promise made him to promote *Mazarini*, and leaves the Court. The pretext seeming too slight, though he aimed chiefly to gain the good graces of the new Favourite, he added other disgusts, and amongst them, that the *Portuguese* Ambassador was not admitted, and the Mediation of the King had been slighted in the fraudulencies of the Treaties with the Duke of *Parma*. But the Court at *Paris* ill resented, that he had ingaged himself so far, the Cardinal abhorring, that, under the cover of the Kings favour, his private interests should so soon appear to the world: He therefore orders the matter so, that the Ambassador with some appearance of satisfaction should return to *Rome*; and the *Venetians* were in the Kings name desired to interpose, notwithstanding their so slender confidence with the Pope in the present Affairs. They nevertheless employed their offices, but the business was quickly silenced; for the charge of Master of the holy Palace being conferred on the Father *Mazarini*, and he flattered with greater hopes, easily let fall his pretensions to the Generalat. The Ambassador now come to Court again, employs himself with greater warmth than formerly in the agreement of *Parma*. But all without effect, because the Cardinal *Barberino* put more confidence in Tricks than Treaties, and therefore, sending the Abbot de *Bagni* to *Florence*, proposed to the Grand Duke, That to Edward should be given the absolution of the censures, with the forms contained in the Ceremonial; that to his eldest Son the investiture of his Dominions should be granted, with the restitution of all that was possessed, except *Castro*, *Montalto*, and so much Country round about, as a Cannon-shot could reach.

These propositions, handed by the Grand Duke to the *Venetians*, were by common advice rejected, they seeming not admittable by the Duke of *Parma*, and little honourable to the League, who declared themselves Protectors of that Interest. For this cause the Treaties were confirmed more closely in *Venice*, whither were come the Cavalier *Giovanni Battista Gondi*, the Grand Dukes chief Secretary, in the place of *Pandolfini*, who was sick; and the Duke of *Modena*, to recommend to the Senate, besides the publick, his own private interests also. He had a great desire, that his pretensions with the Pope might be comprehended in the League; but they, importing many and weighty difficulties, could not but too much disturb *Italy*, besides that every one of the Confederates would thereupon have reason to produce their own, that were of no less moment. It was therefore resolved, that they should not abandon their first ends, of protecting the Duke of *Parma*, procuring Peace, and also shewing resentment of the contempt in the late Treaties.

But in the interim of these Negotiations, Duke Edward, put forward by the fury and setvour of his Genius, sends under the *Marqueesses Sciabus*, and *Edward Scott*, about three thousand Foot,

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cross the *Appennines* through the *Lunigiana* to be embarked, where the *Magra* falls into the *Mediterranean*, upon certain *Tartanes*, hastily got together, in hope, that landing upon the shore, and easily taking the weak Rock of *Montalto*, they might speed also in possessing themselves of *Castro* in the sudden astonishment of the surprise. To second the design, and divert the Enemies Forces, he with fifteen hundred Horse intended, as formerly, to enter into the *Bolognese*. The cold of the Winter, and the difficulty to pass over the Snow, retards so long the march of the Foot, that advice of it came to *Rome*, so that they had time to prepare for the defence, and strengthen the place. But the Dukes Souldiers came not there at all; for being scarce embarked, and the *Tartanes* put from the shore, so fierce a storm encounters them, that being driven to *Genova* and *Porto Fino*, they were forced to cast Anchor and save themselves there. Victuals wanting, that were but scantily provided, and money, part of the men perished, and the rest disbanding were received into pay by the *Spanish* Ambassadour, who seasonably sent them to strengthen the Governour of *Milan*, who besieged *Tortona*. Upon this accident the *Barberins* published, that it was evident, that Fortune from Heaven had fought upon the Sea in favour of their cause. Seeming afterwards to doubt, that the Duke, rather irritated than wearied by ill success, designed to possess that part of the *Ferrarese*, which beyond the *Po* confines with the Republick, the Cardinal *Antonio* talked of laying a great Fort at *Lago Scurio*, to pass a Bridge over the River, and draw a Chain cross it, which was there ready upon the Banks, with all preparations to fortifie himself on this side the *Po*, and send men thither. If the *Venetians* had in the beginning been troubled, when by the *Barberins* certain Guards had been sent thither, and a certain Fort traced, that, to avoid at that time jealousies, proceedings were discontinued; they were at present so much the more moved, as they saw the design to shut up the River to others, and facilitate passage for their own Army, which passing to this side of the River might ravage as far as to the *Adice*, possess or at least lay waste the *Polesene*, and drown it at their pleasure. They therefore gave it to be understood, that they were not to suffer the novelty and violation of so ancient agreements, and ordered *Giovanni Pefari*, Cavalier and Procurator, succeeded into the Generalat di Terra firma to *Luigi Giorgio* deceased, that with powerful Forces he should go into the *Polesene* to save harmless their concerns, and to hinder the building of the Bridge, or destroy it if he found it built. He marching immediately thither with six thousand five hundred Foot and a great number of Horse, was the cause, that the Cardinal *Antonio* suspended putting it in effect.

Minds being in this manner irritated, they netled one another on all occasions. In *Sacca di Goro*, a *Flemish* Vessel loaded with Corn for *Ferrara* was by the Souldiers of armed Barks, who feigning to be Fishermen came in there, surpris'd and carried to *Venice*, where the Nuntio, demanding the release of it, had for an answer, that the Senate was minded to exercise their Jurisdiction of the Sea. The

Lading

Lading confiscate, the Vessel at the intreaties of the *Hollanders* was restored to the owners. Another Vessel also was taken away by a Galley from under the Tower of *Magnavacca*. But notwithstanding that all tended to a rupture, the Confederates disapproved the frequent attempts of the Duke of *Parma*; because, not able to go forth to any purpose, by reason of the fewness of his Forces, his unhappy success equally diminished the vigour and reputation of his Arms. He nevertheless, always restless and impatient, demanded passage through *Tuscany* to go with fifteen hundred Horse and a few Foot to the recovery of *Castro*. The Great Duke denies it so long, till having settled some concerts at *Venice*, it might be resolved upon a better ground. But to repel any licence that might be taken, he sends men to keep the Passes, while on the other side the Prince *Matthias* with seven thousand men guarded the Borders, which the Ecclesiasticks kept in Arms, by reason of the so frequent reports of Duke *Edwards* motion. He knowing, that the Confederates inclined to declare themselves more openly in his favour, whilst at *Rome Savelli*, *Casanate*, and *Fontenay*, in the Name of the Crowns, were active in interposing offices, had more clearly understood, that the restitution of *Castro* would not be effected by Treaty, sends to *Venice* the Count *Ferdinando Scotto* not to participate in the Meetings, but to observe the Negotiations and Resolutions. But being desired to enter into the League, as he refused it not, not to disgust the Princes Contractors, so desiring to ingage them and keep himself free, casts in several difficulties, particularly concerning the Command of the Army, which, though in their Countries, he pretended to by turns with the Grand Duke and the Duke of *Modena*.

This gave no stop to the Negotiation of the Deputies, who agreed in all the points, except that, which the *Florentines* proposed, to form two Armies, the one in *Tuscany*, and the other in the *Modonese*, to be employed in several parts, and the *Venetians* dissented from separating the Forces at so great a distance, doubting, lest the *Barberins* should make a diversion in the *Polesene*, but proposed to possess with their own Forces, at the first motion of the Army, the Banks of the *Po*, to secure the passage over the River, cover their own Country, and, facilitating the conjunction of the Armies, open a way of Commerce betwixt the Confederates. On the other side the Grand Duke knowing the convenience and the profit of it, doubted to remain himself in that interim exposed to dangers; and therefore insisted, that above all the body of an Army might be formed in *Tuscany* with his own Forces, with those of the Republick, which were in the *Modonese*, and with other three thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, to be divided betwixt the Duke of *Modena* and the Republick it self. But by this means the *Modonese* was left unprovided, into which if the Pontificians should enter, they not only quelled that Duke in a few days, but separating the others Countries, the designs and concerts remained wholly in disorder. This point was debated for several weeks, to the great advantage of the *Barberins*, to arm themselves powerfully, and send Souldiers to *Ferrara* and

Bologna

An. Dom. 1643. Bologna. But the Duke of Parma with a mind greater than his Forces reviving the War, when it seemed most suppressed, cuts short the tediousness of consultations, letting the Confederates know, that, necessity being now in him converted into reason, not being able to maintain his Troops any longer, he was forced to lead them into the Enemies Country.

The communication went along with the effect, for he was already on his march alongst the Po, demanding of the Duke of Mantua passage through his Country, at the instant that he was ready to take it. He had with him six weak Regiments of Foot of several Nations, and as many of Horse, with one of Dragoons and eight pieces of Artillery; but to the end they might not hinder his march, leaving them with the Foot, which might follow with less haste, he enters into the *Ferrarese*, and comes to *Bondeno*, which lies upon the right hand Chancel of that Branch of the Po, which is called *di Volane*, where the *Panaro* with other Water-courses enters into it, and had been fortified by the *Pontificians*, to shut the passage betwixt the *Modenese* and the River. *Francisco Murriconi*, a Neapolitan, who with five hundred Foot and four hundred Horse had the keeping of it, though persuaded by *Valanzé* with the hopes of speedy succours to resist, no sooner heard a Volley of the Dukes men, come in the duskiness of the evening near the Fort, but he runs away, followed by the Garrison, into *Ferrara*, where afterwards he lost his head. The *Parmesians* then possessing it without blood, not to give time for relief they attacque *la Stellata*, which, though better defended, for the straitness of the place, was nevertheless in a very short time taken. Cardinal *Antonio*, to hinder the Dukes further progress, and observe what the League might be able to undertake, immediately incamps at *Hosleria Nuova*, a convenient place betwixt *Ferrara* and *Bologna*. The Confederates, understanding the Duke was marched, knew it was fit without making more difficulty to come to a conclusion, while it was better to do it, the Armies being in motion, before that either the people should shake off that sudden fright, or the Cardinal *Antonio*, assembling his Forces, should defeat or make the Duke of Parma retire. A new Treaty was therefore on the twenty sixth of May subscribed by those Ministers and Deputies, which had also negotiated the other in *Venice*, in which, adhering fully to that of the year past, it was agreed; To increase the Forces to eighteen thousand Foot, and two thousand six hundred Horse, or to such a greater number as the occasions should require. Two bodies of Armies were consented to be formed; the one in *Tuscany*, consisting of the Troops, to which the Grand Duke was obliged, with a thousand Horse and two thousand Foot more, if they were Strangers, or three thousand of another Nation, which the Confederates were to send to them. The other was to be assembled in the *Modenese*; and in both, the Colours of the League was to be carried spread. In each, for the directing of the undertakings, a consultation was resolved on by vote of the Confederates, of whom the plurality was to take place. What should be taken was to be held in the name of all, till the Duke of Parma

An. Dom. 1643. ma should be restored to what was his. Place therefore was left for him in the Treaty, to come in with his Forces proportionably to the Armies of *Tuscany* and the *Modenese*. In this 'twas granted him, if he were present, to command by turns with that Duke, and he was obliged to contribute three thousand Foot and four hundred and fifty Horse, when any of the Confederates should be invaded.

As for the motion of the Army, it was agreed, That the *Venetians* should seize upon the banks of the Po and when there was occasion of taking the field, the Troops in the *Modenese* with those of *Parma* also, if they could join, should at the same time second the enterprise. The *Venetians* then sending the Army to the other side of the River, the two bodies should be formed, and the number agreed on sent into *Tuscany*, without that the consult of the *Modenese* should have power to hinder it. The Ministers were to be recalled from *Rome*; from *Venice* and *Florence* the *Nuncios* to be discharged, the Revenues of the *Barberins* to be sequestered, and concerning the true intention of the League inclining only to Peace, and the repairing the Duke of *Parma*, participation was to be given to the Princes, to clear the jealousies, which it was known were suggested particularly to the two Crowns by the *Barberins*.

These were the good dispositions of the League; but the good order to execute them was by various accidents interrupted: For, though great union and constancy appeared in the Princes, yet their Countries and Forces being divided, much time was oftentimes lost in communicating counsels, and concerting resolutions. It hapned, that at this instant the Po being extraordinarily risen, the *Venetians* feared, lest Cardinal *Antonio* should cut the Banks, to lay the *Polesene* under water, and hinder the movings of the Armies, by interposing a vast intrenchment of Water: They therefore command the General, that he should speedily repare thither, though in the *Modenese* they were not yet ready to march.

That district of Country which belongs to *Ferrara* consists in two streaks, more long than large. The greater, of which the chief Town is *Trecenta*, runs from the Confines of the *Mantuan* to *Polesella*, where for a little way the Country of the *Venetians*, facing to the River, cuts off the other, which besides *Crispino* hath few other Towns, and passes from *Polesella* to the borders of *Adria*, wholly belonging to the *Venetians*. Into the first, there being some Fortification and Garrison, *Pesari* sends three bodies of men; the one to *Melara*, commanded by *Carruccio* Colonel of the Nations *Croatte* and *Albanese*; another to *Figarolo*, that was more numerous, by *la Valletta*; the third to *Lago Scuro*, by the Count *Giovanni Battista Porto*. The Posts were every where possessed with ease, and into the lower part, abandoned by the *Pontificians*, it sufficed to send some to take possession of it. *Pesari* makes his head quarter at *Trecenta*, and orders that the Fortifications of *Lago Scuro* and *Melara* should be bettered, and in particular a good Fort planted at *Figarolo*.

To the gaining of all this, the Prince of *Parma* had also aspired; because, being over against *Stellata*, he had intended to enlarge Contributions and Quarters for his men. Some of his Troops in

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Barques

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Barques were just arrived near the Shoar, but found they were prevented by those of the *Venetians*, not without some displeasure to the Duke, who afterwards informed of the reason, was easily pacified. In pursuance of the foresaid seizure, there came also out of the *Modenese*, taking post at the *Red Church*, the Troops of the Republick, with some few of the Dukes; for, the *Florentines* conformable to the Agreement which the Treaty consented, were by the Grand Duke recalled into *Tuscany*.

The *Venetians* now sent to the other side of the *Po* other six thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, to fulfil their obligation, though *Pesari*, that considered the new Conquests on the Banks remained more weak and exposed to accidents, unwillingly condescended; but constrained to it by re-iterated orders, sent them at twice, first the half under *la Valetta*, and the rest afterwards with *Camillo Gonzaga*, one of the Princes of *Buzzolo*, entred lately into the Republick pay with the charge of General of the Artillery.

Cardinal *Antonio* had removed his Camp to *Cento*, and the place lying at the head of the *Modenese*, so fortified himself there, that he equally defended the Territories of *Ferrara* and *Bologna*. The Confederates to make some advance desired to dislodge him, and *la Valetta* with seven Companies of Horse and four hundred Musketiers was sent to view the Post; but, by the Guides fault, arriving late, and being discovered, he nevertheless attacked a Guard advanced. *Matthei*, to support them, comes forth with a body of Horse, and the skirmish grew so hot, that, the *Pontificians* being more in number, *la Valetta* retires, under the favour of two hundred other men, and the Musquetiers placed in good order longt the Hedges and Ditches. The Cardinals quarter discovered by this faction to be stronger and better fortified than was supposed, the consults and minds of the Confederates were very wavering; that which opposed the sending the concerted Troops into *Tuscany* and making further attempts, being the disturbance which rose from the Duke of *Parma*; because, the Princes having taken for granted, that he would not recede from that Union which had been concluded for his protection and assistance, had in the division made state of his Forces, in that number that himself had offered, that is to say, one thousand four hundred Horse, six hundred Dragoons, and sixteen hundred Foot. They therefore solicited him, to underwrite the League, or at least to contribute to the undertaking his person and his Army. He with sundry excuses, either to fortifie the Posts possessed, or to recruit his Troops, and by demanding, that the League would absolutely oblige it self to the recovery of *Castro*, kept off; for, deeming to have obtained his intent by the taking of those Posts, which, by reason of the necessity of the passage of the *Po*, the Confederates were bound to maintain, he had no further care, and having so much in his power as was sufficient to make *Castro* be restored to him, he judged it best to keep himself free.

The Troops then in the *Modenese* from the very beginning began to languish betwixt delays and disgusts. The *Venetians* employed one

one part of their Forces at Sea, infesting the Coast with six Gallies *An. Dom.* and with armed Barks even to *Ancona*, and interrupting Commerce. 1643. They took also after some shot of Cannon the Tower of *Premiero*; which, a while after recovered by the Pontificians, was demolished, and they landed at *Cesenatico*, where were in Garrison two hundred forty Foot with forty Horse, and the place being taken by force, was laid in ashes by a fire which was kindled in the fight.

There was also taken near *Premiero* and demolished a little Fort, the Ecclesiasticks having made another more inward, and upon the Confines of *Loreo*, *Niccolo Delfino*, Proveditor, surprised in the night by *Scaladetha* which, called *delle Bocchette*, the Ecclesiasticks had in former times built there. The Towers of *del Abbate* and *di Goro* were rendered by threatening the Garrison with the Gallows, if they should dare to expect the Cannon. *Arriano*, a great Town, and easie to have been defended, because there was no access but by two Dikes only, being in a fright, driving out the Garrison of their own accord, yielded to *Delfino* himself. He now roves to and fro on the other side of the *Po*, and spoiling the Country, routs two Companies of Horse which were quartered at *Cologna*. They then assaulted *Codegoro*, where were assembled six hundred Foot and two hundred Horse, either to attempt the recovery of *Arriano*, or for some other design; and there the *Albanian* Souldiers, enraged at the sight of the blood of some of their Officers that were hurt, entred with so great fury, that cutting to pieces without distinction almost all the Inhabitants and Souldiers, and setting fire to it, they savage-like burnt the place.

Cardinal *Antonio* observing the pause and demur of the Confederates in invading the *Ferrarese*, and thinking by carrying the War into the Country of *Modena*, to give their Army greater employment for the defence of it, sends from the side of *Castel Franco*, *Matthei* with a thousand Foot and as many Horse, who took in *Spilimberto*, *Vignivola*, and *St. Cesario*, open places of that Frontier; threatening to go further in towards *Sassuolo* and into *Montagna*. The Duke with the Proveditor *Conraro* and with all the Army follow him, Cardinal *Antonio* coasting upon it not far off.

The Confederates desired to draw him to a Battel; for though their number were not greater, surely the Discipline of their Troops was more veteran and experienced. They resolved to invest under his eye *Cresvalcuore*, a good Town of the *Ferrarese*, but not strong at all, and sent thither to attempt it *la Valetta* with a thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, who dividing the Foot into three Troops, thought to take it at one assault. But finding the Ditch large and full of water, he causes to be brought two small pieces of Cannon to make a breach, which gave time to Cardinal *Antonio* to bring succours into it, and attack *la Valetta*, who with a few Foot, and abandoned by the Cuirassiers, was constrained to retire in disorder, and leaving one of his Cannon sticking in the mire ways. He had carefully solicited the whole Army, which was not far off, to move; but the Duke and the others of the Consult, by reason of this

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1643. this disorder changing counsel, and considering of what importance it would be, if any misfortune happening, the *Modense* should remain in prey to the Enemy, stirred not. The Pontificians had little loss save one *French* Captain of Cuirassiers killed. The Confederates lost about two hundred men, and amongst those one Captain of Foot, and another was taken Prisoner. After this the Confederates pursuing their resolution to march, obliged *Matthias* to go out of the *Modense*, and abandon all the Posts, except that of *Spilimberto*. They then altd for some days at *Buon Porto*, and Cardinal *Antonio* quarters at *St. Giovanni*.

In this interim the Grand Duke coming to *St. Casciano* had put the Army into the field, under the Command of the Prince *Matthias* and the direction of *Alexander del Borro*, a valiant and experienced Soldier. *Barberino* sends against them betwixt *Petigliano* and *Sorano* a body of betwixt five and six thousand men, commanded by the Duke *Frederico Savelli*, who, as a *Roman* Baron and Subject of the Church, being obliged to obey the Pope, was by the Emperour, at the instance of the Confederates, discharged from the Embassy, which in his Name he exercised in the Court of *Rome*. But not withstanding that opposition, the *Florentines* advanced into the Ecclesiastical Territory, and having taken the strong Pass of *Buterone*, attacked the City *della Pieve*, where the Garrison, though of fifteen hundred men, scarce staying for the Cannon, went out with their Swords only. From thence *Borri* with eight hundred Horse and two thousand Foot made an Intoad as far as *Orovisio*, obliging *Savelli* to retire more into the Country. *Monteleone* then was rendered, and the Army was scarce come to *Castigliano del Lago*, but *Fabio della Corgna*, who possessed it in Fief, overcome, as was said, by the Great Duke with secret Treaties, gave it up without defence. He was therefore by sentence and censure declared by the Pope a Rebel. The gaining of that drew along with it *Passignano* upon the same Lake. The Gallies also of the Grand Duke scoured the Coast of *Romagna*; but he now pressed the Republick, that it would send him, for a greater Renfort to his Army, the men promised by the Treaty.

The *Venetians* shewed to have not only fulfilled what they were obliged to, by sending beyond the *Po* all the men of their repertition, according to the disposition of the League; but also to have superabounded by keeping for the common benefit the Banks of that River with their own Souldiers, and by distracting the Enemy with another body of men upon the Confines of *Loreo*, and by obliging them with Barks and Gallies to the custody of a long tract of Country; besides that they were forced to furnish to the Army of the *Modense* Victuals, Carriages, and Cannon with their draught, and to garrison *Finale*, a Town belonging to the *Modense*, which situate amidst the Waters of the *Tanaro* served exceedingly for communication with the Posts, kept by the *Parmigians*, and with the Country possessed on this side the *Po*. But in truth all disorder arose from the two Dukes, the one proving to be no help; and the other

other serving for a burden; for that *Edward* stood within his strength, idly looking how things went, and he of *Modena*, not being able to defend his Borders, because he had not in the field above a thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, kept the whole Army of the Confederates busied in defending his Country; though the Republick, to disengage it, offered the pay of two thousand Foot, if he could levy them of his own Subjects or Strangers.

The Grand Duke thereupon was contented, that for the present four hundred Horse should be sent to him for so long, till the three thousand Foot, which after many contradictings and difficulties the Republick had in *France* obtained to be levied in *Provence*, should be disembarked at *Ligorn* to remain in *Tuscany*, whither the Senate sends *Bernardino Valerio* with Title of *Proveditor* to assist the Grand Duke at the Consuls and other occurrences.

Amidst these motions, or rather inquietudes of Armies, treating was not given over by the *French* Ministers; for that the Ambassador *d'Ame* presented a sheet of Paper in *Venice*, which the Marquis *de Fontenay* had received in *Rome* from *Barbarino*, in which was contained; To restore the state of *Castro* to Duke *Edward*, the Fortifications being demolished, and the Rights reserved to the Montists, when the League, withdrawing their Arms, should render what they had taken, and the Duke should ask absolution and pardon, the Pope offering an ample Brief secretly to be dispatched to free him from prejudices which he feared to incur, when by giving his consent to the aforesaid and to the excommunication, he should legitimate the crimes of *Felony*, which were laid to his charge.

But no sooner was this exhibited to the *French* Ministers, but *Barbarino* solicited the Spanish Cardinals to propose to the Grand Duke a suspension of Arms, and the depositing *Castro* into his hand, with a Brief apart, which should give him power to render it to the Duke of *Ravenna*, when he should perform those humiliations which should be agreed on. The Confederates, besides displeasure conceived at the late manner of proceeding in the Treaty, found many doubtful significations and Sly evasions to be contained in the present Propositions, and, above all become jealous that Mediators and Propositions were so often changed, refused the suspension of Arms, declaring notwithstanding to the Ambassadors of both the Crowns their will to be most inclined to Peace, when it might be obtained upon conditions, that might render it lasting, honorable, and safe. The Count *della Rocca*, Ambassador Extraordinary from *Spain*, being at this time arrived at *Venice*, and *Giovanni d'Assisi* at *Florence*, and they insisting upon things already rejected, obtained answers not differing. The Spanish Cardinals thereupon at *Rome* hearkened to new Propositions of Union betwixt the Pope and King *Philip*, which the Cardinal *Barberino* ceased not to suggest, to give jealousy to the Confederates; but the Republick in the name of all the League made so lively complaints of it at *Madrid*, with a protest, that the League on the other side would accept the invitations which *France* had so long made them to close with that Crown, that the King immediately

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mediately orders, that all such practices should be broken off. Nay the Vice-King of Naples, upon the Popes demand of nine hundred Horse due for the investiture of that Kingdom, in case the Ecclesiastick State should be invaded, denies them; this not being the cause of the holy See, but of his Family and Kindred. And to say truth, the Crowns, by reason of the employments wherein they were engaged, and much more for the condition of their domestick affairs, had little reason to interest themselves but by mediation and offices; for in Spain, with the disgrace of the Minister, and in France, with the death of the King, Government was changed.

King Philip returned from *Satagossa* to *Madrid*, had in his heart somewhat cooled his affection towards the *Condé* Duke; whether it was, that by reason of continual disgraces, the unhappy director of his Affairs was become troublesome to him, or that he had perceived, things had been hitherto represented to him by the Favourite in a prospective differing from the truth. And now many from necessity saw themselves bound, laying flattery and fear aside, to speak plain, but none durst be the first, till the Queen, supported by the Emperour with Letters under his own hand to the King, and with the discourse of the *Marquês de Grana* his Ambassador, resolved to break through the veil and discover the secrets. All then took the Cue, and the very meanest persons, either by notes in writing, or by word of mouth solicited the King to put away the Minister, and assume the Government to himself. He marvelling within himself, to have ignored till now the causes of this disgrace, overcome with the light of so many advertisements, which all at a time unvaild him; was wavering at first with himself, apprehending the burden of the Government, and doubting lest the wonted frauds of Court were practised against the Favourite; but at last not able to resist the consent of all, orders him one day on a sudden to retire himself to *Loches*. *Olivares* undaunted readily obeys, going disguised out of the Court, for fear of the people, who, if they are wont to follow Favourites whilst they shine in the station of favour and greatness, endeavour much more to tread them under foot, when they are precipitated by Fortune.

This resolution was applauded by all with excess of joy. The Grandees, formerly sent away and oppressed, returned to serve the King, and render the Court more majestic; and the People offered to stripes men and money, animated by the report, that the King would take upon him the care of the Government hitherto neglected. But either fainting at the burden, or new to business, and with more new Ministers, in the tediousness of business, and the difficulties of various accidents, he had fallen back insensibly into the former affection towards *Olivares*; if all the Court had not with an unanimous murmuring opposed it, nay if *Olivares* himself had not rather precipitated his hopes; for willing, by the publishing of certain Writings, to clear himself, he offended many in such sort, that the King thought it best to send him yet further off, and confine him to *Toro*. There, not accustomed to quiet, and afflicting himself, as

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great wits are wont to do, he dyes within a while of grief. It cannot be denied, but that he had great parts, of vivacity of wit, and application to business, but they were either corrupted by a rash violence, which oftentimes in counsel carried him to extremities, or were frustrated by fortune, which always crossd his designs. He never suffered himself to be corrupted by Strangers, but it was imputed to him, that with flattery or not opposing he sometimes betrayed the Kings service. He possessed with great jealousy the Kings favour and the power, which, to arrogate it to himself alone, he took from the Council and every body else. He employed few, and those of his dependants; but he proved so unfortunate a Judge of abilities, that of all those he employed, some wanting diligence, many capacities, and all approbation, he was very often for the faults and errors of others condemned by the world. He always vainly shewed his power; but he laid up no great riches, nor fortified his private power against the publick authority with Places, Armies, and Governments. For this cause, if his Government was not applauded, his fall made no great noise, nor was his death considered. The King in truth, though he published the contrary, could not or would not govern by himself alone. Whereupon *Luigi d'Haro*, Nephew, but withall an Enemy to *Olivares*, insinuates himself by little and little, and, with great modesty shewing his obedience to the King, in a short time takes upon him the administration of the Government.

But in France, conformable to the nature of the people, the changes passed with a greater noise; for that *Louis*, amidst the cares of his mind, and the unquietness of his body, was fallen sick even to extrem languishing. By reason of the tender age of his Son, he was exercised in difficult thoughts, about the direction of affairs, and no less were troubled the principal Ministers, the reliques of *Richelieu's* Faction fearing, lest the Queen, coming to the authority of the Regency, should for former disguts revenge her self against them. *Mazarine* therefore, *Bottiglier*, Superintendent of the Finances, and his Son *Chavigni*, Secretary of State, being reduced to serious consults about their Fortune, endeavoured to possess the King with the danger to which he exposed the Crown and the Heir, if the Government should fall to the Queen, not only new in Affairs, but offended by past usage, and of a strange Nation, nay an Enemy towards whom she had not at all lost inclination and affection. Nor did the counsel succeed ill; for *Louis* by way of Testament orders the disposition of the Government in the minority of the Son; Leaving to the Wife the name of the Regency, but the power and effect to the Ministers. To his Brother he commits the Lieutenantancy of the Crown; To *Condé* the chief place in the Council, but subordinate to Orleans. He established *Mazarine* in the Post of chief Minister; and for Counsellors added *Sequier* the great Chancellor, who was also of *Richelieu's* party, *Bottillier*, and *Chavigni*, with a caution that they should not be excluded but for crime or by death. By this Council with plurality of votes were to be decided the most weighty matters, charges military and ci-

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An. Dom. 1643. *vil dispensed, and when occasion was, the Ministers of the Council it self to be supplied. In the disposition of Benefices Ecclesiastick, he oblig'd the Queen to follow the judgement of the Cardinal Mazarine: He ordain'd also, that Chasteauneuf the Garde Seau, and the Dutcheff of Cheveruse should not be permitted to return into the Kingdom; and as to other Exiles and Prisoners, he left them to the disposition of the Council. He wills, that this his Will should be signed and sworn to by the Queen and the Princes, and by the Parliament verified. The Queen having no party could not oppose it, though the Duke of Beaufort declared himself in her favour, and at St. Germans, where the King lay sick, Conventicles and Factions were formed.*

Every one perceived, that the favour not only continued to the dependents of *Richelieu*, but that the supreme Authority of the Government was by the King left to them, and *Mazarine* had the greatest share; for, besides the dependency of the Clergy, which with the distribution of benefices was made partial; either joyning with the three Ministers, he had the majority of Votes, or standing as a neutral betwixt the Queen and the others he made himself Arbitrer to whatsoever side he inclined. Amidst these commotions of affections and discourses, the King with remarkable piety renders his Spirit to God upon the 10. of May, in the forty third year of his age, and having just upon that day compleated the thirtieth year of his Reign. Having by Arms enlarged the Power, the Renown, and Majesty of his Kingdom, reformed it with good Laws, and dignified it with exemplary Manners, he would certainly have been numbred among the Princes of greatest fame, if to his praises the Glory of *Richelieu* had not been interposed, to whom the World ascribed the counsels and success. He lived and dyed without knowing to defend himself from the Arts of Favourites; he was adorned with many Virtues, with Piety, Religion, and Justice; but suffered the exceeding great defects of his Ministers. Though Heresie were disarmed in France, yet abroad it was countenanced and promoted. Himself, sparing in his Diet, in his Cloathing, and, except it were in Hunting, abstaining from all sorts of pleasures, abandoned the wealth of his people, in prey to the profusion of Favourites. With the Title of *Just* he covered many severe examples, filled often the *gallows* with Innocents, and managed the Sword of the Hangman to the private revenge of his Confidants. The Brother was a Fugitive, and the Mother forced to fly. If then the Greatness of the Name of *Richelieu* obscured in famous acts the Glory of *Lewis*, it also rescued him from many blames, saving only that, that jealous and avaritious of his Authority towards his Kindred, he was superfluously prodigal of it to his Ministers.

Lewis the Fourteenth, who had not yet compleated the sixth year of his age, takes the name of King, and thereupon great Revolts were foretold, whilst to the intern confusions, which the Regency of a Spanish Woman, the novelty of Government, the affections of Ministers, and the pretensions and disgusts of the malecontents pointed out, stranger Forces were quickly added, and the Army of *Melo*, which

which consisting of seventeen thousand Foot and seven or eight thousand Horse shewed it self on the Frontiers to offer invitation and encouragement to them that should attempt novelties. He having during the Kings sickness waited some days without attempting any thing, resolves at last to invade France to promote disturbance more powerfully, with an assured hope to find no resistance, and the King once dead, the Government would be turned topsie-turvy. The Army then with the increase of new Forces entering into *Tirafche*, and laying waste many places with Fire and Sword, besieges *Rocroy*, a little place on the Frontiers of *Champania*, which alone he thought might hinder his march as far as *Rheims*; and from thence perhaps to *Paris*.

Heaven, to say truth, shewed it self very partial in this conjuncture to France; for if *Melo*, retarding his march, had maintained the credit of his Army, or if the thought of taking the place succeeding, he might have been able to advance towards *Paris*, to countenance those that were for him, and put the rest in confusion, without doubt out of the Sepulchre of *Lewis* would have been raised the Fortune of the Spanish Crown.

The Duke of *Enguien*, Son of *Conde*, who scarce out of his Childhood, commanded the Army in those parts, assisted with the Marshal del Hospital and Monsieur *Gassion*, upon notice of the Siege, speedily assembles as many Troops as he could, which amounted not to more than fourteen thousand Foot and six thousand Horse, and came near to the place, situate in a Plain, and environed with low Grounds and Woods. *Melo*, out of a perswasion to take it with ease, having only five unfinished Battions with some Out-works and a scanty Garrison, had thought a Circumvallation needless; which gave *Gassion* the means to thrust into it, through the midst of the Enemies Batalions, some men, with which the Garrison being strengthened makes a Sally, and recovering a Half-moon, gave time for the grofs, with which the Duke arrived upon it with so much resolution, that shewed he would not refuse a Battel. *Melo*, superiour in Forces, rejoiced already in the Victory, and was so far from avoiding the engagement, that he rather assured himself, that Fortune offered him that occasion to ruine the obstacle of that Army to his great designs. He removes from the Siege of *Rocroy* to range himself in order in the Plain and offer Battel; but he lost an exceeding advantage: For *Enguien* not being able to disengage the Army so soon, from certain narrow passages betwixt the Wood and the Moorish grounds, was by the night surpris'd with his Troops divided, and *Melo* did not care to attacké him, pretending to stay for a Renfort under the Command of General *Bech*, who was coming with four thousand men, and to overcome, as he boasted, at one blow, not only a part, but all the Enemies. The French during the night quickly re-united themselves, and the Chiefs receiving the advice of the Kings death, with exprefs order not to hazard in that conjuncture a Battel, kept it secret, not to take away courage from their own, nor increase confidence in the Enemy,

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since they found themselves so far advanced, that they could not retire either with safety or honour.

The Army then was put into order, and *Gassion* with the right wing made choice of a place of such advantage that he could conveniently attack the *Spaniards* in flank. *Melo* with a redoubled error not caring to stay any longer for *Bech*, for whom he had the evening before neglected the advantage to defeat one part of the Enemy, readily accepts the engagement, and in the beginning had the success to rout and pursue all the left-wing, with the gaining of eight Cannons, taking Monsieur de la Ferté prisoner, and the wounding of Monsieur del Hospital. This notwithstanding *Anguien* with an undaunted courage played still the part of a Commander, and suggesting to himself, if not from experience, at least from his birth, the memorials and provocations of glory, restores the broken Troops to courage and order, and leads again those that were most entire to the Fight. *Gassion*, with the natural fury of the French, shocks the left-wing of the *Spaniards* in such a manner, that the Cavalry could not withstand him. The Duke of *Albuquerque* was General of it, arrived to that degree by the favour of *Melo*, and he just, unmindful of the publick danger and his own honour, was the first that betook himself to flight; whereupon the rest easily followed him. *Gassion* then charges in the rear of the right wing, which being victorious, pursuing advantage, had scarce been put to a little stop by Monsieur de *Soirot*, who seasonably with a body of reserve was moving to encounter it. But feeling on a sudden blows from behind them, turned aside, and at last gave way totally. The Foot, which consisted of the best of the Italian and Spanish Troops, made resistance with the proof of great courage, as long as they were able. The Marquis de *Fontaine*, their General, having by the gout the use of his Feet taken from him, died upon a Chair at the head of the Battalions, with a great number of Souldiers, whose bodies were seen lying in ranks, so unmoveably had they kept their station. Many flinging away their Arms, endeavoured to escape by flight, and amongst those *Melo*, after having given greater proof of courage than experience, flinging away his Truncheon of command saved himself not softly. Five other Squadrons closing themselves together withstood a long time the charge of *Gassion*, resolving not to part with their lives but at the price of a great deal of blood. But they abandoned and environed by the French, who at last intended to bring Cannon to overcome them, were forced to yield. The Prisoners were six thousand, which with the Cannon, Baggage, and a great number of Colours, remained in the power of the French, who found of theirs not above two thousand wanting. *Anguien* warmed with the battle and fierce for the Victory, casts himself into the Enemy Country, not only recompensing with burning the mischief done in the *Tirafiche*, as hoping in that conflagration of minds for some great revolt. But the Flemings, observing France also by the death of the King tottering, kept themselves quiet. He applies therefore to more profitable Conquests, besieging

ing *Thionville*, which, through the importance of the situation in *Lutsemburg* having been formerly attempted, after a bloody Siege was now rendered, and a while after, *Strich* ran the same Fortune.

The Queen in this interim, after the Husbands death, comes with her two Sons from *St. Germans* to *Paris* amidst long files of the people in Arms, and entering with the new King into the Parliament, *Orleans*, and *Condé* assisting, expresses rather with tears than words, shewing the Sons as pledges of her affection; and the Kingdoms felicity, that nothing remained to her but Widowhood and tears. She referred to the Kings disposition of the manner of the Regency; to which, *Orleans* and *Condé* declared to have given their consent only, not to defile with reluctance and disgusts the quiet of the Kings last breath. To many of the Parliament it self, it seemed incapable of admission, no less than new. Being therefore abolished with unanimous Votes, the Regency remained decreed to the Mother of the King alone, with an absolute power! Yet it is true, that to have the two above-mentioned Princes consent to it, it was before concerted, that the Queen should confirm them in the charges conferred by the King, and that the same Ministers should be continued in the Council. As the first act of her authority, to the end to avoid any intestine over-turnings, the Queen recalls the exiled, and sets the *Bastille* open; and to gain applause, she bestows charges and gifts upon those she knew she could not with better, publishing that her desire was during her Regency to make appear all the virtue, but none of the defects of the past Government. To the Princes Confederates and Friends she steadfastly affirms, that she would persevere in the alliances and affections of her Husband deceased. As to Ministers of the Council, it quickly appeared, that she desired to bring into it persons more in her own confidence. They were but few, and had out-lived the persecutions of *Richelieu*, neglected, rather than preserved, by reason of the opinion of their mean abilities: Wherefore (the others beginning to fear a fall) the Chancellor, to uphold himself, employs as much money as he could, and as much art as he knew, for the gaining of those who being most conversant with the Queen, should remonstrate on all occasions to her his ability in employments, and the facility, with which he suffered himself without reserve to be bowed to the supreme will of the Government; a quality not to be despised in a new Regency.

Bottillier having the Keys of the Treasury, as his Son managed the Pen of the secrets of State, having with such eminent charges and immense riches provoked the hatred of the people and the envy of the Court, judged, it would be available for the preservation of the rest, to renounce the superintendency, which was by the Queen divided betwixt the President *Baillet*, her Chancellor, and Monsieur d' *Avo*, both in the reputation of sincere and disinterested virtue. Nevertheless a while after, *Chavigni* also, under the title of sale, was forced to yield up the Secretaryship of State to the Count de *Brienne*, a person of exemplary integrity, and of the Queens oldest Servants. To the charge of chief Minister, as difficult

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An. Dom. cult to be disposed of, as to be undertaken, because confidence and capacity were in an equal degree requisite; she destines the Bishop of *Bovés*, kept from Court by *Richelieu* as long as he lived: But he, being at first in the opinion of probity and sufficiency, was no sooner arrived at Court, but that in the darkness of so many affairs and interests, he found a new and obscure element, and passing from a private to a publick life, he seemed like a River, which in its own Chanel running clear and quiet, when it enters into the Sea becomes troubled and fluctuant. He erred at first against his own fortune, by not removing *Mazarine* from Court, believing to keep him at his pleasure to be informed and instructed by him. But he quickly came to know, that the excellency of wit keeps predominancy in all things and places. The Cardinal, in this eclipse of fortune, abandoned by all those, who a little before worshipped him, is not amazed, but, faining to accommodate himself to the time, with civil and submissive carriage moves compassion and affections, leaving the Bishop to lose himself in the weight of the affairs, or grow vain in the ambition of the place. The truth was, all those that negotiated with him were displeased at his want of experience; but above all, the Ministers of the League of *Italy* were offended with him; for, having with the favour assumed the ambition to adorn himself with the Purple, the King having obtained his nomination to the Cardinalat, he shewed himself most partial to the Court of *Rome*. *Mazarine*, seeing him tottering, began to absent himself from Council, alledging that being excluded from his former Post, he could no more appear there; whereupon the Government was quickly sensible of the weakness and alteration of the Ministers, and the Queen, more new in business than all, knew not what to counsel or resolve.

There is no doubt, but there appeared in the Queen a kind of inclination towards the Cardinal, at which the Bishop taking jealousy stirred up others also, who in his Government hoped to have a great share, to form a party to discard him. Perceiving at last that he was not able to do it alone, it was published, that the Duke of *Beaufort* would take upon him to kill the Cardinal, and Papers with sharp invectives were scattered in the Apartments and private Cabinets of the Court. The Queen, moved at it, caused *Beaufort* to be arrested Prisoner, and commands the Bishop to retire to his Residence. The Dukes of *Vandosm* and *Mercure*, Father and Brother of *Beaufort*, went out of *Paris*, and *Madam de Chevreuse* left it also. Thus the Court changing face in a moment, gave *Mazarine* opportunity to establish himself. In the want of other capable persons, by the means of those that took party with him, he caused it to be divulged; *That the quality of a Stranger ought not to prejudice him, but was rather to be judged commodious for the common good, being neither obliged to the factions of the Princes, nor exposed to the hatred of the great ones. That the Natives had kindred, riches, and parties, in which they were confident, either to find excuses for their overights, or pardon for their faults. That himself, destitute of all protection,*

tection, could not hope for support but in his innocency. That he willingly exposed himself to the hatred of the turbulent, being always ready to deliver the lovers of Peace out of troubles.

All applauded these conceptions, some to bespeak his favour and to advance him, others to expose him to the publick hatred, and to ruine him. And many, being not able to bear the superiority of Equals, inclined rather to a Stranger. Thus the Cardinal saw himself in a moment got up to that height of authority, to which *Richelieu* in the progress of many years scarce arrived with so many difficulties, he as a Stranger governing that Kingdom, which having placed the glory of it in Arms, he had very often rejected the commands of the King, and not valued the favour of his nearest affections. There was no difficulty in the Queens satisfaction, she being new in Affairs and desirous of Peace.

Orleans weary of his banishments and of former troubles, of a Genius otherwise tractable, and now satisfied with the posture wherein he was, and desirous to be employed in the Armies, was pleased with the submissions and flatteries of *Mazarine*, who supplied him with his satisfactions and money, and designed him the next year for the Command of the Army of *Flanders*.

Conde also setting after the doubtfulness of the Regency, and intent upon heaping up wealth, and therefore a friend to Favourites from whom he received advantage, was at present content with his condition, the Cardinal serving him to obtain of the Queen all that which his interests suggested him to pretend to. *Anguien*, his Son, who having haply tasted the first glory of War, breathed nothing but a Martial Genius, professed himself bound to the new Minister, who destining him for the command of an Army, furnished him also with those means for his subsistence, which his Fathers Patrimony contributed scantily to him.

For the rest, the Great men finding themselves without places and without Governments, the people exhausted both in their Wealth and Blood, no body could oppose, all rather applauded the Cardinal, who in this beginning made it his glory not to appropriate to himself Riches, Governments, or Honours, but labour and toil only; with inflexible rigour to keep his Kindred far distant; to refuse the Queens favours and benefits, and above all, trusting in his fidelity and the services which he proposed to render to the Crown, to detest any Defence and Guards, content with his own House and the modesty of a frugal Family.

Such were the beginnings of his Government, in which increasing always in favour, he was notwithstanding acceptable to all. But Strangers could not believe this Ministry durable, or the Peace of the Kingdom lasting, yet it quickly appeared, that it was confirmed, nay rather increased in Dominion and Glory; Power and Authority being so enlarged, that the change of the Minister, the death of the King, the government of a Child, and the direction of a Stranger had no power at all to shake it. The Queen in these beginnings shewed a desire to Peace, and the Cardinal,

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Cardinal, to keep the people with those hopes contented, caused Pass-ports for the Ministers of Spain to be dispatched, and consents, that a beginning should be given to the Meetings, for which the Pope deputed *Fabio Chigbi*, Bishop of *Nardo*, Nuntio at *Collen*, and the Republick dispatched *Luigi Contarini*. But in Italy, amidst the considerations of foreign occurrences, the successes of the Armies Pontifical and Confederate were attentively observed. The Duke of *Modena* with the Vote of the Commendator *Ugolino Grifoni*, who in that Army assisted for the Grand Duke; had resolved to incamp in sight of *Castel Franco*, though *Corraro* believed it more proper, that it should have gone to *Finale* to incommode the *Ferrarese*, and keep it self nearer to the Quarters of *Parma*, to the *Po*, and to the Territory of the Republick.

Cardinal *Antonio* foreseeing the march, sends a great Party into the Mountains of the *Modonese*; so that the Duke was forced to follow it with his own men and two thousand *Venetian* Foot, the rest remaining at *Buon Porto*. He desired afterwards, that that also might move, but *Corraro* denied it, because the Duke had not made sufficient provision of Victuals; nor had wherewithal to carry it after the Army cross the Mountain. The intention of *Mathei* being discovered, to keep the Confederates in motion and the employment of their own defence, he on a sudden goes out of the *Modonese* with the loss but of one Company of Horse, which was defeated by the Duke. *Valanzé* moved then with all the Army towards *Finale* and *Bondeno*, threatening to attack some of those Forts; and because the Duke of *Parma*, who had not done ought but force the Quarters of four hundred Horse at *St. Pietro*, was reduced to a very weak number of Foot, and not to above a thousand Horse, the *Venetians* resolved to lend him some Troops to keep the Out-works of *Bondeno*. *Corraro*, who coasted upon the Enemies march, was afterwards in the Quarter of *Campo Santo* assaulted by *Valanzé* with three thousand Foot and five hundred Horse; but he withstood and repulsed him. His Judgment was, that the Duke remaining to guard his own Confiners, should send him the two thousand Foot of the Republick, which he had with him, that he might invade the *Ferrarese*, with which he should not only have diverted the Enemy from molesting the Dukes Country; but the Posts of Communication and the Banks of the River should have been kept defended: a counsel, which event afterwards shewed, how advantageous it would have been. But the desire prevailing in the Duke to enter into the *Bolognese* to draw the Cardinal *Antonio* after him, the March was resolved on, having first strengthened *Finale* with five hundred Foot more, which the *Venetians* sent beyond the *Po*, that in the absence of the Army, the Pontificians should not attempt to exploit any thing to break the Communication and shut out the Army.

Corraro then and the Duke having a mind to joyn, Cardinal *Antonio*, that understood all their designs, caused, to the end to hinder them, *Nonantola* to be attacked by four thousand men. The place lies beyond the *Danaro* without any defence of Fortifications, and

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was then kept by the *Venetians* with two Companies under the Colonel *St. Martin*, who resolved whatever happened to defend the attack and the Battery of two great Guns, to give time to the Duke, who was then at *Modena*, to come with his own and two thousand Foot of the *Venetians* to its succours. He coming to the Bridge of the *Navicello*, found it possessed by four Companies of Horse; but driving them away, comes through to *Nonantola*, and obliges the Enemy to a Retreat. This being quickly done, he forthwith returns, when in his way the Cardinal appeared to oppose him, and although the March had wearied the Souldiers, the Duke nevertheless resolves to fight him. He scarce began to move, but the Pontificians betook themselves to flight, in which being pursued with the death of some, and amongst those of *Francesco Gonzagha*, Sergeant Major General of the Army, the Cardinal, whose Horse was killed under him, hardly escaped from being of the number of the Prisoners, which amounted to two hundred.

The Confederates resolved, demolishing *Nonantola*, not to ingage a Garrison in so weak a place, to march to *Spilimberto*, whence they entered into the Territory of *Bologna*, plundering to the very Gates of the Town, to the damage and terrour of the Country. *Piumazzo*, abandoned by the Inhabitants, at the appearance of two hundred Foot and five hundred Horse was possessed. The Baron de *Dehensfeld*, who commanded the Horse of the Republick, had *Baxano* delivered to him, and judging it not easie to be kept left it. But the Pontificians having brought three hundred men into it, moved the Confederates to repossess it, as was easily done, the Garrison rendering on conditions, which were not observed, because, contrary to the tenour of them, some certain powder was found amongst the Baggage, whereupon being stript by the way, they were all made Prisoners.

In *Tuscany*, *Savelli* in this interim had recovered *Passignano*, cutting the Garrison of two hundred men in pieces, keeping the Commander Prisoner, and afterwards attempted the City of *la Pieve* with a Petard, but without success. The Confederates had taken *Paciano*, and the Grand Dukes Army consisting of eight thousand Foot, fourteen hundred Horse, and thirty pieces of Artillery, being incamped in the Plain of *Castiglione del Lago*, gave so much terrour to *Perugia*, that the Prefect who was there thought himself not secure, and was doubtful of some commotion of the Inhabitants; whereupon *Savelli*, drawing the Army under the Walls of it, durst not enlarge his quarters. The progress would certainly have been very considerable also in the *Bolognese*, as the Confederates designs were not small, if Cardinal *Antonio* had not with a new sprightly party overthrown their counsels. He, seeing that on that side the strength of the Army consisted in the Forces of the Republick, and to oblige it to call back their Troops for its own defence, caused thirteen Boats by night to be put into the *Po*, and hastily imbarquing four hundred men upon them, sends them a little below *Lagoscuro* to take Post upon the Banks on this side of the River. Captain *Tritonio*, who

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who with a Company of Horse was going the round, opposed them, but, being overpowered by the number, was forced to let them land. The *Pontificians* marched immediately to the same Post of *Lagoscuro*, ill fortified, and worse provided with men, and although Count *Giovanni Battista Porto*, and the Cavalier *Mark Antonio Strozza* valorously defended it for six hours, yet *Valanzé* being in this interim passed to this side with three thousand Foot, fifteen hundred Horse, and some Cannon, they were at last overcome and made Prisoners.

At the first reports of the Enemies passage, the General *Pesari* sends *Mark Antonio Brancaccio* with five hundred Foot to relieve the Post attacked; but being come to *Chiviche*, and there understanding it was taken, stopt, till the General himself, who was also marching, should arrive. *Pesari* had not with him above eighteen hundred Foot, and betwixt three and four hundred Horse, the many Garrisons and frequent expeditions to the other side of the *Po* having lessened his Forces. Having understood, that with the liberty and safety of the País the Enemy was every day more and more strengthened, he resolved to halt there, to expect reinforcement, recalling from *Finale* the last five hundred Foot he had sent thither, two Companies of Horse from *Mantua*, and dispatching orders and advice to all places, to defend the Country and increase the Forces. He conferred there with the Duke of *Parma*, desiring him to join with him; but *Edward*, having but a very few men, advised that he should expect the Army out of the *Modenesi*.

All this passing with great retardment, the interim served the *Pontificians* to plant a good Fort there, just over against the other, which on the other side of the *Po* was also called by the name of *Lagoscuro*. In the *Polesent*, and in *Rovigo*, by reason of this passage, the fright was truly great; but the *Pontificians*, not willing to be shut up amidst those Ditches, contented themselves with the advantage they had gotten, advancing only with some incursions as far as *Paulino* and *Fieffo*. The Senate, troubled at this accident, sends four hundred Souldiers in Garrison to *Rovigo*, and *Michele Priuli*, Proveditor of the *Terra firma*, came seasonably thither to re-animate the minds of the Inhabitants. He over and above commands, that four thousand of the Trained Band should be assembled, that they might trouble the Enemy from the Confines of *Loreo*; and that *Lorenzo Marcello*, Proveditor of the Fleet, should come with a good Squadron into those waters. The most ready succours depended upon recalling *Corraro*, to whom the General had dispatched orders to return, leaving the Duke two thousand Souldiers. Although the matter of self-defence admitted not of consultations, nevertheless in the consult of that Army it was resolved, abandoning the *Bolognese* to return to the *Po*, the Duke seeming contented to retain four hundred only of the *Venetian* Souldiers. The Confederates, having their march at several Passes interrupted by the Cardinal *Antonio*, arrive at *Bondeno*, and there among the *Venetians* themselves were diversities of opinions. For *Corraro* approved the going to the other

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side of the *Po*, there to make diversion, and at the same time attack both the Forts of *Lagoscuro*. But *Pesari* sustaining that the Forces were not so strong that they might with safety be divided, and fearing lest the Fort of *Figarolo* should be assaulted, orders that the Army should pass over, which was executed with some slowness, by reason of the diversity of opinions; concerning which, not without some contention of minds, each of the Chiefs were willing to give the Senate information, which referred it self to the Consult and to the plurality of the Votes of those to whom it was committed that were upon the place. *Pesari* advances with the whole Army in sight of *Lago-Scurio*, and in the viewing of it, met with a thousand Horse divided into seven Squadrons that were easily repulsed; nor was there other encounter, the *Pontificians* within their Fortifications not being to be forced, nor was it their interest to sally forth, not to expose to a doubtful event that great advantage of the Post, which was so serviceable for their preservation.

The *Venetians* whom it equally concerned not to give battle, not to leave, in case of a sinister accident, in prey to the Enemy a Country of so great importance, and lying in such sort open, that it could not be preserved but with an Army; went to *Fieffo* to fix a Quarter there, and with the Fort of *Figarolo* of one side, and the *Polesella* on the other, they thought to strengthen the Enemy, and keep their own Country covered. Nevertheless, not to abandon the Duke of *Modena*, two thousand men were sent back to him, that he might assist the *Ferrarese* and defend his own Country. The Senate little satisfied with these resolutions, and less with the success, made choice for Proveditor in the Camp of *Prulli* and *Corraro*, which formerly were, the one in *Terra firma*, and the other in the *Modenesi*; and into the Generalat substitutes *Alvaro Justiniani* Procurator, calling home *Pesari* to clear himself of several negligences which were imputed to him; of which things, being better understood, he was afterwards absolved, and a few years after assumed to the Principality of the Republick. *Justiniani*, being arrived at the Army, had a Meeting with the Dukes of *Modena* and *Parma*, to which last some re-inforcement of men being come to him out of his own Country; and it was resolved, that the General sending some other Souldiery beyond the *Po*, at the same time should be attacked the two Forts of *Lago-Scurio*.

The Conference was scarce separated, but the Duke, contrary to what was resolved, demands so many men and so many provisions as left the General without Forces to act what on his side was agreed. He of *Modena* laid afterwards the fault on *Edward*, as having a mind not to do any thing at all. Then, although *Justiniani* offered fifteen hundred Foot more, the Dukes with several excuses delaying to resolve, perhaps that knowing the enterprise to be too much difficult, they had no mind to hazard their Honour and their Troops; yet he comes before the Fort, dividing his Quarters, his own with *Gonzaga* above, the other of *Priuli* and *Valente*, a little below. On the other side of the River was Cardinal *Antonio* with the whole

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Army of thirteen thousand men, and notwithstanding the Batteries of the *Venetians* from the Dikes, had, at least by night, convenient passage to relieve it, nay oftentimes assaulted the Quarters themselves, though his attempts were always repulsed. The most signal Faction was, that a Souldier *Cors*, having by flight out of the Camp of the *Venetians* carried the Word to the Enemies; they, three thousand strong, commanded by Count *Frederico Mirogli*, came, and by night assaulted the Generals Quarter. The Alarm being given, *Gonzaga* hastes to it, and the Aggressors were beaten back with loss. Many were drowned in the *Po*; eighty were taken Prisoners, and amongst them *Mirogli* with some few wounded. But this was not done without some hurt to the *Venetians*; for on that side were killed *Carrucci*, a gallant Colonel of *Groats* and *Albanese*; *Colonsa*, their Serjeant Major, besides two Captains, and *Cupis* an Ingencier.

Notwithstanding this advantage, the General perceived, that by the facility of the passage and of the succours, the Enemy received, the enterprise could not be carried through; thereupon drawing all his men into one Quarter, he retires to *Pozzo* in good order. *Prilli* being sick, a while after dyes, and to him was surrogated *Sebastian Veniero*, who upon the Confines of *Lore* supplied the place of *Delfino*, who was also indisposed. Before he came into the *Polesene*, he had several times hindered the Pontificians to pass to this side the River; and now sending some Troops to the other side, attacks in *Cologna* a Quarter of three hundred men, and firing the Town with the death of ninety, brought away fifty Prisoners besides. Nine Gallies also and two Gallies with the Provéditeur of the Fleet roved at Sea, incommoding the Commerce of the Subjects of the Church; but nothing of note happened, but that in passing by shooting upon *Simigaglia*, a Cannon shot took away the life of *Thomaso Contarini*, Captain of one of the Gallies, a person young in years, but in affairs of the Sea of the highest expectation. But the season not serving longer for it, little could be done by the Confederates at Sea; they only ordered reinforcement for the year to come, and because the Pope in the *Mediterranean* calling the Gallies of *Malta* to joyn with his, had obliged those of *Tuscany* to retire, the *Venetians* offered the Grand Duke, their Gallies not being accustomed to that Navigation, to arm at a common charge some great Vessels, and in the approaching *Campania* to trouble the Enemy on that side also.

In this interim the Revenues of the *Malteseans* in the Dominions of the Princes United were sequestred; notwithstanding those Cavaliers would have excused themselves, as not having been able to deny to serve the Pope their Sovereign. The successes in *Tuscany* fully compensated those less happy on the other side; for although the Grand Duke, a little indisposed, was retired to *Florence*, and that *Monterabio* was possessed by the Pontificians, nevertheless the heat of the Armies not cooling, the Enemy was beaten off from *St. Casciano*; and *Passignano* was recovered by the Confederates. *La Magione*, a rich Abby belonging to Cardinal *Antonio*, was plundered,

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dered, and a certain Wall of great concernment broken down, which holding up the waters in the *Chiani* to the prejudice of *Tuscan*, diverted them from the *Tevere*, where formerly having their course, they were the cause of Inundations and great miseries to *Rome*. *Monte Cotognola* was also forced, the Garrison of some hundreds of Souldiers remaining Prisoners. The four hundred Horse, viz. three hundred of the *Venetians* under *Girolamo Tadini*, and a hundred of the Duke of *Modena*, after some delay, by reason of what had happened at the *Po*, arrived at last in *Tuscany*, and some Souldiers of the *French* Levies began to disembark at *Ligorn*; wherewith the Army taking vigour gave no small apprehension to *Perugia*. To divert it, *Vincenza della Marra*, Knight of *Malta*, *Neopolitan*, and Marechal General of the Field, *Savelli* by reason of indisposition being retired, designing an Incurfion into *Tuscan*, and the surprise of the City of *Pieve*, was upon his march thither with three thousand Foot, eight hundred Horse, and four pieces of Cannon. But meeting with the Prince *Matthias*, who crossed him in his way, altd upon the Hill della *Madonna di Mongiovino*, playing with his Cannon upon the Princes Vanguard; but they being obliged to double their steps, seized upon another Eminence, from whence he so galled the Pontificians, that they, abandoning the first Post, endeavoured to get up upon a higher point of the same Hill. Being then closely pursued, and *Cornelio Malvasia*, Lieutenant General of the Cavalry, running away with two hundred Horse, the rest remained at the discretion of the Confederates. *Marra* retiring with a few into a certain Castle without defence, seeing himself beset, renders himself Prisoner with four Colonels, seventy Officers of several qualifications and about a thousand Souldiers, leaving all their Colours and the Cannon with all other Provisions in the hands of the Conquerours. *Monterchio* was hereupon recovered; *Castel Leone* with *Piegaio* taken; *Montalere* and the Mills of *Perugia* battered.

But a new Army was quickly set on Foot consisting of seven thousand Foot and seventeen Companies of Horse, under the Command of the Commendator *Nari* and of *Tobia Pallavicino*, to execute the design of the *Barberins* to assault the Grand Duke in several parts, whilst the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Modena*, reduced to their own defence, they had their Forces less engaged, and the Grand Duke having not lent his ear to particular Treaties, several times proposed to him, to the end to separate him from the League; they had hopes either to give him a blow with their Army, or for fear to induce him to an accord, and afterwards with all their force to fall upon the *Venetians*. The attacks in *Tuscany* were to be made in three places; at *Petigliano* with the new Army from the *Fernigino*; at *Pistoia* by the way of the Mountains with that of the *Bolognese*; and lastly *Monsieur de Codré Monpensier*, General of *Romagna*, towards the City del *Sole*, and that part of the Dominion, which beyond the *Appennine* belongs to the Grand Duke, which, as exposed and weak, was also ill guarded. They contrived at the same time to send into the Country of *Parma* the Count de *St. secondo*, who pretended to pos-

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sefs himself of certain places belonging to the House of *Farnese*, backed by the Colonel *Garnier*, who without observation levied men upon the Lands of *Buzzolo* and in the *Mantuan*. Three hundred Horse also, wading the *Panaro*, were by the Plains of the *Modenesi* to be sent by the Cardinal *Antonio* to those parts, with great appearance that they might do great mischief, and raise confusion in the Country. The Duke of *Modena*, having got notice of the design, desired no better but that the said Horse should be suffered to pass the River, that then from convenient places they might be surprised and cut to pieces. In opposition to this, he of *Parma*, who with very weak Forces kept himself at *Bondeno*, thought it better to employ effectual offices at *Milan* and at *Mantua*, to the end, as it happened, a stop might be put to the Levies of St. *Secondo* and *Garnier*. But *Valanzé* marching against *Tuscany* with four thousand Foot and a thousand Horse by the way of *Poretta*, came upon *Pistoia* so suddenly, that the Great Duke had not time to thrust succours into it. Nevertheless the Town, though weak, by the courage of the Inhabitants and some few Souldiers repulsed the Scalade, which *Valanzé* attempted, who frustrated of his chief design, contented himself to do some spoil in the Country round about, and with the gain of four Cannon, which he found by the way. If the possessing of *Pistoia* had succeeded, the Pontificians intencion was to advance towards *Florence*, and, with the terrour of Fire and Sword moving mens minds and crying liberty, to have attempted to incense the people. There was in truth great fear within the City, that had not for a long time been accustomed to feel an Enemy so near; but the news of the success quickly quieted their hearts, and the Grand Duke, to shew confidence, put Arms into the peoples hands, which the *Medici*, during their Government, had not till now hazarded to do. The Prince *Matthias* halted with four thousand men to the greater need; but leaving the *Senese* exposed; the *Barberini* attacked it also from that side.

The Grand Duke demanded succours of the Confederates, and the *Venetians*, though with much apprehension they remained fixed in the preservation of the *Polesine*, sent to the other side of the *Po* two thousand five hundred Foot more and three hundred Horse with *Veniero* and *Valette*, to joyn with the others of their men to divert the Enemy. Duke *Edward* shewed a desire to go to the assistance of the Grand Duke, and without believing to obtain it, demanded four thousand Foot and a thousand Horse of the *Venetians*, who not much satisfied with his lying idle, thought it better to employ their own Officers, exhorting him to trouble the Enemy in that interim in the *Ferrarese*. But he not stirring, the Duke of *Modena* joyns to five thousand men of the *Venetians* a thousand two hundred Foot of his own and eight hundred Horse, sending them by the way of the Mountains into the Reer of *Valanzé*. The Marquis *Colombino*, *Modenesi*, pillaged *Rocca Cornetta*; the Count *Raimondo Montecuculi* forced *Vergato*, defended by two hundred Foot and six hundred Peasants. *Valette* having defeated a Company of Horse, plundered

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plundered to the Gates of *Castel Franco*, and as far as *Bologna*. *Bazzano* was retaken with the death of one hundred and fifty Foot and sixty Dragoons that kept it, but the Count of *Montecuculi* was there hurt. *Montevia*, *Serravalle*, and other walled Castles, where the people had put their Goods for safety, were in like manner taken. The Commander *Panzetta* with part of the Garrison of *Modena* surprised *Crevacuore*, a great place, cutting to pieces the Garrison of about three hundred; but the Souldiers, for plunder having neglected the Guards, *Codre Monpensier* enters into it, taking *Panzetta* himself Prisoner, and killing fifty men with a Captain of Horse, whilst the rest saved themselves by flight.

By the motion of the Confederates with such success, *Codre* was diverted from the thought of attempting the City *del Sole*, and *Valanzé* perceiving the design to cut off his way, with the loss of some men in the Mountain retired into the *Bolognese*. The Great Duke now had the liberty to employ all his Forces on the other side, where Cardinal *Barberino*, come into *Aqua-pendente*, had sent *Tobia Pallavicino* towards *Burgo St. Sepulcro* with five thousand men. The Governour of the place sallying forth with two Companies of Horse, cut to pieces a Party of three hundred with their Commander, whereupon the gros withdrew; but not long after *Cesare delli Oddi*, Commissary General of the Horse, besieges *Pitigliano*, Cardinal *Rapaccioli* assisting in the Army. The attacke was for sixteen days withstood by the Colonel *Grisini*, who with eight hundred men commanded within it. At last the Prince *Matthias* marching that way, *Strozzi*, Serjeant Major General *de Bataille*, preventing them, puts himself into the field with two thousand Foot and six hundred Horse assembled in haste, and from *Sorano* advancing to *Casene*, attacks a great Party of the Pontificians which were plundering in that Quarter. He had the good fortune to beat and dissipate it with so great a fright to the rest, that a Pannick fear entring into the Camp, the Siege was raised with great confusion and a direct running away. *Strozzi* pursuing this terrified Army dispersed a good part of it. Cardinal *Rapaccioli* was not slow in saving himself. *Barberino*, who was upon his way from *Rome* to go animate the Army with his presence, failed but little of being taken Prisoner. Eight pieces of Ordnance, four Petards, with many Colours, and all the Military provisions remained in prey to the Conquerours. The Commander of the *Castel Ottieri* in *Tuscany* seized upon *Montorio*, and the Pontificians, who had newly gained *Monterchio*, abandoned it, totally dis-incumbering the Dominions of the Grand Duke. The season proper for the action of Armies ending with this success, of equal honour and advantage, the Troops were distributed into Quarters, and those of the Confederates being about *la Fratta*, *Tobia Pallavicino*, going inconsiderately out of the place, was taken Prisoner.

On the other side the Count *dal Masstro* Serjeant Major General *de Bataille*, fell into the hands of the Pontificians, who in that Quarter recovered *Val di Nestore* during the Winter. In *Polesine* the Autumnal

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tumnal Rains falling in extraordinary abundance, had very seasonably hindered action there, the Country being low and dirty. The Enemy remained only incommodated by the *Venetians* by way of the Sea, and by *Delfino* were defeated at *la Garda* one hundred and fifty Foot and as many Horse, and by *Antonio Grimani alla Zocca* four Companies of Dragoons, burning the Country round about. *Veniero* lodged with the *Venetian* Troops in the *Modeneze* at *Spilemberto*, and the *Pontificians* with three Cannons came in great numbers to attack him. *Valetta*, not trusting himself in the quarter but weakly fortified, goes forth with the Cavalry to meet them, and, being seconded by five hundred Foot, obliged them to retire. After that by the direction of a Company of *Croats*, come from the service of the *Barberins* to that of the Republick, he attacked by night the quarter of *Casfel Franco*, where defeating two Companies, some Horses were brought away. The roughness of the Winter hindered at last every where even the smallest occasions, giving way, that with more quiet of mind applications might be made for a Treaty, which amidst the management of Arms had not been intermitted: For *Alexandro*, Cardinal *Bichi*, sent by the Crown of *France* to mediate, being arrived in *Italy*, persuades the Pope and the Princes Confederate to nominate Plenipotentiaries, to meet and treat of Peace; and thereto were appointed by *Urban* the Cardinal *Donghi*; by the *Venetians*, *Giovanni Nani* Cavalier and Procurator; by the Grand Duke, *il Gondi*, and by the Duke of *Modena*, *il Tesli*.

A difficulty presently rose about the place; for *Donghi* demanding, that, to shew some respect to the Pope, the meeting might be held in his Dominion; the Confederates dissented from it, to the end not to let it appear, that other interest was there to be managed besides the private of the *Barberine* Family, with whom (serving the obedience to the holy See) they professed to have the contest. It was then proposed to call it in a neutral place, and particularly in the *Mantuan*; and when the Emperour named the Prince *de Bozzold*, and the *Spaniards*, the Cardinal *Albornos*, to meet there; *Bichi*, who desired that the merit might be ascribed only to *France* and to himself, let fall the proposition: But going into the *Modeneze*, proposes in writing to the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*, and to the *Proveditor Corraro*: That the absolution and the pardon for *Edward* should be asked by others; that his Country should be restored, the rights of the *Montiffs* remaining as before. He, over and above, offers his endeavours with the mediation of the Crown, the better to discover the truth of their intentions, whether the Confederates pretended ought else. To the Grand Duke, besides these propositions, he glances at a suspension of Arms. He then proposes to go to *Rome*, to shew respect to the Pope, and assure himself of the intentions of the *Nephews*, not having found at *Bologna* in *Donghi* that extent of powers which was judged necessary. In effect *Urban* discovered to be not only inclined but desirous of Peace; for, burdened with his age, and weary of the cares War carries with it, though his Kinman

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concealed from him the things that were most grievous, and disguised the informations of matter of fact, yet the clamours of the people for so many devastations came to his ears, and he began to be sensible of losing his own, out of a desire to retain that which was another's. He therefore consents to a Treaty, with the restitution of *Castro*, and prays the Cardinal to hasten the conclusion of it, that he might enjoy peace in that little residue of life which he had yet to live. In *Barberino Bichi* found wonted obstinacy; for it being at that time, when with the passage of the *Po* he thought to have put the *Ferrarese* out of danger, and that he intended an invasion into *Tuscany*, he sought all evasions; so that, to frustrate the propositions of *Bichi*, he causes to be insinuated to the Emperour the depositing of *Castro* in his hand, and the *Austrians* were greatly pleased with it, that so their name and the Imperial authority might be interposed in the Treaty, and to exclude the *French* from the Negotiation and the deposition it self.

But the Princes of the League, always more jealous from the alteration of propositions, kept their intentions secret, resolving not as yet to express, whether with the alone preservation of the interests of *Parma* they would remain contented. The designs of *Barberino* against *Tuscany* vanishing at last with dishonour and loss, the Cardinal *Antonio* comes also to *Rome*, to require many things that were wanting, which could not be supplied but with great charge. He also gives account of the state of the Army, and of the necessity of reinforcement; he declares the burden which the State bore for quarters; the groans of the subjects for the desolation of the Country, and the difficulty either to recover what was lost, or in making Conquests upon the Confederates. The congregation therefore of State, expressly set on foot for the discussions of such Affairs, siding with the Pope, concluded that *Castro* was to be restored to the Duke *Edward*. Cardinal *Barberino* could now no longer withstand the common inclination, though he saw, that, with the restitution of *Castro*, a dishonourable Peace was to be the consequence of an unhappy War. Nevertheless, the Pope retracting the offer of the deposition made to the Imperialists, as if it had rather been a casual discourse than an express proposition, a Writing was delivered to *Bichi* with a promise of the said restitution. If with this alone the Confederates would be satisfied, was as yet very doubtful; for those of *Modena* in the Assemblies at *Padua*, pressed, that, if not their rights upon *Ferrara*, at least those of *Comacchio* might be protected by the League in favour of the Duke. The *Venetians* judged it best not to insist upon ought else but the interests of *Parma*; but not to express themselves in it, till the intentions of *Barberino* in that point should be more fully declared, so the end that secured from further troubles, the Treaty might have no new disturbance. But the Grand Duke, who felt the burden of the War to be heavy, declares to Cardinal *Bichi*, who in his way from *Rome* to *Venice* passed by *Florence*, that saving his own rights and ancient interests, the Confederates would be satisfied with the redintegration of the Duke

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An. Dom. 1643. of *Parma*. Upon the arrival of the Cardinal at *Venice*, thither came the Dukes of *Modena* and *Parma*, and *Gondi* and *Tessi* were already there, debating with *Nani* and *Gussoni*, whom the Senate had again deputed for that purpose, not only the propositions of Peace, but proceeded by anticipation upon the concert of Arms, in case the Treaty should come to nothing; so that to remedy those inconveniences, which the division of Forces had been the cause of in the last Campaign, it was designed to make up together a body of thirty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, and joining into one body sixteen thousand of the one, and four thousand of the other, every one with the rest keeping his own Frontiers, it was resolved to make an attempt upon *Romagna*, a Country abounding with Victuals, that had not many strong places, and whereinto the Army being once entered might receive Provisions and Recruits by Sea.

For this purpose the *Venetians* having resolved to increase their Fleet with sixteen Gallies, offered to employ it to second the undertakings by Land, and proffered money to the Duke of *Modena*, to provide himself with Souldiers to execute the concerts on his side also. The greatest and most effectual difficulty herein consisted in the raising of men; for, although the Republick had given out orders for many Leavies, not only in their own dominion in *Italy* and in that beyond the Sea, but in *Germany* and in *France*, entertaining amongst others in their service *Giles d'Har*, a Commander of much repute, on condition to levy three thousand *Germans*; yet the diligence of the *Pontificians*, to hinder the effecting of it, prevailed in many places; so that some of the *Cantons* of the *Swissers*, stirred up by the Nuntio, openly hindred the passages, and the *Grisons* denied them to make their market of them.

The Ambassador of *France* secretly also crossed them, doubtful, lest the remainder of the *Weimarians*, running to the new Levy, should totally disband. On the other side, expressly to ruine that Army, the Arch-Dutchess *Claudia* of *Inibrich*, at the entreaty of *Luigi Contarini* Cavalier, in his way to the meeting at *Münster*, opened the ways of *Tirol*, and *Girolamo Cavazza*, Secretary, at last agrees for those of the *Grisons*, with the recognition of a certain sum of money; the Bishop of *Coire* co-operating therein, though severely threatened by the *Barberins*. The Pope, burdening his Subjects with many Imposts, the *Genoues* furnishing ready money upon them, and by taking a great sum out of the Castle of *S. Angelo*, of that, which had been laid up by his Predecessors for War against the Infidels and other the most urgent occasions, was sufficiently provided of money: So that Souldiers flocked to him, invited by the greatness of pay, and a good many also came out of the Province of *Avignon*, and out of *France*, the Cardinal *Mazarine* secretly consenting to it, who, seeing *Urban* in a declination, and *France* without a party in the Court of *Rome*, desired to support himself by that of the *Barberins*, and arm them with a Nation depending on himself, to be able in some measure to promote in the Election of the next Pope his own interests, and that of the Crown.

A N N O

A N N O M D C X L I V .

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Such Contentts, which without profit equally endammaged the Princes, and ruined the People, made way at last to the good of the Peace; which if it seemed more necessary than honourable to the *Barberins*, was of no less profit and glory to the Confederates. *Bichi*, arriving at the very end of the year past at *Venice*, immediately proposes, that the absolution and pardon should be demanded by *France* for Duke *Edward*, and that *Castro* should be restored to him; restoring only to the Church what was possessed by the Confederates, and the rights of the Montists remaining as before; and because he observed the greatest difficulty to ly in the distrust, which the Confederates had of the intentions of the *Barberins* in executing that which should be agreed, he offers the word of *France*, with a declaration and promise, that their Arms should be employed against him that should fail in the execution of the Agreement.

Though the Grand Duke had declared himself to be contented with *Castro*; nevertheless, in the meetings at *Venice*, *Gondi* insisted, that the *Pontificians* might by the Treaty be prohibited to repair the ruined Wall, which holding up the waters in the *Chiani* overflowed the Country of *Siena*. But by the *Venetians* was given him to understand, that promoting the interests of one of the Confederates, there would be a necessity to open a gate in the Treaty for the others also, to the rendring it more tedious and difficult. The Grand Duke thereupon desisted, and the *Venetians* razing those Forts possessed by them near *Loreo*, provided in some measure on that side against the disturbance which resulted from thence on the borders.

The *Austrian* Ministers bore with great impatience to be excluded from this Treaty, and the Emperours Ambassador shews in *Venice* a Plenipotence to assist at the meetings; but the Confederates easily excused it: For, the conditions of Peace being by the *Barberins* put into the hand of the *French* Mediator, they could not but lend their ear to him, that brought more ample and the securest propositions. The Treaty therefore went on, although some military accidents interposed; for the *Venetians* had contrived the surprise of the Fort of *Lagoscuro* on the other side of the *Po*; but by incessant rains for three whole days the ways being overflowed, the design was hindered; and Cardinal *Antonio* having got the Wind of it, strengthens the Garrison; and for fear of intelligence changes the Commander. *Marino Badoaro* also from *Figarolo* attempts that of that other Fort on this side; but some few Souldiers, coming like labourers to possess it, being discovered, the others that followed were constrained to retire. *Giacomo Riva* had success in beating up the quarters of the *Pontificians* at *Zecca*, and the armed Barques of the *Venetians*, after some contest, carried away from *Premiero* some Vessels laden with Corn.

To make themselves amends for these insults, the *Pontificians* assaulted

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assaulted a quarter of the *Venetians* at *Schienta*; but being repulsed and pursued by *Giovanni Paulo Gradenigo*, Paymaster in the field, and by *la Valetta*, the encounter grew hot near to *Lagoscuro* on the other side of the River, and ended in the flight and loss of the aggressors; so that the Cardinal *Antonio*, who falling out of *Ferrara* attempted to countenance the faction, was hardly able to save himself with the swiftness of his Horse, leaving more than a hundred of his men dead upon the place, and about an hundred and fifty Prisoners, amongst which were the Vice Legate of *Ferrara*, *Caraffa*, *Antonio Doria* Governour of that Fort, and other Officers and French Captains. The death, if it had hapned, of *Urban*, fallen now extremely sick, might have caused a great alteration in the Treaty; whereupon Cardinal *Bichi* hastens the conclusion, and fearing not to compass it time enough, proposes a suspension of Arms, lest perchance there might happen a vacant See. The Confederates, although such an accident, which could not pass without great revolutions in the Dominions of the Church, and in the Court of *Rome*, would open to them a way to many advantages, were not against it, by reason of that respect which they professed towards the holy See, and because, with the death of the Pope, the authority also of the Nephews expiring, those motives would fall to the ground, which had been the cause of taking Arms.

Nay the Grand Duke upon the first notice of *Urban*'s sickness, which was thought deadly, dispatches Letters to the Cardinal *Montalto*, in the which justifying his intentions to the future Conclave, offers himself to interpose with the other Princes for the consenting to a Truce.

The Senate also wrote to Cardinal *Bragadino*, requiring him by provision, if there should be a vacancy in the See, to assure the Conclave of their upright intentions for Peace; but it was in truth believed, that the Grand Duke had been transported too far, by separating his endeavours, and offering that, of which the League had not as yet been desired by the Court of *Rome*. Wherefore he excusing the speed of his dispatch with the doubt, that the Popes life would not have lasted so many days, as were requisite to understand the judgments of others, recalls his orders to *Montalto*, and leaves the instances of Cardinal *Bichi* to be consulted of in the wonted Assemblies in *Venice*.

Edward remonstrates the fit conjuncture to revenge themselves of the *Barberins*, to attempt Conquests, and by the means of them to secure Peace. The Duke of *Modena* shews also the opportunity which was opened for advantages, but fell back notwithstanding, as at last *Edward* also did, to more wholesome counsels; so that it was concluded, That the Truce should be accepted during the vacancy of the See, and some certain days after the election of a new Pope; provided nevertheless it should be desired in the name of the Conclave, and that in that interim a Letter should be written to the Cardinals in the name of all the League, to justify the necessity of their past resolutions, to inform them of their intentions tending to Peace, and to offer all their Forces for the security and liberty of the said Conclave. But

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But as they were ready to send their answer to *Bichi*, the notice of the Popes recovering induces them, omitting further Treaty of a Truce, to hasten the conclusion of a Peace. The Articles proposed by the Cardinal had in several Assemblies been ventilated, where rejecting some, and correcting others, they were at last concluded by the common consent of the Confederates; and the Cardinal having a mind to carry them with all speed to *Rome*, was received in all places of the Ecclesiastick State with the acclamations and prayers of the people longing for Peace. Nor in approving of the project was there any difficulty made by the Pope or his Nephews, by whom were only altered some few words, but of no importance. Passing then with the same diligence through *Florence*, he returns to *Venice* with the Treaty signed by *Donghi*, and with his Powers, in which the Confederates having desired some amendment in the expressions, no difficulty was made. The Duke of *Parma* refused to admit the Treaty in other form than that agreed at *Venice*; but he was by the League given to know, that there being an agreement in substance, and the few words changed at *Rome* not altering it at all, the end being accomplished for which the Princes had united, when the Powers of *Donghi* should be received in the form desired, their intention was to proceed to the conclusion, though without his consent. With this protest, and a Voyage, Cardinal *Bichi* made to *Parma* to render him that respect, which was the thing he aimed at, he also was persuaded to approve it. So that it was subscribed in *Venice* for *France* by the Cardinal *Bichi*; for the Republick by *Giovanni Nani* Cavalier and Procurator; by the Cavalier *Giovanni Battista Gondi* for the Grand Duke; and for *Modena* by the Marquess *Hippolito Efense Tassoni*, in whom the Plenipotency appeared to be.

The Capitulations were divided; the one agreed by *France* with the Pope, in that which concerned the Duke of *Parma*, who, for the observance of what was promised, had given a Writing to the said King; the other concluded immediately betwixt the Pope and the Confederates. In the first, some wonted expressions being premised concerning the Popes zeal to Peace, The King besought him for absolution and pardon for *Edward*. That so the Excommunication being taken off from his Dominion, he might be restored into the favour of *Urban*, desired by the Duke himself with the humility which was expedient. Then sixty days after the Ratifications *Edward* was to retire out of the *Stellata* and *Bondeno*, the Fortifications being demolished; and *Castro* was to be rendered by the Pope with every thing confiscated and possessed, the Fortifications also to be razed, and the Ammunition and Arms, any where introduced, to be reciprocally withdrawn. To the Montists remained their Rights as before the War. Prisoners were restored, and those pardoned which had served on either side, the Duke obliging himself to disarm, Garrisons necessary for his Country being excepted.

All this, as hath been said, passed betwixt the Pope and the King, who by consent of the Pope himself promised to employ his Arms against him that on his side should fail in performing the things promised. The other Capitulation, correlative to the above-said, and

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subscribed the same day, declared, *The Confederates to have taken Arms for no other cause but for the redintegration of Duke Edward, firm as to other things in their most constant obedience towards the Pope and the Holy See; it was agreed after the subscribing to suspend Hostility, and the United Princes promised, the Ratifications being dispatched, to retire their Forces within their own Confines, leaving only necessary Garrisons in the places possessed, and them also after sixty days to quit, the Fortifications being demolished, the Ammunition and Arms belonging to them being withdrawn. It was reciprocally agreed to demolish within each others Country the Fortifications towards the others Confines, which had been raised by the occasion of this War, giving each to other the List of those he pretended should be razed, and having the liberty to send Ministers to see it executed. Betwixt the State Ecclesiastick and Tuscany not any novelty of moment having happened, all was left in the condition things were at present, the Controversie of the Chiarni being referred to the ancient Capitulations betwixt the Pope and the Grand Duke. To the persons and places which had served or had rendered themselves to the other Party pardon was granted, the Duke of Cornia being expressly named; and Prisoners were set at liberty; the Religious persons, who had withdrawn themselves, having permission to return, and the Sequestration of the Repts of the Knights of Malta being taken off. All Rights were clearly reserved to the parties as before the War; all pretension to satisfaction for damages received was excluded, and disarming was promised, except that of the Venetians, who, accustomed before this War to keep a body of men, promised to dispose of them into such places as should give the Ecclesiastick State no jealousy. For the execution of all this, Hostages were given to the King of France, and the King to the satisfaction of the Pope and of the Confederates declared, that his Arms should be in favour of him that executed the accord, and against those that observed it not.*

The Powers of Danghi being come, adjusted to the satisfaction of the Confederates, the Peace upon the first day of May was published with a publick Mass in the Church of St. Mark at Venice. The Hostages, delivered at Casal, were for the Pope the Count Frederick Mirogli, for the Venetians, Ridolfo Sbroglavacca, both Serjeant Majors de Bataille, the Commendator Grifoni for the Grand Duke, and for Modena the Marquess, Tassoni.

The Duke of Parma coming to Venice renders thanks for protection to the Senate, from which he declared to acknowledge the restauration of his Country. The entire execution of the Treaty was by common consent prolonged for thirty days, because the work of demolitions required a greater time and labour than had been supposed, and the Venetians lent Pioneers for that of Bondeno and that of the Stellata, Duke Edward taking little care for them, as places far distant from his Countries. And yet there hapned a difficulty; for it being pretended by the Venetians, that some Works about Comacchio should be slighted, the Pontificians refused to do it, as of a place not so near the Frontiers, not without suspicion that they from thence sought to put a stop to the Peace.

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But the Republick, to take away all pretext, consents, that they should proceed in the rest, leaving this point undecided, being ready to refer it to the interpretation of the King of France as Mediator of the Peace. Thus *Castro* was rendered, and the accord on all sides executed, to the great commendation of the Cardinal *Zichi*, who in the Mediation confirmed the opinion of his no less dexterity than wisdom. The Senate caused most ample thanks to be rendered to the Crown of France for its interposition by their Ambassadour in Ordinary, *Battista Nani*, Author of the present History, Son and Nephew of *Giovanni* and *Battista*, both Brothers, by reason of many Employments frequently mentioned.

The Grand Duke sent thither a Gentleman of his express; and the World from this particular adjustment of Italy conceived good Prefages of the general one of the Crowns; to the end that Wars after so many years continuance ceasing, the felicity of Peace might at last reign every where with a blessing.

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